

ABSTRACT

Located within the literature on racial/ethnic identity formation theory, especially the transformational stages developed by William E. Cross in his “Psychology of Nigrescence,” the purpose of this dissertation is to interpret and analyze the biographical information of six selected activists affiliated with the Taiwan Independence Movement (hereafter TIM) in the United States, especially their experiences of identity shifting from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity.

While contending that the essence of national identity --- especially the elements relevant to the construction of subjective meaning --- has often been neglected by most of the students of nationalism, the basic theoretical concern of this project is to bring the notion of national identity back into the tradition of social psychology, see national identity as a subtype of “social identity,” and adopt identity formation theory as an alternative framework for analyzing the national-identity-related issues.

As an exploratory study it is designed to address six research objectives, rather than to test a specific hypothesis. Specifically, this study is designed to address six research objectives, including: (1) a review and critique of the concept of national identity within the current literature on nationalism, especially the neglect of issues relevant to subjective meaning; (2) the identification of generic principles and processes in selected models relevant to racial/ethnic identity formation theory, so as to apply these principles as the framework for analyzing the self-described experiences of activists in the US TIM; (3) an assessment of the appropriateness of adopting the biographical method as the methodology for this study; (4) the presentation of a description of the process of national identity transformation illustrated by biographical data on six selected activists; (5) the construction of a preliminary model of national identity formation for comprehending these biographees’ experiences based on cross-case analysis; and (6) suggestion of the possible uses of the model and implications of the study for future research.

Key Words: National Identity, Racial/Ethnic Identity Formation Theory, Biography, Life History, Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States, Activists

**TRANSFORMING NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE DIASPORA:
AN IDENTITY FORMATION APPROACH TO BIOGRAPHIES OF
ACTIVISTS AFFILIATED WITH THE TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE
MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APT	Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CHRF	Committee for Human Rights in Formosa
CUM	Chinese Unification Movement
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
EFTA	European Federation of Taiwanese Association
FAPA	Formosan Association for Public Affairs
FFF	Formosan's Free Formosa
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
KSU	Kansas State University
NATMA	North American Taiwanese Medical Association
NATPA	North America Taiwanese Professors' Association
NATWA	North America Taiwanese Women's Association
NTU	National Taiwan University
OTIM	Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement
PRC	People's Republic of China
PCT	Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
PGROF	Provisional Government of Republic of Formosa
ROC	Republic of China
TAA	Taiwanese Association of America
TC	Taiwanese Collegian
TCP	Taiwanese Communist Party

TIM	Taiwan Independence Movement
TSU	Taiwan Solidarity Union
UFAI	United Formosans in America for Independence
UFI	United Formosans For Independence
UFIE	Union for Formosa's Independence in Europe
USC	University of Southern California
UYFI	United Youth Formosans for Independence
WFTA	World Federation of Taiwanese Association
WUFI	World United Formosans for Independence

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dissertation. This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, together with Yi-tsai Tserng, my beloved grandfather who passed away in 1999 before the birth of my son.

NOTES ON TRANSLATION

As per Western custom, all Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names in the text are given with the first name first and family name last, with the exception of important political figures like Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, Mao Zedong and so forth, who appear in this dissertation with the family name preceding the given name, as is the Taiwanese custom.

All Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names and terms used in this dissertation are romanized in using the pinyin system, with the following exceptions:

(1). When a name has a preexisting romanized form that has gained wide publicity, the original form will be use to avoid confusion (e.g., Taipei, Kaohsiung, Hsinchu, Lee Teng-hui, Kuomintang, Seizo Kobayashi).

(2). When an author of a Chinese text also writes in English under the name not romanized in the pinyin system, or I learned of some people's personal way of romanizing their own names through social encounters with these people or by internet search of these people's names, the original form has been retained out of respect for their own preference (e.g., Trong R. Chai, Tsin-fang Chen, Strong C. Chuang).

(3). When following the convention to translate first name in English for Taiwanese, a dash (-) has been inserted between the second and third characters of the given name when applicable (e.g., Lee Teng-hui, Tsin-fang Chen, Guo-hui Dai), although this method does not conform to the conventional pinyin system. However, when an individual of the People's Republic of China or Japan is mentioned, a dash has not been inserted in order to follow the practice adopted in contemporary China and Japan (e.g., Mao Zedong, Seizo Kobayashi).

For all Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names and terms occurring in the text, the pinyin romanization as well as the Chinese characters will be given in the following parentheses with italics (e.g., Kaohsiung (*Gaoxiong* 高雄), Trong R. Chai (*Cai Tongrong* 蔡同榮), Seizo Kobayashi (*Xiaolin Jicao* 小林躋造)) on their first occurrence. Once they are mentioned, these names and terms will not be given further information about their original words on their second and later occurrences.

A glossary of all Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names and terms is provided as a part of the appendixes shown at the end of this dissertation.

Chapter One

Introduction

Political regimes may determine an official “identity” for a people but, subjectively, the identified may contest this designation.

--- Thomas B. Gold, *Taiwan's Quest for Identity in the Shadow of China*

1.1 Statement of the Problem

In a paper calling for core and comprehensive bibliographies of Taiwan Studies, John Shufelt notes that “Names are significant. Exactly what they signify has sometimes been the cause of serious dispute, and it is right that we should take care to call things by their proper names” (1997, 1). Indeed, few issues occupy a more central place than national identity, or “what’s in a name?”, on the future political agenda in Taiwan. For many decades, a notable theme of political debate in Taiwan has been the “naming” of this semitropical island, which has been known or identified, variously, as “Formosa,” “*The Republic of China*,” “*Chinese-Taipei*,” “*Taipei, China*,” “*The Republic of China on Taiwan*,” “*The Republic of China (Taiwan)*,” “*Taiwan*,” or arguably, “*The Republic of Taiwan*.” Especially since the 1990s, of all the phenomena that characterized the history of the past one and a half decades, the emergence of competing assertions of nationhood has had the most dramatic impact on the political landscape of that island state.¹ “The national identity issue,” states Chien-lung Lu (1999, back cover),

¹. For newly published general references about Taiwan, refer to Copper (1996, 2000); Dikotter and Shambaugh (1998); and Rubinstein (1999). For specific works regarding the “competition” among

a scholar of Taiwan's identity politics, "is one of the most earsplitting, controversial, irresolvable, and emotional problems [in Taiwan]."

The question of Taiwan's national identity is related to the international status of Taiwan. Is there to be an acceptance of the idea of one China with Taiwan having autonomy? Or is there to be independence for Taiwan with a separate Taiwan and a separate China? According to polling results released by the Mainland Affairs Council of Taiwan's Executive Yuan in May 2003, it seems that most Taiwanese residents do not have definite answers for the above questions yet. While most respondents prefer to "preserve the status quo," pro-independence supporters and pro-unification supporters are 21.6 per cent and 14.6 per cent respectively among the whole population (Mainland Affairs Council 2003a, 2003b).

The controversy over Taiwan's national identity is a heated debate that is taking place in Taiwan. However, it is an intense debate that is carried on among Taiwanese in the United States as well. The common view is that the political identity of Taiwanese Americans is shaped by the evolution of Sino-American relations and domestic politics over the last fifty years. The periodic surge in the tension between Taiwan and Mainland China never fails to galvanize the passions of many Taiwanese Americans. Unfortunately, until today, we do not yet have solid data on the political preferences of Taiwanese Americans for the future status of Taiwan. Nonetheless, the so-called "Taiwan Survey," which was conducted by then US Congress Representative Stephen J.

different nationalist discourses emerging in Taiwan, refer to Corcuff (2002a); Hsiao (2000); Hughes (1997); Lin and Zheng (2001); Cheng-feng Shih (1994); Shu (1998); and Mei-ling Wang (1999).

Solarz in July 1989, could serve as a reference point for the matter.² Among 4,500 respondents, all of them were Taiwanese Americans, 85.79 percent favored a plebiscite on Taiwan, 99.30 percent favored Taiwan self-determination, and 89.51 percent favored an independent Taiwan. Only 5 percent of respondents preferred to “preserve the status quo (Chai 1990, 160; Cheng-yi Lin 1991, 142).

The striking discrepancy about preferred national identity between Taiwanese on the island and Taiwanese outside the island deserves our attention. First of all, we can reach a straightforward conclusion that there exist different opinions regarding Taiwan’s national identity between Taiwanese in Taiwan and Taiwanese in the US. While the former prefer to preserve the status quo, the latter favor Taiwan as an independent country. Second, while taking only the pro-independence supporters into consideration, we can claim that the percentage of pro-independence supporters among Taiwanese Americans is much higher than among Taiwanese residing in Taiwan. Third, since many Taiwanese Americans possess Taiwanese identity through their resocialization experiences after leaving Taiwan, we can assume the existence of a specific mechanism in the US that accounts for transformation of their national identity. Through this mechanism, these Taiwanese Americans not only established a new national identity, but also abandoned their old identity, which was probably a product of the propaganda of Taiwan’s then

². The sample of this survey, which was provided by the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (*Taiwanren Gonggong Shiwuhui* 台灣人公共事務會, hereafter FAPA), included members of ethnic organizations and subscribers to newspaper and magazines relevant to Taiwanese Americans. The total number of this sample was 11,000, which constituted about one tenth of Taiwanese Americans across the US then. The return rate was 37 percent (Chai 1990, 160). We have to be very cautious about the meaning of the above numbers because we do not have the hard data about the exact number or a comprehensive name-list of Taiwanese Americans, the targeted population of this survey. However, since we do not have other available data regarding the matter at this moment, the result still deserves our attention.

Mainlander government.

What then is this identity-transformation-mechanism? What is the general process of identity change among Taiwanese Americans? It seems that the Taiwanese diaspora community plays a certain role in this process. However, we can only speculate this possibility, since we do *not* have any academic research dealing with the issue so far.

1.2 A Brief Sketch of Taiwan

1.2.1 The Land and the People

The island of Taiwan, or Formosa,³ lies between the Ryukyu Islands, which are part of Japan, to the north, and the Philippines, to the south. To the east of Taiwan is the Pacific Ocean; to the west is the Taiwan Strait; to the northwest lies the East China Sea, and to the southwest, the South China Sea. The Bashi Channel separates Taiwan from the Philippines. Taiwan is sometimes compared in shape to a sweet potato or to a tobacco leaf, two of its major crops. At 14,000 square miles, it is roughly the size of the Netherlands or the U.S. state of West Virginia. The Pescadores (*Penghu* 澎湖) group of islands off the southeast Taiwan coast, together with some smaller ones, is considered part of Taiwan itself (see Figure 1.1 for the map of Taiwan; Figure 1.2 for the location of Taiwan) (Copper 1993, 2; M. Cohen 1991, xii; Mendel 1970, 9).

(Figure 1.1 about here)

³. Around the mid-16 century, a Portuguese fleet sailing through the Taiwan Strait on the way to Japan sighted Taiwan and called it *Ilha Formosa*, meaning “beautiful island” in Portuguese. The Portuguese was the first Westerners to see Taiwan and gave the island a name based on their first impression. According to the existing literature, there are different accounts about the exact timing of this event. For instance, Cooper (1993, xi, 7) lists it as happening in 1517, Ong (1979, 19) as around 1541, Bing Su (1980a, 52) and De-shui Zhang (1992, 27, 34) as in 1557. However, the visit of this island by the Portuguese was not reported until 1599 (Mei-ling Wang 1999, 13).

(Figure 1.2 about here)

Taiwan’s population is usually divided into four ethnic groups: Aborigines, Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlander.⁴ The non-Han residents of several distinct groups, who are considered to be Malay-Polynesian origin, are referred to collectively as Aborigines (*Yuanzhumin* 原住民). They compromise a bit more than one percent of the population.

⁴ . Any claim regarding people’s grouping always involves political implications. This statement can easily be applied into the Taiwanese case, just like any other place in the world. In Taiwan, first of all, some authors challenge the idea of dividing the people of Taiwan into different “ethnic” groups (especially the notions of “Taiwanese” and “Mainlanders”) since “the Taiwanese[,] whose ancestors had all come from the [M]ainland, are Chinese” (Lung 1987, 25, quoted from Johnson 1992, 71). Second, some authors challenge the notion of “ethnic group” itself and contend that the term is problematic due to the intermediation between ethnicity and some other phenomena like class, gender, or status. Accordingly, “the term ‘ethnic’ is a very weak analytical tool” (Kang Chao 1999, 29). Finally, some other researchers suggest the “existence” of different ethnic groups in Taiwan since identification with a specific ethnic group is a “subjective belief” (e.g., Wen-cheng Lin 1993; Cheng-feng Shih 1997b). In this dissertation, I take the last position to see the existence of different ethnic groups in Taiwan as a reality, at least phenomenologically.

However, different opinions about the appropriate “classification system” still exist among the last group of scholars. Since we can find sub-groups within every so-called “ethnic group” (Mainlanders came from various parts of China; Aborigines have different cultural backgrounds; Hoklo and Hakka can also be further classified, based on their origin, into some sub-groups), any classification can be seen as “arbitrary” to some extent. My conventional classification is adapted from Cheng-feng Shih’s (1997b, 1) rationale: first, we can distinguish people in Taiwan into non-Han residents and Han residents; then, we can further choose the timing of arriving in Taiwan (i.e., before or after 1945) as the second criteria to classify people; finally, we can use language as another criteria to categorize Taiwanese into Hoklo and Hakka.

	Came to Taiwan before 1945	Came to Taiwan after 1945		
Non-Han residents	a	Not applicable		
Han residents	<table><tr><td>b</td><td>c</td></tr></table>	b	c	d
b	c			
	a: Aborigines c: Hakka	b: Hoklo d: Mainlander		

Figure 1.1
The Map of Taiwan



Source: Central Intelligence Agency (1999)

Figure 1.2
Location of Taiwan



Source: Chinese Cultural Studies, Brooklyn College (nd)

Then, "Taiwanese (*Taiwanren* 台灣人)"⁵ is the term used to denote only those Han

⁵. In Taiwan, especially within the elite circle, there is a new tendency using the term "Taiwanese" to refer to all inhabitants of Taiwan, including members of every ethnic groups, rather than members of Hoklo and Hakka only. This tendency demonstrates the signal of gradual formation of a new "we-group" consciousness based upon the territory of Taiwan, since every person residing in Taiwan is seen as Taiwanese. I agree with this new connotation of the term "Taiwanese," since it is totally "politically correct." However, to many ordinary people in Taiwan, "Taiwanese" is still referred to Hoklo and Hakka only. It is why I adopt the term "Taiwanese" to describe Hoklo and Hakka only in this dissertation.

Chinese who already lived in Taiwan prior to the wave of migration that occurred at the end of the 1940s; and their offspring. Based upon their mother tongue, Taiwanese can further be categorized into two groups: Hoklo (*Helaoren* 鶴佬人) and Hakka (*Kejiaren* 客家人). Together they compromise about slightly less than eighty-five percent of the population, with the former outnumbering the latter by two or three to one.

The fourth group, “Mainlanders (*Waishengren* 外省人),” refers to those who were born on the Mainland China and came to Taiwan after 1945, though most came in 1949 to escape the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter CCP); and also their offspring. They compromise about fourteen percent of the population.⁶

1.2.2 The Origin of Modern Taiwanese Nationalism: The February 28 Incident, 1947

Taiwan and the nearby Pescadores islands were ceded to Japan in 1895, as an aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese War between 1894 and 1895. Fifty years of colonial rule by Japan ended with that country's defeat in World War II. In 1945, the Chinese government on Mainland China, which was controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, hereafter KMT) then, sent troops and civil service officials to take over Taiwan from Japan. To the Taiwanese, the fifty years of humiliation as a colony was coming to an end, and they were anticipating to be rejoined their homeland and governed

⁶ Roughly beginning in the 1990s, “ethnicity” or “ethnic group” has become a burgeoning research topic in Taiwan studies. For the comprehensive account about the ethnic assimilation and competition in Taiwan, see Fu-chang Wang (1989). For the sophisticated relationship among ethnicity, class, and state in Taiwanese society, see Shu H. Huang (1995). For the relationship between ethnicity and national identity, see Mau-kuei Chang et al. (1993).

again as Chinese by Chinese.

However, the new Chinese administration squandered these fraternal sentiments with amazing speed. Yi Chen (*Chen Yi* 陳儀), then the KMT-appointed governor of the “recovered” province, and his cronies embezzled public funds, extorted protection money from wealthy Taiwanese, ran a lucrative black market exporting goods back to the Mainland, and put those who complained on list of “subversives.” The Chen administration’s corruption and mismanagement caused troop misbehavior, galloping inflation, declining production, rising labor unrest, and widespread unemployment. The experience of encountering with the Mainlanders, who arrived to replace the Japanese, caused many Taiwanese to acknowledge, with disappointment, that in many ways the Japanese were probably superior to the Chinese. The sentiment also caused them to see themselves as different from the Mainlanders. Under the circumstances, “[a] rebellion was virtually inevitable” (M. Cohen 1991, 10).

On February 27, 1947, a female cigarette vendor, who was a forty-year-old widow carrying a baby girl in her arms, was beaten up by the Taipei City Monopoly Bureau⁷ agents for not having the proper license from the bureau. Unexpectedly, a Taiwanese bystander was shot to dead by one of the agents. That night, and all the following day, riots broke out as the Taiwanese gave vent to their outrage at the KMT administration. It was estimated that between 50,000 and 60,000 people participated in these struggles (Moody 1992). The riot continued for two weeks as Taiwanese vented the anger, frustration, and hostility toward the Mainlanders that had mounted in the year and a half

⁷. Monopoly Bureau was a government agency that monopolized the sale of alcohol and tobacco.

since the KMT came to Taiwan in 1945. Yi Chen, the KMT governor, at first negotiated with the protesters. Having negotiated an agreement whereby they would hand in their weapons in return for concessions, Chen brought in reinforcements from the Mainland and used this protest as a pretext for wholesale terrorism against the Taiwanese population.

This bitter and violent conflict ended in the bloody suppression claiming perhaps thousands of Taiwanese lives,⁸ as the aftermath of state terrorism. The killings were a systematic attack on the Taiwanese elite. Many of those killed, including numerous doctors, intellectuals, teachers, and local leaders, were either those who were educated or those who were affluent. Termed “February 28 Incident⁹,”¹⁰ the suppression of this

⁸. The precise number of executions, if it was ever known by the authorities, has not been released. Estimates run from a conservative one thousand dead to an extreme of more than a hundred thousand (Wachman 1994, 99).

⁹. A sensitive issue in the historiography of Taiwan is how to refer to the events of early 1947 --- incident (*shijian* 事件), popular uprising (*minbian* 民變), rebellion (*panluan* 叛亂 or *panbian* 叛變), or massacre (*tusha* 屠殺)? Each term carries it a political agenda. For the purpose of this work, I will follow Phillips’ rationale to use “Incident,” a relatively neutral term, for describing the events. Based upon his explanation, in Chinese, *shijian* often carries the connotation of an important event that is both unexplained and accidental (*oufa* 偶發). This term tends to suggest that the KMT was not to blame for the events of February and March 1947. However, in English, “incident” does not carry with it the connotation of “accidental” (Phillips 1998, 163).

¹⁰. Before martial law was lifted in Taiwan, in the forty years after the February 28 Incident, the incident had been a strict political taboo. It was not allowed to talk about in daily life, much less any academic research regarding the incident. However, after martial law was lifted, all those who had been suppressed strived to regain their rights of speech. As a result, the February 28 Incident increasingly became a hot public topic. Many articles and books started to reflect and discuss the incident. Meanwhile, some scholars also started to do academic research on the topic.

Currently in Taiwan, the bibliography related to the February 28 Incident has been too enormous for me to list. However, I would like to provide a brief list here (limited to books only; book chapters and individual essays excluded). For oral history from those who personally experienced the incident, refer to a series of writings by Yen-hsian Chang and his collaborators (Chang, Hu and Gao 1993, 1994; Chang, Hu and Li 1995; Chang et al. 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c); the three books edited by Taiwan Provincial Historical Documents Commission (1991, 1992, 1994); Hsiu-hua Shen (1997); Hsueh-chi Hsu et al. (1995); and the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica (1993).

incident proved to Taiwanese the dictatorial nature of the KMT regime in Taiwan, a rule that was characterized by the oppression of one group of people, the Taiwanese, by another, the Mainlanders.¹¹ However, with most Taiwanese elite being jailed or executed in the Incident, the opposition movement was virtually in the hands of a few surviving Taiwanese elite in exile or other overseas dissidents.

The February 28 Incident crystallized the development of Taiwanese nationalist feelings. According to Meisner (1964, 155), “The term ‘erh-erh pa’ (February 28) is not only a slogan of the exiled Formosan independence groups but it is a symbol that recalls tragic personal experiences deeply etched upon the consciousness of most adult Formosans.” As these feeling developed, overseas Taiwanese living in Japan started the Taiwan Independence Movement in the early 1950s (Ong 1964, 167; Mendel 1970, 147). In the United States, because Taiwanese students came to this country after the late 1950s, the Taiwan Independence Movement also blossomed in the 1960s.

For some official historical documents, refer to De-long Lin (1992); Xing-tang Chen (1992); Sheng-huang Jiang (2002); and James Wang (2002). For relatively significant academic research, refer to Tsui-lien Chen (1995); Fang-ming Chen (1988b); Dai and Ye (2002); Civil Research Group on 228 (1992); Research Group on the February 28 Incident of the Executive Yuan (1994); Chang, Chen and Yang (1998); and Lai, Myers, and Wei (1991).

¹¹. The interpretations of the February 28 Incident are various, based upon different “political positions.” First of all, the Communist perspective sees the incident as the worker-peasant revolt against the imperialist or capitalist state, and the feudal system, which was part of the great revolutionary tide that swept across China in the late forties under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Second, the KMT perspective generally regards it as a rebellion of islanders who were first enslaved by Japanese indoctrination, and then instigated by the CCP or other ambitious elements. Third, the TIM (Taiwan Independence Movement) perspective views the uprising as an angry reaction to KMT-inflicted oppression, as one phase in the continuing Taiwanese struggle for self-rule and democracy.

Finally, the U.S. Department of State, in the *China White Paper* issued in 1949, attributes the occurrence of this Incident to political corruption of the administration and economic deterioration of the island. See Lai et al. (1991, 3-6) for the summary of these different interpretations about the Incident.

1.2.3 The Roots of Taiwanese Nationalism: Distinguished Historical Experience

The roots of conflict between Taiwan and China could be dated back several centuries. While our story of repression and opposition begins in 1947, a brief sketch of the general social and political forces that led to the uprising of 1947 are in order. As in any nationalist movement, images of the distant past are frequently invoked and maintain a symbolic importance. As one moves closer to the contemporary period, there are several historical trends of the past centuries that left a fading but still perceptible mark on the developing opposition.

The history of Taiwan has been a history of colonial oppression.¹² Originally resided by Malay-Polynesian indigenous groups, Taiwan has always been located at the intersection of other sphere of influence, including the Han Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Manchus, Japanese, or even American. Although larger groups of Han Chinese began migrating to Taiwan in the seventeenth century, it was the Spanish and Dutch, wanting to build a trading post in Asia, who introduced the state apparatus into Taiwan. Koxinga (*Zheng Chenggong* 鄭成功) and his supporters expelled the Dutch in 1661 and used Taiwan as an anti-Manchu base until 1683. However, after consolidating its power

¹². Again, the interpretation of Taiwanese history is fraught with controversy by different “political positions.” The CCP interprets the historical record to support its irredentist claims on Taiwan (e.g., Bisheng Chen 1982; Zhifu Li 1955). By contrast, the KMT interprets the historical record to support ties to the Mainland and the Republic of China’s legitimacy as sole government of China (e.g., Tingyi Guo 1954; Da-shou Huang 1982). Other groups affiliating with the TIM interpret the record to support Taiwan independence (e.g., Ong 1964, 1979; Bing Su 1962, 1980a, 1980b). For the comparison between the CCP and KMT’s works on Taiwanese history, see Mu-shan Chen (1997). For the comparison between the KMT and the TIM’s interpretations about Taiwanese history, see Hsiao (1998, Chapter 6).

However, it seems that most of the “neutral” authors affiliated with Western academia agree that the separation and alienation in Taiwanese history have caused the “distinguished historical experience” for the Taiwanese people. For instance, Copper (1996, 21) asserts that studies of Taiwan’s history suggests links with “Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and possibly some other parts of Asia.” Wachman (1994, 93) also

in Mainland China, the Manchus of the Qing Dynasty gained control of Taiwan in 1683. Then the island was ceded to the Japanese in 1895 as an aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese War.

After Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, Taiwan was turned over to the KMT led by Chiang Kai-Shek (see Table 1.1 for the summary of Taiwanese history before 1945). Soon afterward, civil war between the KMT and CCP broke out, and the KMT, defeated in 1949, fled the Mainland and moved their government to Taiwan. The CCP founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) and later became the recognized state of China, whereas the exile KMT, insisting on its national title of Republic of China (ROC), has remained the effective state on Taiwan to date. For nearly four decades since then, there were few contacts between Taiwan and China under the climate of post-World War II bipolar world. Moreover, during the past decades and a half, Taiwan has become even more separate from China politically as a result of democratization in Taiwan.¹³

(Table 1.1 about here)

1.3 Situating the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement into the Historical Context

The Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM), the banner bearer of Taiwanese nationalism, had its origin dated back to mid-1940s while the KMT took over Taiwan at

contents that "Taiwanese have inherited a legacy of subjugation by aliens: Spanish, Dutch, pirates, Manchurians, Japanese, and, in the minds of some, the KMT and refugees from the [M]ainland."

¹³. One can possibly argue that considering the fact the rulers of Qing Dynasty were what historians called Tartans or Manchus (a formerly non-Chinese tribe), Han Chinese ruled Taiwan for only four years from 1945 to 1949 (Mei-ling Wang 1999, 457).

Table 1.1.**Significant Events in Taiwanese History before World War II**

Year	Event
Around the mid-16 century	Portuguese vessels sailing to Japan spotted Taiwan and referred to it as Ilha Formosa (beautiful island). This was the first mention of Taiwan in Western history.
1622	Dutch forces captured the Pescadores and built a base from which Dutch ships could control traffic through the Taiwan Strait.
1624	Dutch reached an agreement with the Chinese government to evacuate from the Pescadores in return for establishing settlements on Taiwan. This marked the beginning of Dutch colonial rule of Taiwan.
1626	Spanish forces seized Keelung and from there expanded to control northern Taiwan.
1642	Dutch forces captured major Spanish settlements in northern Taiwan, thereby consolidating control over the island.
1662	Koxinga defeated Dutch forces, marking the end of Dutch rule of Taiwan and the beginning of the “Zheng Dynasty” in Taiwan.
1683	The end of the Zheng family rule of Taiwan and the beginning of China’s governance of Taiwan under the Qing Dynasty.
1729	Emperor of China forbade immigration to Taiwan --- under penalty of death.
1860	Opening of several ports in Taiwan to Western trade.
1874	Japanese punitive expedition against aborigines for killing Japanese sailors.
1884	French naval vessels attacked port of Keelung.
1887	Taiwan was made a province of China.
1895	Treaty of Shimonoseki concluded Sino-Japanese War; Taiwan was ceded to Japan “in perpetuity.” Unsuccessful attempt to form the Republic of Taiwan.
1915	The Xilai An Incident, the last armed anti-Japanese struggle, emerged.
1945	The KMT took over Taiwan after the Japanese surrender.

Source: Compiled by author.

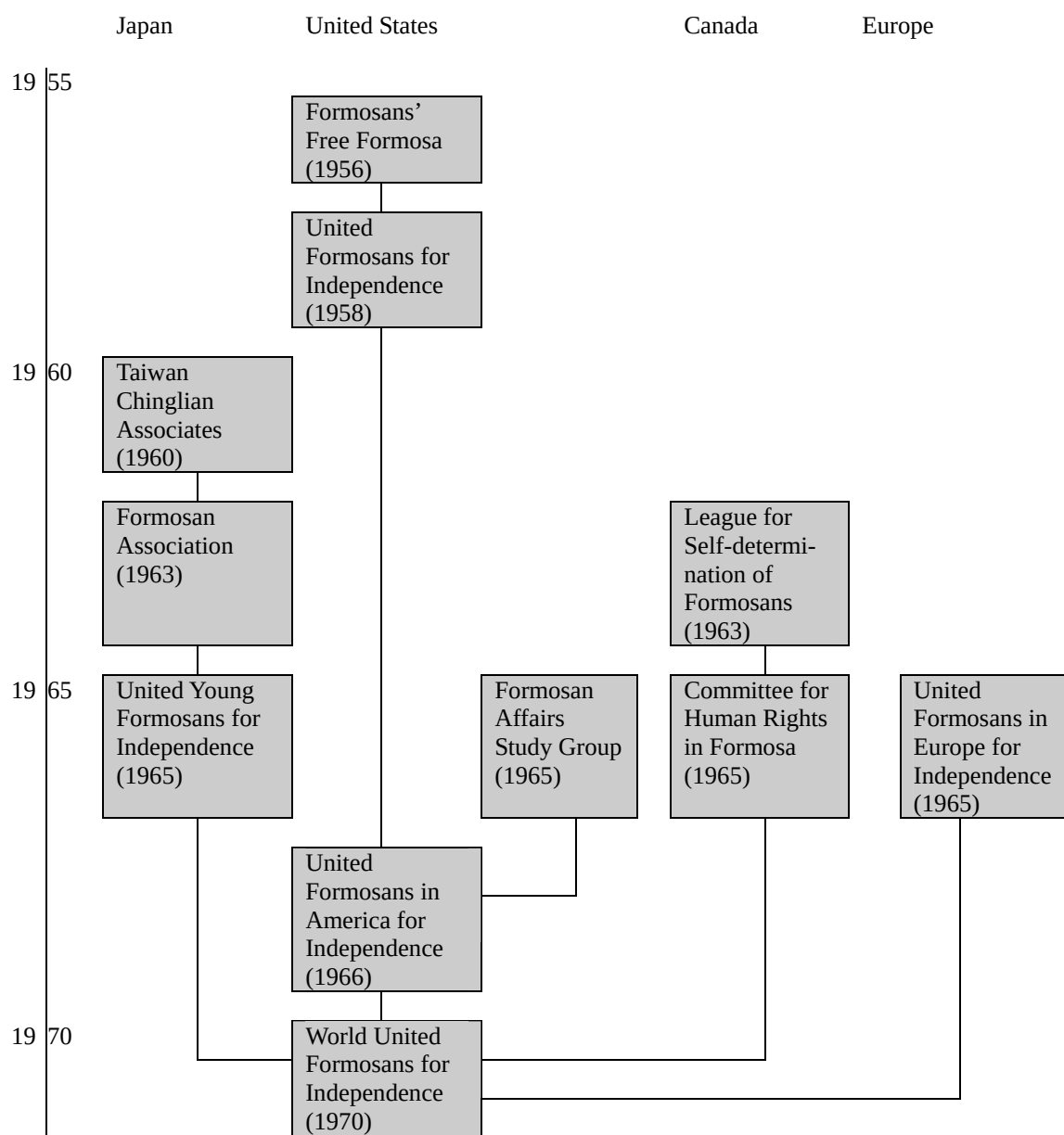
nationalism, had its origin dated back to mid-1940s while the KMT took over Taiwan at the end of World War II. However, due to the fact that most Taiwanese elite were jailed

or executed in the February 28 Incident as well as severe state repression right after the Incident, the TIM had to formulate its organizational infrastructure in political circles outside the island. From the late 1940s, activists began to organize clandestine political organizations in Hong Kong and Japan to question the legitimacy of the KMT's rule over Taiwan. Starting in the mid-1950s, the idea of Taiwanese nationalism gradually found some resonance among the Taiwanese students who went to study in North America (Shu 2002, 47).

In 1955, Thomas W. I. Liao (*Liao Wenyi* 廖文毅) and his associates set up the Provisional Government of Republic of Formosa (PGROF) (*Taiwan Gongheguo Linshi Zhengfu* 台灣共和國臨時政府) in Japan, the chief intellectual and political center for overseas anti-KMT activities in the 1950s and 1960s. In February 1960, some younger Taiwanese students in Japan found another TIM organization, Taiwan Chinglian Associates (*Taiwan Qingnian She* 台灣青年社), which was renamed the Formosan Association (*Taiwan Qingnian Hui* 台灣青年會) in 1963. Believing that propaganda work and clandestine organization were the most critical activities at that time, the Association began to publish *Taiwan Youth* (*Taiwan Qingnian* 台灣青年) in Japanese and the *Formosan Quarterly* in English (Ong, 1964, 169 -170). In 1965, the formal name of this organization was again changed to United Young Formosans for Independence (UYFI) (*Taiwan Qingnian Duli Lianmeng* 台灣青年獨立聯盟)(Ming-cheng Chen 1992)(see Figure 1.3).

(Figure 1.3 about here)

In the United States, up to 1965, no unified, nationwide organization for Taiwan

Figure 1.3**The Evolution of World United Formosans for Independence, 1956-1970**

Source: Shu (2002, 54)

independence had yet been founded, though there were a number of local groups actively engaged in the movement, notably those in New York, Philadelphia, Kansas, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and California. Among these local submerged groups, Formosans' Free Formosa (3F)¹⁴ (*Taiwanren De Ziyou Taiwan* 台灣人的自由台灣) was the first as well as the most significant organization advocating Taiwan independence in North America. This organization was founded by John Lin (*Lin Rongxun* 林榮勳), I-te Chen (*Chen Yide* 陳以德), and Jay Loo (*Lu Zhuyi* 盧主義) in Philadelphia in 1956. Later, 3F was restructured and renamed as United Formosans for Independence (UFI) (*Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 台灣獨立聯盟) in 1958 (Shu 2002, 53).

In Madison, Wisconsin, there was also another well-organized group called Formosan Affairs Study Group (*Taiwan Wenti Yanjiuhui* 台灣問題研究會), actively conducting political campaign under the leadership of Samuel Chou (*Zhou Shiming* 周斌明), a medical doctor. In October 1965, a meeting called Formosan Leadership Unity Congress was held in Madison, Wisconsin, where leading figures of the independence movement from all over the country gathered and agreed to make preparations for a unified organization. In the following year, a new organization, United Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI) (*Quanmei Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 全美台灣獨立聯盟) was born (Alice King 1974, 22).

¹⁴. There are different versions about the exact wording of these 3 Fs in the existing literature. For instance, 3F is described as Free Formosans' Formosa by Ming-cheng Chen (1992, 81), as Free Formosan's Formosa by Jiashu Huang (1994, 27, 296), as Formosans for Free Formosa by Copper (1993, 56). In this research, I follow Zheng-san Li's (2000b, 128) work to describe the 3F as Formosans' Free Formosa, since this project is based upon Li's newly conducted interviews with the original founders of 3F.

In Canada, Robert Y. M. Huang (*Huang Yiming* 黃義明) and Albert Lin (*Lin Zhefu* 林哲夫) founded League for Self-determination of Formosans (*Taiwan Zhumin Zijue Lianmeng* 台灣住民自決聯盟) in 1963. Two years later, this organization was renamed as the Committee for Human Rights in Formosa (CHRF) (*Jianada Taiwan Renquan Weiyuanhui* 加拿大台灣人權委員會) based upon the consideration of engaging in the task of rescuing Ming-Min Peng (*Peng Mingmin* 彭明敏) under the name of human rights. In Europe, Union for Formosa's Independence in Europe (UFIE) (*Ouzhou Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 歐洲台灣獨立聯盟) was founded in 1965 through the effort of Sekun Kang (*Jian Shikun* 簡世坤) (Alice King 1974, 22).

In 1968, the UYFI in Japan, the UFAI in the United States, the UFIE in Europe, and the CHRF in Canada gave a joint declaration, announcing that two magazines --- *Taiwan Youth* and *The Independent Formosa*¹⁵ --- were to be their joint organs. This was the first step for a complete unification of the world TIM organization. In January 1970, the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) (*Shijie Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 世界台灣獨立聯盟), an ally of various overseas organizations advocating Taiwan independence, was formed in New York City, United States.

Indeed, since World War II, U.S. universities have become the training ground of elite in the third world countries, particularly those who had not subject to European colonial rule. Taiwan is no exception. In the United States, the territory far beyond the sovereignty of Taiwan, the KMT government has still maintained a strong network to

¹⁵. For the detailed description about the evolution of publications by overseas TIM, refer to Shu (2001a).

infiltrate the college and university campuses across the New World. According to Michael Glennon, who helped conduct a study of KMT's agents in America for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the KMT intelligence agencies "have conducted extended harassment, intimidation, and surveillance of the United States residents here on American soil" (quoted from M. Cohen 1991, 25). Without a doubt, the presence and activities of the KMT's agents on U.S. campuses and in other community organizations created a chilling atmosphere indeed for overseas Taiwanese who might otherwise be eager to test the more open political environment they found in America (Shu 2002, 47).

In spite of repression and the KMT's campaigns against the Taiwanese national culture, the Taiwanese nationalist movement still blossomed and became an overseas political force, especially after the establishment of the WUFI. On April 24, 1970, then Republic of China (ROC) Deputy Premier Chiang Ching-Kuo, Chiang Kai-Shek's eldest son, was nearly assassinated by two WUFI members. Furthermore, as a counterblow to the KMT's rude arrest of Taiwanese dissidents in the Kaohsiung Incident (*Meilidao Shijian* 美麗島事件)¹⁶ in December 1979, the overseas TIM also launched a series of activities targeting KMT representative offices in the United States. In other words,

¹⁶. On December 10, 1979, the *Formosa Magazine*, which was issued by the opposition activists, held a rally in Kaohsiung to celebrate the "World Human Rights Day." The KMT sent huge troops and police to quell with violence, resulting in fierce confrontation with the demonstrators in which more than one hundred people were wounded. The event was called the "Formosa Incident" in history. After the incident, the KMT went on to crack down the opposition movement, arresting more than 160 leading activists. Since the KMT's suppression against the opposition camp was so outrageous, both the international community and the overseas Taiwanese showed extreme concerns in the wake of the incident (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 178-80; Taiwan House of Yuanliu 2000, 190).

The "Formosa Incident" can be seen as an important watershed for Taiwanese society to march from under-martial law to post-martial law, and from authoritarian rule to democracy. For related research and historical data about this incident, refer to Cultural and Educational Foundation for A New Taiwan (1999b); Zhongxin Fan (1993); J. Kaplan (1981); Ku (1999, 63-77); Shi-yu Lai (1987); Hsiu-lien Lu (1997); H. Thomas (1980); and Shieu-chi Weng (2001).

there were some, if not many, Taiwanese joined the clandestine political organizations and played the role of political exiles in the struggle against the KMT dictatorships and in the development of Taiwanese nationalism. This overseas TIM is definitely part of the Taiwanese history, though not many scholars paying enough attention on this topic.

1.4 U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement as an Unexamined Phenomenon

Conceptually, the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States, which involves both its homeland (i.e., Taiwan) and its host country (i.e., America), can be understood as a kind of “transnational social movement” or “diaspora movement.”¹⁷ Accordingly, the study of this movement should be located in two research areas: Taiwan study, especially those interested in Taiwan’s identity politics or Taiwanese nationalism, and American study, especially students of ethnic study, which has been an emerging interdisciplinary area since the 1990s. Amazingly, however, the U.S. TIM has received only scant attention in both research areas. No more than a few scholars --- whether sociologists, political scientists, or historians --- have studied this movement in depth. Indeed, many scholars appear unaware that this movement ever existed.

¹⁷. Since the 1990s, the so-called “globalization” has suddenly emerged as a hot research topic (e.g., Appadurai 1996; Featherstone 1990, 1995; King 1991; Prazniak and Dirlik 2000). Partly influenced by this trend, students of social movements also begin their exploration in the “transnational social movement.” For some significant works on this topic, refer to Pierre-Louis (2001); J. Smith (1995); Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco (1997); Smith and Johnston (2002); and Tarrow (2001).

As far as the so-called “diaspora movement” is concerned, it seems that there is still no scholar exploring this topic from the perspective of social movements yet. However, the topic of “diaspora” itself, which is also a hot issue among academic works, galvanizes many interesting publications recently (e.g., R. Cohen 1997; Edwards 2001; Shain 1999; Sheffer 2003; and T. Smith 2000).

1.4.1 Taiwan Studies

For students of Taiwan study, although the national identity issue has a long and complex history in Taiwan, while compared with the abundant academic works of nationalism related to other regions/nations since the 1960s,¹⁸ there has existed almost no academic treatment relevant to the issue of Taiwanese nationalism before 1990 (for a few exceptions, see Mancall 1964; Mendel 1970; and Gregor and Chang 1985).¹⁹ This situation is totally understandable. As far as the topic of nationalism is concerned, the relevance of “academic” research to the political practice is quite noticeable.²⁰ Taiwanese nationalism is no exception.

Under the KMT’s authoritarian rule, Taiwanese nationalism was fundamentally a political taboo to ordinary Taiwanese people as well as social scientists conducting Taiwan study. Before the lifting of martial law in 1987, all that Taiwanese people could do was to accept the identity of being “Chinese” culturally and to identify with the “Republic of China” politically, not to problematise them (Chun 1996; Tsung-rong Yang 1992).

¹⁸. Eric Hobsbawm, one of the most significant contemporary scholars in the field of nationalism, clearly makes the following statement: “The number of works genuinely illuminating the question of what nations and national movements are and what role in historical development they play is larger in the period 1968 – 88 than for any earlier period of twice that length” (1992, 4).

¹⁹. However, because of the potential “controversy, conflict, and influence” relevant to the TIM (Xi Huang 1992, 1), even before the 1990s, different political actors (including at least KMT, CCP, and TIM) had to propose their own “explanations” about the nature of Taiwanese nationalism. Accordingly, a flood of articles and books had appeared for serving the purpose of propaganda. Among these publications, very few could be qualified as academic works.

Examples of publication about the TIM by KMT and KMT-affiliated “scholars” include Central Daily Press (1984); Hao-ruo He (1969); Zhi-xiong Lin (1979); and Shu-nan Zhong (1978). Examples of publication about the TIM by CCP and CCP-affiliated “scholars” include Department of Editorship of People Press (1958); Foreign Language Press (1962); Jiashu Huang (1994); Yibin Jia (1993); Zhifu Li (1955); and Jin Lin (1993). For a critical review about this line of “research,” refer to Shu (1999, 2001b).

It is only recently, with the change in the political climate and the availability of new sources of information, that it has become possible for scholars to analyze the phenomenon relevant to Taiwanese nationalism. Due to the lifting of martial law and reaffirmation of constitutional rights such as the freedom of speech, for the first time in many years, open debates concerning the island's national identity and legal status have become possible. Indeed, in the past fifteen years, we have witnessed a dramatic increase in academic studies on Taiwanese nationalism or TIM. While adopting different theoretical perspectives or analytical frameworks, these recent Taiwanese-nationalism-related works can be roughly divided into four approaches: historical studies, macro-structural studies, micro-psychological studies, and normative studies.²¹

First of all, historical study focuses on specific historical events that help explain the

²⁰. See Section 2.3.1 of Chapter Two for further elaboration regarding the issue.

²¹. As a student of Taiwanese nationalism, I have to honestly point out that there seems to exist no comprehensive literature review with much theoretical meaning in this field yet. In the following discussion, I shall take examples to illuminate this point through several degree-required theses, since literature review is the necessary work for these projects.

First of all, in A-chin Hsiao's (1998) dissertation on contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism, he only divides the relevant literature into two categories: the imagined community approach (i.e., Wakabayashi 1994; Wu and Wakabayashi 1989) and the political competition approach (i.e., Fu-chang Wang 1996). Furthermore, in Horng-luen Wang's dissertation (1999), which employs an institutionalist approach with a global perspective to analyze recent nationalist politics in Taiwan, the author categorize the existing literature into three orientations: the ethnic explanation (Fu-chang Wang 1998a, 1998b; Nai-the Wu 1996; Mau-kuei Chang et al. 1993; Wachman 1994), the divided-nation model, and the economic explanation. Finally, in Yun-jen Ju's master's thesis on the origin and content of Taiwanese nationalism, she classifies the current literature into three types: the dynamics of Taiwanese nationalism (i.e., Mau-kuei Chang 1993; Nai-teh Wu 1993), exploring Taiwan's party politics from the perspective of Taiwanese nationalism (Bi-ling Guan 1994), and the possible conflict between nationalism and liberal democracy (i.e., Wang and Chien 1995).

In one of my previous papers (i.e., Shu 2001b, 140-2), I simply categorize the existing literature on Taiwanese nationalism into fourteen research approaches. However, this is only a convenient way to classify the literature without serious theoretical implications.

emergence and development of Taiwanese nationalism (for specific topics which have been examined under this category, refer to Table 1.2). Second, while adopting different analytical concepts borrowed from different academic disciplines, the macro-structural study, whose unit of analysis is the TIM as a whole, aims at providing some structural explanations for understanding the origin and dynamics of Taiwanese nationalism (for brief summary of works within this line of literature, refer to Table 1.3).

(Table 1.2 about here)

(Table 1.3 about here)

The third approach in the literature on Taiwanese nationalism is the micro-psychological study. This line of literature, which aims to tackle the problem of national identity on the individual level, focuses on ordinary people's views of national identity, and their relationship to social, political, economic and ethnic factors. Based upon the research methods adopted in these studies, we can further divide this line of literature into three sub-groups. The first group of research uses survey methods or opinion polls to ground their analysis of national identity. Through some simplified choices such as unification, independence and preserving the status quo, these studies tend to pin down the national identity issue by directly asking certain individuals what national identities they bear (Chang and Wu 1998; Yung-ming Hsu 1999; Fu-chang Wang 1998a; Nai-teh Wu 1996).²² The second group of studies adopts either historical documents or in-depth interviews to analyze the shifting process of national identity (i.e.,

²². In fact, there has been a proliferation of studies adopting survey data to explore the national identity issue in Taiwan since the 1990s. The works listed here are just some examples. For more comprehensive list covering this line of literature, refer to Yi-jun Xie (1997, Appendix, 4-34).

Table 1.2**Selected Research Topics about National Identity in Taiwan, Historical Studies**

Research Topics	Date of Historical Events	Selected Works
The role of the <i>Republic of Formosa</i> ^a (<i>Taiwan Minzhuguo</i> 台灣民主國) in the forming process of Taiwanese identity	1895	Lung-chih Chang (1995) Morris (2002) Chiautong Yuzin Ng (1993) ^b Mi-cha Wu (1996) ^c
The development of Taiwanese identity under <i>Japanese colonial rule</i>	1895-1945	Fix (1993) Ching (2001) Shiaw-chian Fong (1993, 1994, 2001) Xiu-zheng Huang (1995) Ming-cheng Lo (2002) Rwei-ren Wu (2001, 2003)
The thesis of Taiwanese nationalism proposed by the <i>Taiwanese Communist Party</i> (<i>Taiwan Gongchandang</i> 台灣共產黨) in the 1920s and 1930s	1920s-1930s	Fang-ming Chen (1998b) Chien (1997)
The role of the <i>February 28 Incident</i> (<i>Ereerba Shijian</i> 二二八事件) for the later growth of Taiwanese identity	1947	Civil Research Group on 228 (1992) Edmondson (2002) Hung (2000) Lai et al. (1992) Phillips (1998) Research Group on 228 Incident of the Executive Yuan (1994) Chang, Chen, and Yang (1998)
The role of the <i>Formosa Incident</i> (<i>Meilidao Shijian</i> 美麗島事件) for the later development of Taiwanese identity	1979	Editorial Team of Oral History for the Formosa Incident (1999a, 1999b)
The general description about the origin and development of Taiwanese identity and TIM in the <i>post-World War II era</i>	1945-	Fupian Chen (1998) Ming-cheng Chen (1992) Geoffroy (1997) Chiautong Yuzin Ng (1994) Cheng-feng Shih (2000b)

Source: Compiled by author.

^a. While describing this short-lived Republic, most of the writers of English works refer it as “the Republic of Formosa” (see I-te Chen 1968, 57-60; Mendel 1970, 16). However, other English names are also used by different writers, such as “the Taiwan Republic” (Lung-chih Chang 1995; Lamley 1968; Mei-ling Wang 1999, 40); “the Formosan Republic” (Davidson 1988, 275-89); “Republic of Taiwan” (Bing Su 1986, 101); and “the Formosan Democratic Republic” (Meisner 1964, 149-50).

Table 1.2 (Cont.)

^b. Ng's work, which was based on his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Tokyo, was originally published in Japanese in 1970.

^c. This work is presented as a chapter in an anthology of Taiwanese history published in 1996. The original publication date is 1981.

Table 1.3

Selected Research Topics about National Identity in Taiwan, Macro-structural Studies

Research Topics	Selected Works
Exploring the development of Taiwanese identity from the perspective of <i>ethnic politics</i>	Mau-kuei. Chang et al. (1993) Chen, Chuang, and Huang (1994) Marsh (2002) Cheng-feng Shih (1994, 1997) Fu-chang Wang (1989)
Examining the possible connection between <i>political democratization</i> and the emergence of Taiwanese identity	Chia-lung. Lin (1998, 2001) Wachmen (1994) Fu-chang Wang (1996) Nai-teh Wu (1996, 1997)
Taking the <i>KMT's authoritarian rule</i> as the root for cultivating Taiwanese identity and analyzing the interaction between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism	Jou Jou Chu (1994) Ming-cheng Lo (1994) Shu (1998) Rwei-ren Wu (2002)
Focusing on the ideological dimension of Taiwanese nationalism	Tzu-sung Chen (1995) Ju (1997) Chien Kuo Lai (1997) Zhong-sheng Xu (1992)
Borrowing the language of cultural studies or the notion of cultural nationalism for analyzing the <i>symbolic elements</i> of Taiwanese nationalism	Chow (1999) Corcuff (2002b) Hsiau (1998, 2000) Chien-ho Lu (1996) Jian-rong Lu (1999) Duu Jian Tsai (2001) You (1996)
Exploring the media presentation of TIM from the perspective of <i>mass communication</i>	Chung (2000, 2002) Xi Huang (1992) Shi Hong Yang (1995) Meng-he Zhang (1992)

Table 1.3 (Cont.)

Examining the prospect of TIM through the framework concerning the <i>interaction between Taiwan and Mainland China</i>	Chien-min Chao (1996) Yu-ling Wang (1996) Hsin-hsing Wu (1994)
Adopting the perspective of <i>international politics</i> to examine the issue relevant to Taiwan independence.	Tien-zhao Dai (1996) ^a Hughes (1997) Niou (1998) Mei-ling Wang (1999)
Borrowing the analytical framework of <i>institutionalism</i> to study the formation of so-called “national question” in Taiwan.	Horng-luen Wang (1999, 2000)
Using the theoretical perspective of <i>social movements</i> to investigate the framing process of TIM in the 1990s.	Ming-shi Wu (1998)

Source: Compiled by author

^a. This book, which was originally a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Hosei University (*Fazheng Daxue* 法政大學) in Japan, was first published in Japanese in 1971.

from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity) for certain activists affiliated with the Taiwanese opposition movement (Editorial Team of Oral History for the Formosa Incident 1999a; Hsiao-feng Li 1994; Cheng-feng Shih 1998b; Rwei-ren Wu 1999a; Chang, Hu, and Zeng 2000a, 2000b). Finally, there is also one study using Q methodology to reconstruct, from the subjects’ perspectives, the discourse on national identity in Taiwan (Wong and Sun 1998).

The final approach concerns the normative dimension, rather than the empirical phenomenon, of Taiwanese nationalism. The specific consideration in these studies is the theoretical foundation of legitimacy (or illegitimacy) relevant to Taiwanese nationalism. While some scholars take this challenge by borrowing concepts from the perspective of political philosophy (Yi-hua Jiang 1998; Carl Shaw 1997; Rwei-ren Wu

1997), other researchers conduct their studies through perspectives ranging from post-modernism through post-structuralism to post-colonialism (Chao and Johnson 2000; Kuan-hsing Chen 1994, 2000; Kuei-fen Chiu 1995; Chaoyang Liao 1995).

Unfortunately, compared to other subjects in the field of Taiwanese nationalism, the overseas TIM is still an ignored research topic (Shu 2001a, 99-100).²³ Fang-ming Chen has the following observation about the status of overseas TIM as an academic agenda:

Until today, the history of overseas TIM has not become a research topic for academicians yet. The reason why this topic is still not of concern to most scholars is understandable. One of the possible explanations is that Taiwan's political development is too fast to catch, since there emerge new political issues almost everyday [in contemporary Taiwan]. Accordingly, we still do not have appropriate time and space to examine a political movement that happened one or two decades ago, especially the overseas TIM, which appeared and flourished in places far away from Taiwan. (Fang-ming Chen 1998g, 3)

1.4.2 American Studies

For scholars of Taiwan studies, overseas TIM is an ignored topic because it developed abroad, especially in the United States. However, for students of American studies, the topic of U.S. TIM is still a trivial, if not non-existing, research agenda. On the one hand, as far as diaspora nationalism²⁴ located in the U.S. is concerned, this is in

²³. One indicator of this ignorance can be found in Corcuff's (2002a) edited anthology about Taiwan's national identity. Among 10 chapters selected in this book, my work (Shu 2002) is the only piece dealing with the topic of the overseas TIM.

²⁴. The term "diaspora" is found in the Greek translation of the Bible and originates in the verb "to sow" and the preposition "over." For the Greeks, the expression was used to describe the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the Archaic period (800-600 BC), which essentially had a positive connotation. However, due to the tragic Jewish (as well as Armenian) history, it is gradually quite widespread to understand the notion of diaspora as the dispersal of the Jews, which was basically a

fact an understudied academic area (Paul 1999, 3), only a few diaspora nationalist groups, most notably the Jewish, Cuban and Irish groups, have been the focus of scholarly attention.²⁵

On the other hand, in terms of the newly emerging area of Asian American studies,²⁶ scholars affiliated with this line of inquiry also do not consider “Taiwanese Americans”²⁷ as a research subject, not to mention the topic of U.S. TIM. Karen Liao

negative experience. Right now, the term is commonly used to describe other “dispersed” or “scattered” peoples of common national origin or belief as well (Cohen 1997, 1-2; Doorley 1995, 26).

In some environments, immigrant communities and their descendants exhibit a degree of national loyalty to their country of origin, hence the term “diaspora nationalism” (Doorley 1995, 26).

²⁵. For research on the Jewish diaspora in the United States, refer to Gerson (2001); Maibaum (1980); and Sorin (1985). For the Cuban diaspora in the United States, refer to Haney and Vanderbush (1999); Torres (1999); and Tweed (1997). For the Irish diaspora in the United States, refer to Doorley (1995) and Hanagan (2002). In the context of the United States, for case studies about the diaspora of other ethnic groups as well as comparative studies about diaspora among different ethnic groups, refer to Eastmond (1997); Jacobson (1995); Paul (1999); and Shain (1993, 1999).

²⁶. For a general description about the field of “Asian American Studies,” especially those serving as the introductory material in academia, refer to Hirabayashi and Okihiro (1998); Okihiro et al. (1988); and Okihiro et al. (1995). As far as anthologies in the field are concerned, refer to Wu and Song (2000) and Zhou and Gatewood (2000).

²⁷. While compared with other ethnic groups residing in the United States, there is still no consensus among Taiwanese living in the United States, who are the relative “late comers” historically, about the appropriate name to label their own group. In the English language, it seems that the term “Taiwanese American” is the most popular and acceptable one (e.g., see Sibyl Chen 2002a; Wen-yen Chen 1989; Yenkuuei Chuang 1998; Liao 2002; Ng 1998), since the term itself is borrowed from other ethnic groups (e.g., African American, Cuban American, and etc.) without much controversy.

However, in the Chinese language, while referring to the relevant literature, in addition to “Taiwanese American” (*Taimeiren* 台美人) (see Rong-ru Chen 2001; Thian-hok Li 2000; Kenjohn Wang 1999), we can also find other terms like “Taiwanese living in the United States” (*Lumei Taiwanren* 旅美台灣人) (Rong-ru Chen 1995, 13, 15, 21), “new sojourner” (*Xinqiao* 新僑) or “new Chinese sojourner” (*Xinhuaqiao* 新華僑)(as relative to “old sojourner” (*Laoqiao* 老僑))(see Yan 1983, 102; Hsiang-shui Chen 1991), and “Taiwanese sojourner” (*Taiqiao* 台僑)(as relative to “Chinese sojourner” (*Huaqiao* 華僑))(see *Taiqiao Monthly* (*Taiqiao Yuekan* 台僑月刊), the newsletter published by the Taiwanese Association of America, Inc. (*Quanmei Taiwan Tongxianghui* 全美台灣同鄉會) between 1993 and 1994).

Due to the emergence of second-generation Taiwanese, it seems that the term “Taiwanese American” has gradually replaced other terms as the most popular label among members of Taiwanese community in the United States as part of the vehicle for their construction of self-identity.

(1997) aptly uses the term “Chinification” to describe this tendency in Asian American scholarship.²⁸ To some extent, this bias is the replication of the problem of equating Taiwanese with Chinese in mainstream American discourse. Due to the complicated relations between Taiwan and the United States, Taiwanese Americans have been marginalized within dominant American discourse for the latter half of the 20th century. After the World War II, the United States continued to recognize the “democratic” Republic of China as the government of all China, even after the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949. Eventually, in 1979, the U.S. shifted recognition to the CCP’s People’s Republic of China.²⁹ Relations with the KMT in Taiwan or with the CCP on the Mainland both precluded recognition of the Taiwanese as a separate and distinct people, because both governments claimed Taiwan as part of China and Taiwanese as Chinese (K. Liao 2002, v).³⁰

²⁸. For scholars within the field Asian American studies, especially those conducting research on the subject of “Chinese American” or “Overseas Chinese,” it is not necessary to consider “Taiwanese American” as a research topic because, judging from their perspective, there is no difference between Taiwanese and Chinese at all. For example, in *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York* (1992), anthropologist Hsiang-shui Chen describes the efforts of Taiwanese Americans to establish a separate pavilion from Chinese Americans during the Queens Festival of 1986 and frames the struggle with the question, “What association is most appropriate and able to represent the Chinese as a whole?” (1992, 245). He fails to grasp the strategic move made by Taiwanese Americans to distinguish and disassociate their experiences from Chinese Americans, and that they have no desire to “represent the Chinese as a whole.”

Furthermore, Timothy P. Fong’s *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (1994) analyzes this Californian city that has been dubbed “Little Taipei” due to its high concentration of Taiwanese immigrants. Fong says: “The native Taiwanese are ethnic Chinese, descendants of those who migrated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ...” (1994, 28). Finally, in his book *The Taiwanese Americans* (1998), Franklin Ng proclaims proudly, “Taiwanese Americans, the immigrants from Taiwan and their descendants, are a prominent group in this growing Chinese population” (1998, 1).

²⁹. For the historical evolution of U.S. policies toward Taiwan and China, refer to Ta Liu (2002); H. Tien (1983); and Mei-ling Wang (1999).

³⁰. The American policy of non-recognition towards Taiwan translates into the non-recognition of Taiwanese in the United States. Taking the U.S. Census report as an example, before 1990, people who checked the “Other” box and wrote in “Taiwanese” for the ethnicity question were counted as Chinese

For whatever reasons, the U.S. TIM has, in fact, received relatively little scholarly attention. The entire academic literature³¹ on the movement to date consists of only a few journal articles and book chapters (Gregor and Chang 1985; Shi-qi Lan 2002; Qi-hua Ma 1998b; Shu 2001a, 2002), several unpublished thesis and manuscript (Arrigo 1985; Shu 1996; Howard Wang 1997; Jin-xuan Wu 1986; Jun-hu Zhou 1980), and two books (Fupian Chen 1998; Martin 1985).³² In general, these works are helpful for us to understand the origin and development of the U.S. TIM. But, as it stands, this small body of literature on the U.S. TIM is inadequate, not only because of its size, but also because the works themselves are quite limited. On the one hand, with the exception of Shu (2001a) and Shi-qi Lan (2002),³³ most of these researchers depend on the secondary

(Karen Liao 2002, v). For the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census, Taiwanese American organizations lobbied to establish Taiwanese “as a separate and distinct group.” Unfortunately, 1990 reports did not list “Taiwanese” as a separate category; Taiwanese is located under “Chinese,” with the only other subcategory being “Chinese, non Taiwanese” (USCB 1993, Table 1). For the 2000 reports, U.S. Census Bureau explains their coding strategy for “race” as “in some census tabulations, written entries of Taiwanese are included with Chinese while in others they are shown separately” (USCB 2002b, Item B-39).

³¹. I limit the following review within the “academic” literature. However, as a sensitive research topic, it is notable that many researchers have their own position regarding this movement. Some are activists of this movement themselves while others clearly demonstrate their anti-TIM orientation. These works are still considered as “academic” products as far as the authors follow the academic format to discuss the issue.

There are some other “non-academic” sources related to the U.S. TIM as well. Some of the materials are generated by the movement itself or by highly sympathetic writers. Most of them are published by the counter-movement such as the KMT or CCP. I will examine these “non-academic” resources later in the methodology chapter.

³². All the aforementioned works focus the entire projects on the U.S. TIM. However, in addition to these works, there are some other academic works “partially” dealing with this topic. On the one hand, some projects deal with the TIM as a whole, thus putting the U.S. TIM within the general context of Taiwanese nationalism (e.g., Geoffroy 1997; Xi Huang 1992; Mendel 1970; Chiautong Ng 1994; Mei-ling Wang 1999). On the other hand, there also exist some works concerning the politics of Taiwanese-American diaspora, which can be conceived as background information for studying the U.S. TIM (e.g., Sibyl Chen 2002a; Wen-yen Chen 1989; Dwyer 1999; Lee 1999; Karen Liao 1997, 2002; Shih-shan Henry Tsai 1986; Chuen-rong Yeh 1989).

³³. These two works deal with the relevant journals published by the U.S. TIM.

analysis of published accounts, especially those generated from the counter-movement, as their primary source of data. They tend to ignore the importance of the publications developed by the U.S. TIM itself. On the other hand, most of these works focus only on the “descriptive” level of historical event relevant to the U.S. TIM. Almost none of them attempt to “analyze” the movement by referring this movement to the broader theoretical debate around the general literature of social movements, nationalism, or diaspora.

1.5 Proposing the Research Questions

By focusing on the process of national identity transformation among some selected activists in the U.S. TIM, this dissertation is a preliminary attempt to close the gap within the existing literature on Taiwanese nationalism. *Through the analysis of their biographies, this study endeavors to explore the mechanism that enables these activists to break with the dominant ideology of Chinese nationalism and to engage, at considerable cost to themselves, in activities related to TIM, which are based upon the idea of Taiwanese nationalism.* The central questions I will address in this research are:

(1) *What* were these activists’ national identities over their life course? *When* in their life course did they develop a dissident Taiwanese national identity?

(2) *How* did these activists acquire their national identities? What was the role of families, schools, peers, and other sources of political socialization in influencing the formation of their national identities? Since most of these activists were Taiwanese Americans, what was the influence of their American experiences (or put differently, the Taiwanese diaspora in the US) in shaping their national identities? Once they joined the

overseas TIM, what was the effect of participation in protests and other activities on their national identities?

(3) Overall, can we develop *a theoretical model of national identity formation* that accounts for the unfolding of early political learning, later diaspora experiences, and resocialization within the social movement organization in longitudinal perspective?

1.6 Research Objectives

To answer the aforementioned questions, I will adopt the “racial/ethnic identity formation theory,” especially the transformational stages developed by William E. Cross in his “Psychology of Nigrescence,” as the analytical framework to interpret and analyze the biographical information about six selected activists affiliated with the US TIM.

Since there is no known research on this topic, the present project is considered to be an *exploratory study* in terms of both Taiwan studies and American studies. As an exploratory work, instead of specific hypothesis testing, the *qualitative approach* will be used to investigate the living experiences of TIM activists. Specifically, this study is designed to address six research objectives, including:

- (1) a review and critique of *the concept of national identity* within the current literature on nationalism, especially the neglect of issues relevant to subjective meaning;
- (2) the identification of generic principles and processes in selected models relevant to *racial/ethnic identity formation theory*, so as to apply these principles as the framework for analyzing the self-described experiences of activists in the US TIM;
- (3) an assessment of the appropriateness of adopting the *biographical method* as the

methodology for this study;

- (4) the presentation of a description of the process of national identity transformation illustrated by *biographical data* on six selected activists;
- (5) the construction of *a preliminary model of national identity formation* for comprehending these biographees' experiences based on cross-case analysis; and
- (6) suggestion of the possible uses of the model and implications of the study for *future research*.

1.7 Chapter Arrangement

To achieve these six research objectives, this dissertation is divided into twelve chapters. In addition to this *Introduction chapter*, *Chapter Two* is a review of the current literature on national identity. Generally speaking, we can understand national identity at two different levels: either as something related to a “collectivity” or as something attached to an “individual.” In terms of academic disciplines, the notion of national identity is located within the study of nationalism and of concern to students of political science for the most part. However, political scientists tend to devote most of their attention to phenomenon at the level of the collectivity, paying little attention to this subject at the individual level. This observation, which will be illuminated in this chapter, is most apparent when discussing existing studies of nationalism since most are macro-perspective without much focus on the issue of subjectivity relevant to the life experiences of individuals.

In order to deal with this shortcoming in the existing literature, in *Chapter Three*, I shall propose an alternative analytical framework --- identity formation theory --- to

explore the formation of national identity. My basic argument is that we should bring the notion of national identity back into the academic tradition of social psychology. Erik E. Erikson's concept of "formation of ego identity," where the notion of identity is thought of as a process taking place over time, rather than an inborn characteristic inherited from the very beginning of life, shall be applied to the study of national identity. In this chapter, I shall first introduce the theoretical origins of identity formation theory, paying particular attention to the works of Erik E. Erikson and James E. Marcia. Then, located within the existing literature on race and ethnicity, I shall briefly review the studies applying identity formation theory to the subject of racial/ethnic identity. Furthermore, I shall summarize the developmental stages proposed by William E. Cross in his study of the formation of racial identity among the African Americans, which serves as a fundamental reference in this study. Finally, I shall justify the use of racial/ethnic identity formation theory in the study of national identity.

Chapter Four, the methodology chapter, is focused on the notion of biography, which is the empirical material used in this study. I shall begin with a brief introduction to the biographical method, introducing the evolution of this method in social science literature. Next, after summarizing the advantages and shortcomings of the biographical method, I shall explain the reason why I decide to use this method as the basis of the research design in this study. Third, I shall review the selection of biographical information relevant to the six activists affiliated with the U.S. TIM, which serves as the main data source for this study. Fourth, I shall present the procedures for data analysis adopted in this study. Fifth, I shall briefly discuss the research relationships. Finally, using the notion of "trustworthiness" proposed by Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba,

I shall provide an evaluation of the research design associated with this study.

Chapters Five to Ten are the empirical results of this study. In each chapter, arranging the data chronologically in the form of narrative story, I shall present the life histories of every subject selected in this study. To grasp the process of the formation of national identity among these U.S. TIM activists, I shall try to divide their life histories into several developmental stages, exploring the content of national identity at each and every stage.

Chapter Eleven, the discussion of empirical findings in this study, is a cross-case analysis resting on the preceding chapters. First of all, I shall summarize the contents in terms of national identity as it appears at different life stages to establish the foundation for the analysis that follows. Second, I shall provide a typological analysis of all emerging national identity patterns, which include “Japanese identity,” “Chinese identity,” “low-salience attitudes,” and “Taiwanese identity,” as they appear at different life stages. Third, by focusing on the “process of national identity formation,” I shall arrange another typological analysis and propose a three-fold categorization of the selected biographees: “early socialization,” “adult conversion,” and “identity recycling.” Finally, I shall endeavor to integrate the static and dynamic typologies to propose a six-stage model for comprehending the process of national identity formation among these U.S. TIM activists. The specific stages suggested in this model include the following phases: childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, adult conversion, identity recycling during exile, and identity recycling after Taiwan’s democratization.

Chapter Twelve is the conclusion, where I shall report the major findings, theoretical implications, limitations of this study, and suggestions for future research based on this project.

Chapter Two

Literature Review: The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism

Regions are not actors; their inhabitants are.

--- Robert J. Thompson and Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr.,
The Ebb and Flow of Ethnoterritorial Politics in the Western World

2.1 Introduction

It is the purpose of this chapter to provide the literature review for this study. Specifically, this literature review brings together and integrates works in identity studies as well as the study of nationalism as a basis on which suggestions for the notion of “national identity” can be offered.

To this end, the following section begins with a discussion of the concept of “identity.” The possible application areas, the conceptual history, as well as the problem of “identities studies” are then explored in detail. This serves as a foundation for the definition of the concept of identity in this study. Three types of identity --- personal identity, collective identity, and social identity --- will also be examined in this section.

Further, since “national identity” is the major concern in this study, the concept of “nation” will be examined in next section. I shall first elaborate on the fundamental problem of studying nation and nationalism. Then, based upon a synthesis of two theoretical orientations, I shall engage in the task of defining the concept of nation, seeing nation as a collectivity with some “imagined” objective characteristics.

This is followed by a discussion of the concept of “national identity” in the next section. I shall commit to the definition of national identity first. Further, while treating national identity as a specific type of “social identity,” I shall then suggest some features of national identity in this section.

This chapter ends with a review of existing literature on nationalism relevant to the concept of national identity. After briefly reviewing the modernization and constructionist approaches as in the field, I shall contend that most of the existing literature on nationalism tends to analyze nationalist phenomena from the macro-perspective, ignoring the idea that national identity should also be treated as a sort of “social identity” and understood from the micro-perspective. Since the existing literature on nationalism does not pay enough attention to subjectivity, an alternative analytical framework for this study will be proposed in the next chapter.

2.2 The Concept of Identity

In recent years, scholars working on an astonishing array of social science and humanities disciplines have taken an intense interest in questions concerning “identity.” The reason that academia is so attracted by research about identity is, on the one hand, related to changes in “external environments” over the past two decades, which include the trend toward globalization, the emergence of new waves of nationalism in the 1990s, and the faster diffusion of new communications technology. On the other hand, this interest can also be attributed to “internal changes” in academic circles, such as the rapid institutionalization of interdisciplinary cultural studies, as well as the gradual popularity of the discourses in postmodernism and postcolonialism among scholars of different

disciplines. As a matter of fact, identity is an inescapable dimension of social life. Political philosopher William Connolly (2002, 158) appropriately argues, “each individual needs an identity; every stable way of life invokes claims to collective identity.”

In this section, I shall first address the importance of the concept of identity, attempting to answer the question why we should study identity? Second, after describing the proliferation of identity studies in different disciplines, I shall discuss the so-called “undisciplined” problem (Abdelal et al. 2001, 6) in identity studies due to the fact that there is not much consensus on how to define identity; nor is there consistency in the procedures used to determining the content of identity. This “undisciplined” problem makes identity not only a concept covering a wide array of various phenomena occurring simultaneously, but also a concept without a precise definition. Third, facing this problem, I shall propose a definition of identity in this study. Finally, I shall review three types of identity extracted from the existing literature, attempting to clarify the very nature of identity concerning this study in the following chapters.

2.2.1 Why Study Identity?

Why do we have to study identity? If we define identity simply as “our sense of who we are,” then we can see that the concept of identity is central to understanding many of the important issues of our time. In addressing the building blocks of social, political, and economic life, identity has been used to explain individual behavior as well as collective action. Furthermore, identity has been used to account for discrete outcomes, at both the macro and micro level, and it has also figured prominently in

studies of longer term processes of institutional development. The following are some possible applications of the notion of identity in various disciplines.³⁴

(2.2.1.a) First of all, to almost every researcher of social sciences, studying *the relationship between individuals and groups* has long been their central concern. The notion of identity, from every perspective, is a key to the relationship of the individual to the collectivity. As Baumeister (1986, 7) puts it: “The search for identity includes the question of what is the proper relationship of the individual to society as a whole.”

Preston also holds the similar opinion as follows:

The idea of political-cultural identity expresses the relationship of individual selves to the community considered as an ordered body of persons. In schematic terms, we are looking at the way in which private identity is expressed within the public world, with thereafter a broad concern for how we acquire such an identity, how it changes and at what costs. (Preston 1997, 9)

(2.2.1.b) Second, since individual’s self-conception of identity influences his or her behavior and beliefs, the notion of identity plays a critical role in our understanding of one’s *behavioral pattern*. As expressed by Johnston, Larana and Gusfield (1994, 11), “An understanding of who one is, in all its complexity, is fundamental to the formulation of goals, plans, assessments, accounts, and attributions that constitute making one’s daily way.” Furthermore, in Hite’s (2000) study of the 1960s generation of Chilean left-wing leaders, she also finds that the conceptualization of individual political identity is a

³⁴. In terms of the importance of identity in social sciences, Abdelal et al. (2001, 2-3) summarize 14 current or potential applications of identity analysis. It is notable that some of their perspectives are adopted in the following discussion in this section. However, since my major concern in this study is the relationship between identity and collective action, most of the examples are limited to this specific dimension of identity studies.

powerful explanatory framework for understanding the formulation and reformulation of political thinking and action. In particular, the behavioral pattern of these Chilean left-wing leaders, especially the way they justified their contribution to society and the political programs of which they were a part, was deeply influenced by their types of political identity.

(2.2.1.c) Third, the understanding of collective identity held by a specific group of people can account for the unexpected empirical frequency of *collective action*. As a matter of fact, many of the major issues in a conflict are linked directly to identity because they explicitly threaten it. Thus, running through conflicts are issues of identity --- defining, protecting, and strengthening the boundaries of identity. Identity is a common theme in explanations of conflict, and it is also a consistent theme in empirical studies (Searle-White 2001, 49).

In the field of social movements, many scholars, especially those affiliated with new social movement theory, have pointed out that collective behavior is motivated by the self-esteem derived from acting in ways consistent with one's self-identity or by the desire to maximize status markers from an identity group (e.g., Brewer and Silver 2000; Crane 1994; Grant and Brown 1995; Jasper 1998; Pieratt 1998). Moreover, knowledge of the distribution of identity-intensity may allow researchers to predict when social movements will reach a take-off or tipping point and when they may fizzle out (e.g. M. Bernstein 1997; Friedman and McAdam 1992; Gecas 2000; Gould 1995).

(2.2.1.d) Fourth, the notion of identity can also account for variation in the revolutionary potential among classes in a society, as part of an explanation for *macro-historical change*. For example, based upon empirical studies, historians

gradually realized that the values inherent in the moral community of the working class, such as accepted notions of dignity and honor, as well as the degree to which these conflict with prevailing elite values, are very important in our explanation of the degree of class conflict in a society (e.g., Bonnell 1980; Siegelbaum, and Suny 1994).

(2.2.1.e) Finally, in terms of the recently fashionable notions of “*contentious politics*,” the concept of identity also plays a critical role in accounting for outcomes of these events. “Contentious politics” was a concept proposed by Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly in an influential paper in 1996 (see McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 1996). Their basic argument is that different forms of “contentious politics,” such as social movements, revolutions, ethnic mobilization, nationalism, and democratization, are usually treated as the subject of different scholarly “sub-fields,” though they do have a number of causal properties in common. Accordingly, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly propose to put “contentious politics” into a broader conceptual framework for synthesizing growing empirical studies in this interdisciplinary field.³⁵

In their new book on this topic, they treat issues of “identity” as a critical concept in the analysis of contentious politics for two profound reasons: “first, because they become matters of intense disputes among participants; second, because the answer to the question of identity affects the very explanation of contentious political processes in general” (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001, 55-6).

³⁵. Though the notion of “contentious politics” is still new and more elaboration is needed to test the validity of this conceptual framework, there are already a few works adopting this “new” perspective to conduct empirical studies. See Hanagan, Moch, and Brake (1998) and Meyer and Tarrow (1998).

2.2.2 The Development and Problem of Identity Studies

Identity and cognate terms in other languages have a long history as jargon in Western philosophy, from the ancient Greeks through contemporary analytical philosophy. Many philosophers tend to define identity as a logical equation between two distinct entries, as in “A is identical to B.” Martin Heidegger, based upon but not completely consistent with the aforementioned lexical definition of identity, sees identity as deriving from the “Being” of things, a fundamental characteristic of which is unity within itself. As a matter of fact, widespread vernacular, psychological, as well as sociological use of “identity” is of much more recent vintage (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 2; Dittmer and Kim 1993b, 3).

The introduction of identity into social analysis and its initial diffusion in the social sciences and public discourse actually occurred in the United States in the second half of the 1950s. The serial works by Erik H. Erikson (e.g., Erikson 1956, 1958, 1980,³⁶ 1993a³⁷), a prominent developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst, are thought to be the most important and best-known applications of the notion of identity.³⁸

³⁶. Erikson’s book, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (1980), was originally published in 1959 in the form of a journal article (i.e., *Psychological Issues*).

³⁷. Erikson’s book, *Childhood and Society* (1993), was first published in 1950.

³⁸. Most of the researchers acknowledge the close relationship between the popularization of the concept “identity” and Erikson’s serial works. However, Gleason (1983, 915-8) notes that the diffusion of this concept can also be attributed to some other works as well, in addition to Erikson’s publications. First of all, through Gordon Allport’s influential book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), works in the field of ethnicity also pay a lot of attention on the notion of identity. Second, role theory and reference group theory in the sociological field, such as works by Nelson Foote or Robert Merton, also have something to do with the popularization of this concept. The last line of literature contributing to the dispersion of this concept is located within the field of symbolic interaction. Anselm Strauss’s *Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity* (1959) and Erving Goffman’s *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1986, originally published in 1963) are two examples following this research tradition.

I shall spend more on Erikson’s concept of identity in the next chapter.

By the 1970s, the concept of identity used in this sense had acquired a highly successful life of its own in ordinary language and many social science disciplines, especially sociology. Under the influence of postmodernism and debates over multiculturalism, the late 1980s and 1990s found historians, anthropologists, and most of all humanities scholars relying ever more heavily on “identity” as they explored the cultural politics of race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, citizenship, among other social categories.³⁹ Esterberg (1997, 14) concludes the matter this way: “Perhaps no term has been used so much in recent year or become so popular --- both in academic and in lay worlds --- as identity.”

³⁹. The literature on identity has proliferated to the degree that it is impossible for any individual researcher to absorb all the works in this field. In the following introduction, I can only present some of the literature I have encountered. For excellent review articles regarding the matter, see Cerulo (1997); Howard (2000); and Frable (1997).

As far as the works on identity in different academic disciplines are concerned, in the discipline of sociology, in addition to the research mentioned in previous footnote, see also Becker (1963); Calhoun (1994); Jenkins (1996); and McCall and Simmons (1978). In the field of social psychology, see Gecas and Burke (1995); Hewitt (1997); Hutnik (1991); Louw-Potgieter (1988); and Weigert (1983). In the discipline of psychology, see Adams, Gulotta, and Montemayor (1992); K. Gergen (1991); Hogg and Abrams (1988); and Josselson (1987, 1996). In the discipline of anthropology, see Carrithers, Collins, and Lukes (1985); Dominguez (1989); Eriksen (1993); Geertz (1973); Handler (1988); B. Morris (1994); and Warren (1978). In the archaeology, see Shennan (1989).

In the discipline of political science, see Hite (2000); Laitin (1986, 1998a); and Scott (1976, 1985). In the discipline of international relations, see Bloom (1990); Hopf (2002); Katzenstein (1996); Lapid and Kratochwil (1996); and Wendt (1994). In the discipline of philosophy, see Madell (1981); Moneta (1976); and Noonan (1980, 1989). In the discipline of history, see Ignatiev (1995) and Khalidi (1998). In the disciplines of literary criticism and cultural studies, see Appiah and Gates (1995); Corse (1997); Hall and du Gay (1996); Horton and Baumeister (1996); and Featherstone (1995).

As far as the works concerning different “types” of identity, for ethnic identity, see Alba (1990); Bernal and Knight (1993); Cornell and Hartmann (1998); Govers and Vermeulen (1997); Romanucci-Ross and De Vos (1995); and Waters (1990, 2001). For racial identity, see Dikotter (1997); Gurin and Epps (1975); Hauser and Kasendorf (1983); Helms (1990); and Wijeyesinghe and Jackson (2001). For national identity, see Boerner (1986); Csepeli (1997); Dittmer and Kim (1993a); Gillis (1994); Searle-White (2001); A. Smith (1991); and Wodak (1999).

For gender identity, see Block (1984); Christian (1994); Liebllich and Josselson (1994); Skevington and Baker (1989); and Whittier (1995). For sexual identity, see D'Augelli and Patterson (1995); DeCecco (1984); Esterberg (1997); Patterson and D'Augelli (1998); and Troiden (1988).

For a measure of the spread of “identity” in academic discourse, Fearon (1999, 1) charted the progress of the word “identity” in *Dissertation Abstracts* from 1981 to 1995. The number of dissertation abstracts containing the word “identity” almost tripled during this period, rising from 709 to 1,911. Inspired by Fearon’s idea, based upon Taiwan’s “Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts (*Quanguo Boshuoshi Lunwen Zixunwang* 全國博碩士論文資訊網),” I also conducted a similar frequency count of dissertations/theses in which “identity (*rentong* 認同)” appears in the titles or abstracts. The result is quite similar to the trend found by Fearon. For instance, in 1981, the number was 0; in 1990, the number was 62. However, since 1990, the number of counted dissertations/theses increased dramatically. In 1995, the number was 182; in 2000, the number was 603; and finally, in 2001, the total was 742. For the detailed numbers in this frequency count based on Taiwanese data, refer to Table 2.1.

(Table 2.1 about here)

However, tracing the proliferation of the concept “identity” in academic circles as well as in everyday life, this notion becomes, in the words of Robert Coles, “The purest of clichés” (Gillis 1994b, 3). After all, the concept of identity --- while adopted by psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and historians as their analytical tool --- inevitably covers a bewildering variety of phenomena. Accordingly, fierce battles over defining the term are erupting and there is virtually no consensus on how to define this concept among students of identity studies. Some scholars, under such circumstances, began to question the usefulness of this concept in academic discourse, taking the radical position that academia stop using this imprecise concept completely (e.g., Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Gleason 1983; Mackenzie 1978). For

Table 2.1
Frequency Count of the Word “Identity” in
“Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts” of Taiwan

Year	Frequency ^a
1980	0
1981	0
1982	0
1983	3
1984	22
1985	55
1986	18
1987	26
1988	35
1989	65
1990	62
1991	77
1992	84
1993	128
1994	117
1995	182
1996	189
1997	239
1998	322
1999	434
2000	603
2001	742
2002	32

Source: Compiled by author.

^a. Frequency count of dissertations/theses in which “identity (*rentong* 認同)” appears in the titles or abstracts. This search was conducted on December 26, 2002.

instance, Brubaker and Cooper (2000, 6) say that, “The term [of identity] is richly --- indeed for an analytical concept, hopelessly --- ambiguous.”

However, addressing this “undisciplined” problem, some scholars contend that we should not give up the concept. Rather, what the academicians should do is define the meaning and boundaries of this term precisely before conducting research (e.g., Abdelal et al. 2001; Fearon 1999). This is also the position I will take in this study. The following is the discussion of my definition of this term.

2.2.3 The Definition of Identity

So, what is identity, anyway? Morris Rosenberg has summarized at least ten different meanings of “identity” used by scholars, ranging from the sense of oneself as continuous, existing throughout time, to a sense of oneself as belonging to a group or having shared group membership. Some see identities as something essential, tangible, and real, inherent in the self; yet others see identities as shifting, constructed, a matter of creating meaning from social categories and coming to attach labels to oneself (quoted from Esterburg 1997, 14). However, according to Fearon (1999, 11), a simple answer to the question “what is identity?” would be this: It is how one answers the question “who are you?” Or, *my identity is how I define who I am*. When academic authors offer brief clarification of what they mean by the word, this simple definition is often the way they do it. We can see following definitions posed by scholars from different disciplines:

[Identity is] people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others. (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 2)

Identity generally refers to who or what one is. (Stryker et al. 2000, 93)

[W]e define identity simply as our sense of who we are, ... (Searle-White 2001, 47)

The individual's identity is "who she is." (Frueh 1999, 87)

[Identity refers to] the various meanings attached to oneself by self and others. (Gecas and Burke 1995, 42)

The key question with regard to identity is "Who am I?" (Guibernau 1996, 72)

Identity is a coherent sense of self. It depends upon the awareness that one's endeavors and one's life make sense, that they are meaningful in the context in which life is lived. It depends also upon stable values, and upon the conviction that one's actions and values are harmoniously related. It is a sense of wholeness, of integration, of knowing what is right and what is wrong and of being able to choose. (Wheelis 1958, 19)

The issue of "who I am" looks like an easy question instinctively. However, it is actually not a simple question at all. Take myself as an example, I have different answers to this question in different situations. Sometimes, I would probably say "I am a Ph.D. student," while other times I would describe myself as "a student of social movements." In some contexts, I would say "I am a Taiwanese," while in other contexts, I would probably call myself "a foreign student studying in the United States." In some situations, I would state that "I am a father," whereas in other situations, I would acknowledge that "I am a son." In some places, I would say that "I am a scholar specializing in the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement," while in some other places, I would say that "I am a music lover."

Even though we exclude various social roles and personal habits and only consider

someone's "residences," the issue of "who one is" is still a complicated question. Take the example of myself again, as far as my geographical affiliations are concerned, I still have multiple roles. At the conceptual level, I am "The Hamlet Person,"⁴⁰ "Jamesville Person,"⁴¹ "Person of Zip Code 13078,"⁴² "Syracusan,"⁴³ "Person of New York State," "East Coast Person of U.S.," "Person Residing in the U.S.," "Person residing in North America," "Person Residing in the Americas," "Person of the Earth," "Person of the Solar System," and "Person of the Universe." Some points deserve our future discussion for this long list.

First of all, it is much too difficult a task --- if not impossible --- to make a comprehensive list of my geographical affiliations. In addition to the aforementioned affiliations, I can still describes myself as "Person of the Front Section of The Hamlet,"⁴⁴ "Person of Finger Lake Area,"⁴⁵ "Person of Upstate New York,"⁴⁶ "Person of North Hemisphere," "Person of the Galaxy," and etc. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for

⁴⁰. The community I am residing now is called "The Hamlet."

⁴¹. Jamesville, which is near the City of Syracuse, is the town I am residing at this moment.

⁴². Though this answer sounds awkward, it happens quite often in the everyday life. In many occasions, the only question asked by cashier at the store is the number of your zip code.

⁴³. Though my "real" residence is not located in the City of Syracuse, in terms of the degree of attachment, I identify myself as "Syracusan" much more than as "People of Jamesville." The rationale is twofold. On the one hand, I am a student of Syracuse University. On the other hand, Syracuse, the biggest city around this region, can be seen as the center of this metropolitan area, where Jamesville is a part of it.

⁴⁴. The Hamlet, the community I am residing now, can further be divided into two sections. I live in the front section.

⁴⁵. Finger Lake Area refers to several counties in central New York, due to the existence of numerous finger-shaped lakes in this area. Onondaga County, where Syracuse is located, is part of the Finger Lake Area.

⁴⁶. Upstate New York refers to all counties within New York State except those counties comprising New York City, since New York City is located in the very bottom of New York State. Basically, this term reflects the "ethnocentrism" possessed by the residents of New York City, who assume that everywhere in New York State is a country-like place except New York City.

us to complete this task at all, since there are unlimited possible ways to describe my geographically affiliations theoretically.

Second, though the list is never comprehensive in nature, many affiliations are actually meaningless in our everyday life. For instance, the so-called “Person of the Front Section of The Hamlet,” though a “real” existence physically, is almost meaningless psychologically, since nobody in our community will take the division between front section and back section as a meaningful “cleavage.” Furthermore, given that no alien has emerged yet, the label “Person of the Earth” is a nonsense term to most.

Third, in terms of geographical affiliations with areas smaller than New York State, I describe myself as a “Person of xxx” directly. Furthermore, as far as geographical affiliations larger than the Earth, I also call myself in the same way as a “Person of xxx.” However, for areas larger than New York State but smaller than the Earth, I label myself as a “Person residing in xxx.” This difference, which can be explained through the dominance of “nation-state” in the process of shaping one’s identity (see later discussion in this chapter), has serious implications. On the one hand, despite the fact that I am residing in the United States now, I am a foreign student with a Taiwanese passport. Since I do not have the U.S. passport, I cannot claim that I am American in any legal sense. Moreover, neither do I identify with the United States of America in terms of my national identity because I see myself as a Taiwanese, rather than as an American, psychologically.

However, as far as areas smaller than New York State are concerned, I have much more psychological attachment to them since I have been living in Syracuse for a long time. I do not feel uncomfortable to identify myself as a “Syracusan” or “Person of Zip

Code 13078.” Furthermore, I can also accept the term “Person of the Earth” because I identify myself as a Taiwanese as well as an Asian, and both terms are harmonious with the notion of “Person of the Earth.” Nevertheless, I do not see myself as a “Person of North America” or a “People of the Americas,” though the identification with both regions --- different from the region of “The United States” --- does not require one to hold a passport issued by authorities either.⁴⁷

2.2.4 Three Types of Identity: Individual Identity, Collective Identity, and Social Identity

Based upon my own example, it is apparent that there are too many ways that a person might define who he or she is. Accordingly, when we say that my identity is “who I am,” we mean “*who I really am*,” in some sort of essential or fundamental way (Fearon 1999, 20). To explore the issue, I shall talk about three types of identity --- personal identity, collective identity, and social identity --- in the following discussion.

As a matter of fact, it is quite difficult to classify the concept of “identity,” no matter from which perspective we choose to view it. My three-type classification is partially based upon Handler’s (1994, 28) scheme. However, Handler only uses a short paragraph to describe the matter (precisely, his major concern is “three aspects of human experience” as far as the notion of “identity” is concerned), and he does not adopt specific labels for these three “aspects of human experiences.” Accordingly, to some extent, my three-type scheme is my own synthesis of Handler’s idea as well as other

⁴⁷. In reality, there exists no such passport.

scholars' proposals about the classification of the notion of "identity"⁴⁸ (see Table 2.2 for a summary of proposed three types of identity).

(Table 2.2 about here)

(2.2.4.a) First of all, we can label the first type of identity "*personal identity*," which refers to more personal cognitive elements such as bodily attributes, ways of relating to others, intellectual concerns, feelings of competence and personal tastes. The notion of personal identity emphasizes the construction of a unique, integrated sense of self and is often associated with the works of developmental psychologists, clinical psychologists and psychoanalysts.⁴⁹

Fearon (1999, 21) uses an example to demonstrate the "uniqueness" of personal identity. For instance, consider a person who adopts an idiosyncratic (or just personal) style of dress --- say, he wears a brightly colored bow tie almost everyday. After many years of purple-bow-tie-wearing, the person might well say that this was part of his identity. "Especially in popular discourse, the 'question of identity' is frequently

⁴⁸. In the existing literature on the classification of "identity," in addition to Hander's not-so-famous scheme, we can still find some other classification systems proposed by scholars. One of the most often-cited schemes is the one based upon so-called "social identity theory" (e.g., Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986), which divides the concept of identity into two types: "personal identity" and "social identity" (e.g., Dolma 2001, 16; Franke 1997, 49; Gecas 2000, 105; Kuang-chun Li 1997, 14; Petersen 1995, 32). Fearon (1999) also classifies the concept of identity into "personal identity" and "social identity," though his rationale is not based on "social identity theory."

Moreover, we can still find some other classification systems. For instance, while Mennell (1994, 175) classifies identity into two types: "self identity" and "collective identity," Berezin (2001, 85) divides identity into "private identity" and "public identity." Whilst focusing on identities relevant to social movements, Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield (1994, 10-20) contend the existence of three dimensions of identity: "individual identity," "collective identity," and "public identity." Last but no least, Rothblatt (1994, 505) proposes a three-type scheme of identity: "individual identity," "group identity," and "national identity."

⁴⁹. In addition to the term "personal identity" (e.g., Kaplan and Liu 2000; Reid and Deaux 1996), other terms referring to the similar dimension of identity include, at least, "self identity" (e.g., Lapsley and Power 1988; Marcia et al. 1993) and "ego identity" (e.g., Lapsley and Power 1988; Marcia et al. 1993).

Table 2.2
A Summary of Proposed Three Types of Identity

Types	Definition	Concerned scholar	Other Similar Terms
Personal identity	The notion of personal identity refers to more personal cognitive elements such as bodily attributes, ways of relating to others, intellectual concerns, feelings of competence and personal tastes.	*Developmental psychologists *Clinical psychologists *Psychoanalysts	*Self identity *Ego identity
Collective identity	The notion of collective identity is a logical corollary to the concept of personal identity: just as the self is defined in terms of its relationship to other selves, the group is defined in terms of its relationship to other groups. In other words, collective identity is imagined to be individuated somewhat as human persons are imagined to be discrete one from another.	*Sociologists *Political scientists *Historians *Anthropologists	
Social identity	The notion of social identity refers to the ways in which human persons are imagined to assimilate elements of collective identity into their unique personal identity.	*Social psychologist	*Role identity *Group identity

Source: Made by author

interpreted to be a question about personal style --- the way a person distinguishes himself or herself by means of consciously chosen manners of dress, speech, cultural likes and dislikes, and so on” (Fearon 1999, 21).

Some scholars contend that the term “personal identity” is inherently contradictory since “all identities are social in that they are all products of social and symbolic processes” (Gecas 2000: 105). However, following the argument of social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986), I believe, at least conceptually, there is some merit to keeping the term “personal identity” while discussing identity-related phenomena. “Identity” involves both commonality and differentiation. “Personal identity” is more likely to emphasize idiosyncratic or unique characteristics, such as personal name, unique experiences, or biographies.

(2.2.4.b) Second, identity related to collectivities or groups can be called “*collective identity*.” The notion of collective identity is a logical corollary to the concept of personal identity: just as the self is defined in terms of its relationship to other selves, the group is defined in terms of its relationship to other groups. In other words, collective identity is imagined to be individuated somewhat as human persons are imagined to be discrete one from another. As pointed out by Owens and Aronson (2000, 195), “collective identity is a distinctively group-level concept referring to how a group identifies itself. Consequently, CI [collective identity] is derived from the group’s own self-identification.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰. Nonetheless, as contended by Dittmer and Kim (1993b, 5) in their discussion of the notion of “national identity,” it would be misleading to draw a direct analogy between personal identity and collective identity, due to the danger of anthropomorphizing these collective-identity-related entries. But, they also acknowledge that the concept of “national identity” should be acceptable at least at the conceptual level.

The notion of “collective identity” is associated with the works of sociologists, political scientists, historians, and anthropologists in most cases. Take the study of social movements as an example, though there is no consensual definition of collective identity in the field, examination of most conceptualizations suggest that its essence resides in “a shared sense of ‘one-ness’ or ‘we-ness’ among those individuals who compose the collectivity” (Snow and McAdam 2000, 42).⁵¹

Then, what is the concrete object (e.g., family, community, nation, and etc.) referred to by this “collectivity,” anyway? To students of social movements, this collectivity may be refer to a specific social movement organization (e.g., the National Organization for Women), or a specific social movement industry (e.g., the feminist movement). However, in contexts rather than social movements, the object of this collectivity could be understood as a sort of “social category,” a group of people designated by a label (or labels) that is commonly used either by the people designated, others, or both (Fearon 1999, 10). In this sense, all types of social categories --- no matter whether they are gender, class, religion, race, ethnic groups, nation, or sexual orientation --- could be seen as the object referred to by the notion of collective identity.

(2.2.b.c) Finally, we can label the relationship between personal identity and collective identity as “*social identity*,” which refers to the ways in which human persons are imagined to assimilate elements of collective identity into their unique personal identity. The notion of social identity is characteristic of social psychological

⁵¹. Collective identity is one of the hottest issues among students of social movements in the past fifteen years. For literature reviews about the conceptual history of the notion of collective identity in the field of social movements, see Polletta and Jasper (2001). For representative works in this regard, see Friedman and McAdam (1992); Gamson (1992b); Melucci (1989, 1995); Simon et al. (1998); V. Taylor (1989); and Taylor and Whittier (1992).

approaches emphasizing the multiplicity of identity that human persons possess by virtue of their group membership and the value attached to that membership (e.g., Burke 1996; Jenkins 1996; Thoits and Virshup 1995).⁵²

In other words, while collective identity is a collective belief, social identity is an individual belief. This is why some authors use the clumsy term “individuated social identity” to describe this type of identity (e.g., Dolma 2001, 19).

2.3 The Concept of Nation

2.3.1 The Fundamental Problem of Studying Nation and Nationalism

Many attempts have been made to define nations, and none have been successful. (Seton-Watson 1977, 3)

Nationalism is a political force which has been more powerful in shaping world history over the last two centuries than any other ideas like freedom or democracy. In the early twentieth century, before the outbreak of World War I, British publicist Norman Angell made the following striking statement, “Political nationalism has become for the European of our age, the most important thing is the world, more important than life itself” (quoted from Snyder 1990, vii).⁵³

However, there is continuous debate on the meaning and content and over the historical specificity of the terms “nation” and “nationalism.” Nationalism is a political

⁵². As far as “social identity” is concerned, some scholars adopt other relevant terms such as “role identity” (e.g., Stryker 1980) and “group identity” (e.g., Klandermans and de Weerd 2000; Kelly 1993) to refer to the very similar types of identity.

⁵³. Nonetheless, it is interesting that, as Birch (1993, 16) wittily says, if “asked to name the political doctrines that have reshaped the world, most people in the west would probably name liberalism, democracy, and socialism. In practice, however, only a minority of political regimes are liberal, democratic or socialist, while the whole world is now politically organized on nationalist principles.”

doctrine of self-determination; that much is agreed. Yet the definition of the group which is entitled to self-determination and the conditions under which these demands are structured is disputed. While attempting to define this term, Alter (1994: 1) directly states that “[Nationalism] is one of the most ambiguous concepts in the present-day vocabulary of political and analytical thought.” Kecmanovic (1996, 15) also claims that “There are no two authors, whether sociologists, historians, political scientists, or psychologists, who define nationalism in the same way.”⁵⁴

A number of reasons underlie the problem of reaching a consensus about the definition of nationalism as well as nation.

(2.3.1.a) The first problem, of course, involves the *political implications* of these terms (e.g., McKim and McMahan 1997, 156-7; A. Smith 1998, 223). “The theoretical problem,” says Gellner (1965: 151), “is to separate the quite spurious ‘national’ and ‘natural’ justification and explanations of nationalism, from the genuine, time- and context-bound roots of it.” In a similar fashion, Keating also notes that “We must distinguish between theories of nationalism, which examine nationalist *behavior* and its consequences; and on the other hand, nationalist *doctrine*, or what nationalists say about themselves and about politics” (1996, 1; emphasis original).

Keeping the reminder from both Gellner and Keating in mind, we still face the reality that the relevance of intellectual practice to political issues about nation and nationalism is almost inescapable. As contended by James (1996, 193), first, it is

⁵⁴. While facing the task of defining the terms, almost every student of nation and nationalism will express the similar feeling stating that this is in fact a tough job. In addition to Alter and Kecmanovic, we can still find this sort of statement from works like Canovan (1996, 50); Griffiths (1993, 4); Guibernau (1999, 13); J. Hall (1995, 8); A. Smith (2001, 10); and Snyder (1990, x). Walker Connor (1994, 90) even directly claims that this field is under the situation of “terminological chaos.”

integral to any reflexive study of the nation and its theorizers. Theorists of the nation are by definition engaged in intellectual practice, since writing about nation-related phenomena apparently bears back upon the lived reality of specific groups of people. Second, it is relevant because intellectuals and the intellectually trained have been at the forefront of both oppositional nationalist movements and the official nationalisms of the old and new empires and states. Third, intellectual training, via state-education systems, became after the late nineteenth century one of the central reproducers of a form of culture which was both inseparable from the practical and imagined lives of national citizens as well as indispensable to their administration by the centralized state.

(2.3.1.b) Second, as far as the empirical phenomena of nation as well as nationalism are concerned, there exists the problem of *complexity* and *multiformity*. As a matter of fact, there are so many different forms and “national” variations in space and time that are accommodated under the one roof entitled “nationalism.” Thus Breton separatism, pan-Arab nationalism and the declarations of Chinese students protesters that they were willing to die for the future of China, just to give several examples, may easily be labeled under the same category of nationalism, although each arose in different historical trajectories and from different circumstances. As a result, Alter aptly writes as follows:

It is clear that nationalism, so convenient a label and justification for many developments, conceals within itself extreme opposites and contradictions. It can mean emancipation, and it can mean oppression: nationalism, it sees, is a repository of dangers as well as opportunities. Only with reference to a concrete historical context can we say what the term actually does or should signify. An initial conclusion could run the term like this: nationalism does not exist as such, but a multitude of manifestations of nationalism do. In other words, it is more appropriate to speak of *nationalisms* in the plural than of *nationalism* in the singular. (Alter 1994, 2,

emphasis original)

Calhoun also expresses a similar opinion regarding the plethora of nation-related-phenomena in the following way:

At the level of practical activity, there are many diverse nationalisms; the idea of nation is integral to many different aspects of how we understand the world, to sharply contrasting state policies, and to widely varying social movements. Explanations of each case must draw on at least partially different variables, rooted in specific histories and other causal factors such as the politics of state elites or the dynamics of social movements. (Calhoun 1997, 21)

(2.3.1.c) Third, there is the problem of *interdisciplinarity* for studying nations and nationalism, since this subject cannot be confined to a single disciplinary perspective. Historians long dominated the field, but lately they have been joined by anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, social psychologists, students of linguistics, international relations scholars, and many others.

In fact, Anthony D. Smith, one of the most significant as well as productive contemporary scholars in the field of nation and nationalism, contends that the phenomena of nation and nationalism engage questions about “the origins and formation of *ethnies*, the conditions of ethnocentrism, the basis of ethnic community, as well as the nature and significance of ethnic identity; the origins and formation of nations, the nature and significance of national identity, the social, cultural and political bases of nations and the modernity or otherwise of nations; the (gendered, class and cultural) character of nationalist ideologies and movements, their role in forging nations and national identities, and the contribution of nationalist intellectuals and others; and finally, the consequences for society and culture of a world of national states, the geopolitical

impact of nations and nationalism, and the chances of creating an orderly community of states” (A. Smith 1998, 222).

In a similar fashion, Hobsbawm (1992, 10) also says, “Nations and their associated phenomena must therefore be analysed in terms of political, technical, administrative, economic and other conditions and requirements.” Under the circumstance, the sheer variety of the components of nation-related phenomena has made it impossible for scholars of any one discipline to study more than a few aspects and examples of the subject.

(2.3.1.d) Finally, there are also many *methodological difficulties* associated with the study of concepts like nation and nationalism when trying to locate them into a cause-and-effect model. For example, the analysis of the genesis of nationalism is confounded by the fact that nationalism is at once the effect and cause of some occurrences. Coakley appropriately notes that “The subtlety of nationalism is such that cause-and-effect relationships are extremely difficult to determine; nationalism itself is amorphous and has a causal influence on other social phenomena as well as being their effect” (quoted from Kecmanovic 1996, 211).

So, what is a nation, anyway?⁵⁵ A nation is group of a certain kind, of course.

⁵⁵. Some scholars even challenge the very notion of the term “nation” itself. They go further to probe the appropriateness of this kind of question, since question like “what is a nation” presuppose the very existence of the entity that is to be defined. “The question itself,” writes Brubaker (1996, 14), “reflects the realist, substantialist belief that ‘a nation’ is a real entity of some kind, though perhaps one that is elusive and difficult to define.” Accordingly, “We should not ask ‘what is a nation’ but rather: how is nationhood as a political and cultural form institutionalized within and among states” (Brubaker 1996, 16)?

At least to myself, I think this kind of position is too radical. As a matter of fact, Brubaker’s statement --- “nation” is an institutionalized form produced by political and cultural discourse --- can also be applied to other social institutions (e.g., family, school, state, and etc.) as well. Nevertheless, nation is still different from family, school, and state in many regards. We cannot stop our exploration here and claim

But what kind of group? I shall try to answer this critical question in the next section.

2.3.2 Defining Nation from Objective Characteristics

Wherever a *separate language* is found, there a *separate nation* exists.
(Fichte 1922, 215; emphasis added)

The idea of the nation as a specific community striving for political autonomy was derived from the eighteenth-century writings of Johan Gottfried Herder (1744 - 1803) on the distinctiveness of linguistic and cultural groups (e.g., Herder 1969, 1992; Ergang 1966). This notion was expanded by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762 - 1814) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who argued that each distinctive language group constituted a separate nation and as such should have and control its own life (Fichte 1922). In addition to language, many succeeding writers (e.g., Geertz 1963; Isaacs 1975; A. Smith 1986; Stalin 1994) have proposed some other criteria about what makes for nationhood: whether it is common territory, bloodlines, ethnicity, religion, or common belief.

Harold Isaacs is one of the significant proponents affiliated with this line of thesis. In his book entitled *Idols of the Tribe* (1975), Isaacs treats ethnic and national identity as a form of what he calls “basic group identity.” This, he writes, “consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place” (1975, 38). Isaacs goes on to elaborate eight elements

that nation is a sort of construction. Rather, we should ask what kind of characteristics make “nation” different from other types of constructed social institutions (see later discussion).

that directly contribute to a person's basic group identity: the physical body (including size, shape, skin color, and so on); a person's name (both individual and family); the history and origins of the group one is born into; one's nationality or other group affiliation; the language one first learns to speak; the religion one is born into; the culture one is born into; and the geography and topography of the place of birth (Isaacs, 1975).

In a similar fashion, Stalin also presents the characteristic features of a nation as follows:

A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture. (Stalin 1994, 20, emphasis original)⁵⁶

Some scholars (e.g., Canovan 1996; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1992; Renan 1990) deny that any such objective criteria are sufficient, or even necessary, to define nationhood. For instance, Hobsbawm has neatly shown the inadequacy of any of the objective criteria if seen as definite. Taking language as an example, he contends that at the moment of Italian unification in 1860 only 2.5 percent of Italians spoke Italian. Besides, while the French Revolution occurred in 1789, only 50 percent of French people spoke French (Hobsbawm 1992, 60-1). In other words, national languages are more often the consequence of nationalistic efforts than their foundation.⁵⁷ Furthermore, it should also keep in mind that all these so-called "objective" criteria used for identifying

⁵⁶. The original was written in 1912.

⁵⁷. "National languages," says Hobsbawm (1992, 54), "are therefore almost always semi-artificial constructs and occasionally, like modern Hebrew, virtually invented." As a matter of fact, "They are the opposite of what nationalist mythology supposes them to be, namely the primordial foundations of national culture and the matrices of the national mind" (Hobsbawm 1992, 54).

nation --- language, ethnicity or whatever --- are themselves fuzzy, shifting and ambiguous. We can see Gellner's observation regarding the matter in the following way:

Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: *that* is a reality. (Gellner 1983, 48-9, emphasis original)

2.3.3 Defining Nation from Subjective Consciousness

[A] nation exists when an active and fairly numerous section of its members are convinced that it exists. No external objective characteristics, but *subjective conviction* is the decisive factor. (Seton-Watson 1966, 5; emphasis added)

So, what is a nation, again? Most modern literature on nation and nationalism agrees that what makes a set of people a nation is not anything as objective as shared characteristics. Rather, the crucial factor is consciousness. Accordingly, Hobsbawm (1992, 8) defines a nation as "any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a 'nation.'" Seton-Watson (1977, 5) also provides a very similar formula, "A nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one." Based upon this line of argument, Gellner (1983, 48-9) not only expresses that struggle comes first and that out of struggle a nation may be created, but also contends that a nation must be composed of people who recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. He says,

... nations are the artifacts of men's conviction and loyalties and solidarities. ... It is their recognition of each other as fellows ... which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes ... which separate that category from non-members. (Gellner 1983, 7)

In fact, long before the contemporary scholars show us the need for nations to be consciously created, this “subjective” line of analysis has appeared in the writings of classical writers. For instance, Weber (1978, 921-6) emphasizes the inter-subjective aspect of nationhood, observing that objective characteristics of community do not identify a nation, for the concept belongs in the “sphere of values.” The term nation suggests in the first instance that “it is proper to expect from certain groups a specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups” (Weber 1978, 922).

Renan (1990) also contended as early as 1882 that none of the conditions of common geography or territory, language, race or religion meet the critical test of being either necessary or sufficient for the existence of a nation. Rather, he argued, a nation consists of two integrated components, including a common possession of a rich heritage of memories of the past and a desire to live together and pass on the heritage. Accordingly, it is critical to explore the solidarity sustained by a distinctive historical consciousness, since the nation should be understood as a form of morality.

2.3.4 The Definition of Nation

In this section, I shall attempt to synthesize both the objective and subjective approaches and propose my definition of nation in this study. In fact, despite the significance of subjective elements shown in previous section, defining nation solely in terms of them still seems partial and incomplete. Collective solidarity can exist in many

sorts of social groupings, from families to volunteer associations to business corporations. How can we differentiate nation from other kinds of social groupings? What additional characteristics should also be present for us to call a population with collective solidarity a nation? Subjective elements are minimal conditions for calling a population a nation, but far from a definition.

To me, the solution to the problem is to recognize that the subjective connection is usually rooted in objective ones. Members of nations do not see themselves as united by their collective solidarity. Rather, they always cite some other things that unite them --- a common culture, for example, or common ancestors, a common history, shared political institutions, or attachment to a particular territory.

We can borrow Anderson's (1991) famous notion of "imagined community" to elaborate the issue. To him, the nation is an artifact, an "imagined political community." However, rather than thinking of it as fabricated, one should understand national distinctiveness in terms of its style of imagination and the institutions that make that possible. Pre-eminent among the latter are "print-capitalism" and new genres of newspaper and novel that portray the nation as a sociological community moving along "homogeneous, empty time." He writes:

[A]ll communities larger than primordial village of fact-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity-genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. (Anderson 1991, 6)

Aside from style, there still exist other ways of distinguishing communities, of course, such as their scale, extent of administrative organization, degree of internal equality, and so forth. As students of nation and nationalism, our task is indeed to get

some grasp of the distinctive form of “imaging” collective solidarity that is associated with nationalism. Calhoun provides the following list of features, which seem to serve as the foundation for the communal community to be imagined as a nation, in greater or lesser degree:

1. Boundaries, of territory, population, or both.
2. Indivisibility --- the notion that the nation is an integral unit.
3. Sovereignty, or at least the aspiration to sovereignty, and thus formal equality with other nations, usually as an autonomous and putative self-sufficient status.
4. An “ascending” notion of legitimacy --- i.e., the idea that government is just only when supported by popular will or at least when it serves the interests of “the people” or “the nation.”
5. Popular participation in collective affairs --- a population mobilized on the basis of national membership (whether for war or civic activities).
6. Direct membership, in which each individual is understood to be immediately a part of the nation and in that respect categorically equivalent to other members.
7. Culture, including some combination of language, shared beliefs and values, habitual practices.
8. Temporal depth --- a notion of the nation as such existing through time, including past and future generations, and having a history.
9. Common descent or racial characteristics.
10. Special history or even scared relations to a certain territory (Calhoun 1997, 4 -5).⁵⁸

However, Calhoun (1997, 5) reminds us that these features are the “rhetoric” of nation, claims that are commonly made in describing nations. Nations cannot be defined effectively by empirical measures of whether they are actually able to achieve

⁵⁸. Of course, the list is not the “final” list at all. We can still add some other elements, if we want. “There is no perfect list; we are identifying a common pattern, not a precise definition of nation. The

sovereignty, to maintain integrity by defending themselves against internal splits, or to enforce sharp boundaries, just to give several examples. Rather, nations are constituted largely by the claims, which are normative as well as descriptive, themselves. While each of these features may be sufficient to ground a sense of nationhood, none is absolutely necessary.⁵⁹ Different people believe that their claims to be a nation are rooted in different sorts of facts. As the researcher, we can look at all of these claims and see that the essential thread uniting them is simply the belief about group membership and not the specific basis on which this or that group rests that belief (see Figure 2.1). Accordingly, in this study, following Kellas's suggestion, I shall define the term "nation" as follows:

(Figure 2.1 about here)

[A nation is defined as] a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, and common ancestry. Nations have "*objective*" characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent, and "*subjective*" characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. (Kellas 1991, 2; emphasis added)

2.4 The Concept of National Identity

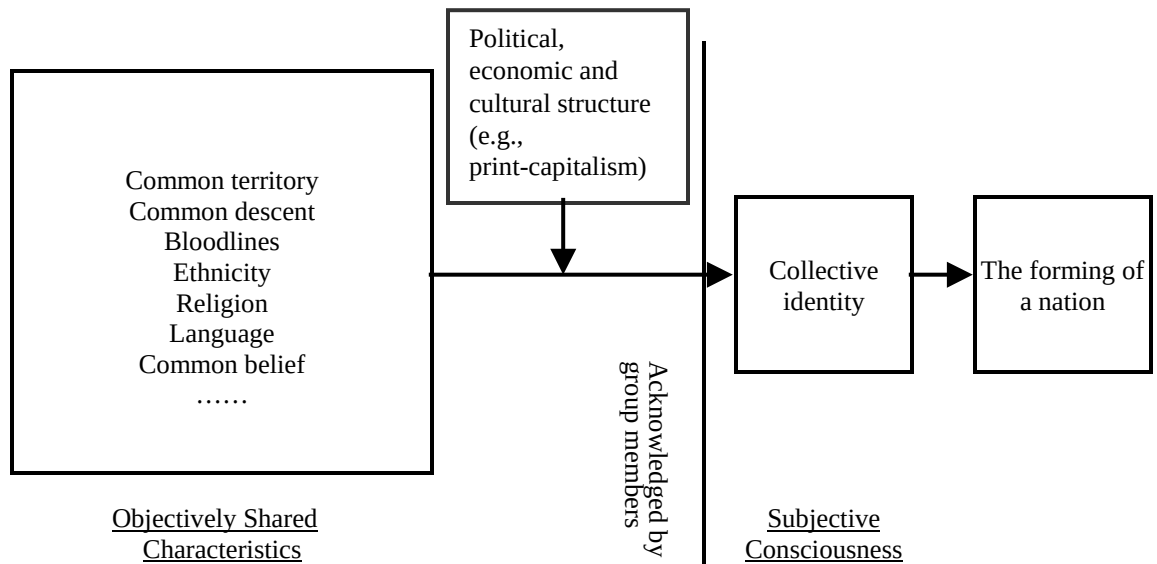
2.4.1 The Definition of National Identity

Based upon the discussion on "identity" and "nation" in the previous sections, one

points listed can help us to develop an 'ideal type,' but this is an aid to conceptualization, not an operational definition or an empirically testable description" (Calhoun 1997, 5).

⁵⁹. In this respect, the observation that as a matter of fact most nation-states in the world are not "pure nations" misses the point. In fact, the nation-state is itself an ideological construction, the product of nationalist doctrine.

Figure 2.1
A Synthesized Definition of Nation



Source: Adapted from Shih (1998c, 152)

of the simplest ways to define the term “national identity” is to refer to it as the interaction between the individual and a specific type of collectivity --- nation or nation-state. If we claim that the major concern of the concept of “identity” is the question about “how I define who I am,” then the significant consideration of the concept of national identity should be “*how I define my national affiliation.*”

Following my three-type classification system mentioned in Section 2.4 of this chapter, the concept of national identity, accordingly, can be treated as “collective identity” and “social identity” at the same time. In other words, depending on the perspective from which one is approaching this concept, at the conceptual level, we can

see national identity as a kind of “collective identity,” the identity of a specific collectivity called a nation; or we can understand national identity as a kind of “social identity,” the individual identity relevant to one’s imagination toward his or her relationship with a collectivity called the nation.

(2.4.1.a) On the one hand, we can define “national identity” from the perspective of “collective identity.” As a matter of fact, most scholars of nationalism seem to adopt this way to define national identity in their works. We can see this kind of examples as follows:

Nationalist ideology constructs not only nations but a content to nations --- specific values, characteristics, political and social attitudes --- that are held to be intrinsic to the nation. This content is the national identity. (Finlayson 1996, 11)

National identity in its distinctive modern sense is, therefore, an identity which derives from membership in a people, the fundamental characteristic of which is that it is defined as a *nation*. (Greenfeld 1992, 7; emphasis original)

In this sense, national identity is something more than a collection of individuals. As shown in previous section, nations require some level of subjective consciousness, a shared system of values over-riding other considerations when choices have to be made. We can label this kind of subjective consciousness as “national identity,” an identity of the collectivity called “nation.”

(2.4.1.b) On the other hand, we can also define “national identity” from the perspective of “social identity.” It refers to the subjective experience of the perception of shared identity that makes up the nation, a product resulting from the individual’s internalization of the aforementioned national identity at the collective level. Bloom’s

definition can be seen as a representative example in this regard:

National identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols --- have internalized the symbols of the nation --- so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of national identity. (Bloom 1990, 52)

In fact, the two levels of analysis regarding national identity, the collective and the individual, are often confused and need to be kept distinct. A. Smith provides a comprehensive definition for the concept of national identity covering both levels of analysis:

[National identity can be defined as] the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements. (A. Smith 2001, 18)

While the former part of Smith's definition is related to the "collective" dimension of national identity, the latter part of this definition is about the "social" dimension of national identity. Nevertheless, in this study, my major concern is to consider national identity as a kind of social identity, though it is inevitable that this "social identity" is also influenced by national identity at the level of "collective identity."

2.4.2 The Characteristics of National Identity

In this section, I shall examine some characteristics of national identity while seeing it as a sort of social identity.

(2.4.2.a) First of all, following our definition of nation, which is seen as a group of

people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, common ancestry, or some other “objective” characteristics, the notion of national identity is a *multi-dimensional* concept by nature. Since the definition of “nation” could be based upon different “objective” characteristics according to one’s own imagination, it is quite possible that different individuals adopt different criteria to construct their national identity. As Yi-huah Jiang (1998, 15) contends, the notion of national identity includes, at the analytical level, at least three different aspects of identity --- institutional identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity.

First of all, some people construct their national identity on the basis of institutional identity. So-called “institutional identity” refers to one’s identification with specific political, economic, or social institutions. This aspect of national identity is basically related to the specific “citizenship” offered by the sovereign state. Second, some other people adopt ethnic identity as the cornerstone on which to imagine their national identity. So-called “ethnic identity” can be referred to one’s identification with his or her imagined common ancestry or bloodlines.⁶⁰ Third, there are also those people who embrace their national identity on the foundation of cultural identity. So-called “cultural identity” refers to one’s identification with historical tradition, folklore, or the collective memory of his or her groups.⁶¹

It is notable that the three examples --- institutional identity, ethnic identity, and

⁶⁰. For more detailed discussion regarding the concept of “ethnic identity,” see Section 3.3 of Chapter Three.

⁶¹. For literature on “cultural identity,” see Bammer (1994); S. Hall (1992, 1994); R. Jackson (1999); and Siu (1993). For literature on “cultural identity” in the context of Taiwan, see CCA (1996); Ya-chung Chuang (2002); Chun-chieh Huang (2000a); and Tu (1996).

cultural identity --- cover only some of the possible dimensions of national identity. Furthermore, they are also highly interrelated and it is difficult, if not impossible, to demarcate each one in the real world. Like the feature list of nations suggested by Calhoun in the previous section, it is impossible for us to provide a comprehensive list covering all the possible dimensions of national identity. However, according to currently available literature, it seems that most people would construct their national identity on the basis of these three dimensions to greater or lesser degree.

(2.4.2.b) Second, the concept of national identity involves analysis at both the *micro-* and *macro-levels* simultaneously. Basically, I posit this study to be a micro-level research project, since the fundamental concern of this research is “social identity” at the individual level, rather than “collective identity” at the communal level. My object of analysis, as a matter of fact, is the “mind journey” of the subjects selected in this study, especially their imagination about “what their nation is.” Nevertheless, in most situations, identity at the individual level is inevitably influenced by the “external environment” beyond the individual level. As noted by Johnston et al. (1994, 13), “Individual identity is quintessentially social and its core --- if it can be apprehended at all by a reflective self --- is relativized according to interactive situations.” Josselson (1988), in her chapter on the “embedded self,” also concludes with the following statement:

A theory of the self, or of identity, must ... account for the ways in which the self remains poised between self-expression and relatedness, between the need for self-assertion and social involvement. A theory of the self must, therefore, be interwoven with a theory of relationship. (Josselson 1988, 104)

Even so, in the existing literature on national identity, it is quite common that the

researcher focuses his or her study only on one level of analysis (in most cases, the macro-level), ignoring explorations based on the other level of analysis.

(2.4.2.c) Third, because nationalism happens in the context of specific historical, cultural, economic, and political circumstances, the development of national identity is always influenced by specific *historical context*, especially the context of political history. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for any researcher to study an individual's national identity without the full consideration of the historical context which he or she encountered during his or her different life stages. We can see C. Wright Mills' often-cited reflection on the matter in *The Sociological Imagination* as follows:

The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise. To recognize this task and this promise is the mark of the classic social analyst. (Mills 1959, 6)

Take "Taiwanese identity" as an example. The meaning of this term has been quite different in different historical contexts. While Taiwan was still under Japanese colonial rule, the notion of "Taiwanese identity" was based on the dichotomy between Islanders (*Bendaoren* 本島人) and Inlanders (*Neidiren* 內地人), or between Taiwanese and Japanese. After the end of World War II, the KMT took over Taiwan, and "Taiwanese identity" had to be put in the context of "People of Local Province (*Benshengren* 本省人) versus People of Outside Provinces (*Waishengren* 外省人)" or "Taiwanese versus Chinese (*Zhongguoren* 中國人)" as an explanatory framework. Finally, after the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the beginning of Taiwan's democratization process, the concept of "Taiwanese identity" has to be understood in terms of the dichotomy between "Taiwan/Republic of China and the People's Republic of

China.”

(2.4.2.d) Finally, instead of being a thing-like entity with definite properties, national identity may be better understood as *contingent*, *fluid*, and *temporal* phenomenon. As pointed out by Boyd C. Shafer, a prominent scholar of nationalism, in the following quotation:

The object of loyalty, the nation, changes; those who offer the loyalty, the nationalists, change, and the kinds and intensities of their loyalties vary. This is to say that the sentiment is different at different times, that it is different in different peoples, that is it different for each individual, and that individual views change. The nationalism in France in 1793 was different from that of 1815 or 1939. The nationalism in France in 1815 or 1939 was different from that in the Germanies or Germany of these years. (Shafer 1972, 7)

2.5 The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism:

The Neglect of Subjectivity Issues

2.5.1 Overview of Current Literature on Nationalism

Although nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in the modern world, the study of this phenomenon has until recently been relatively neglected. Sustained investigation of nationalism had to wait until after the World War I by some prominent historians (e.g., Haynes 1931; Kohn 1955; Shafer 1955),⁶² and it is only after the 1970s

⁶². Following Tiryakian (1995, 230), I consciously differentiate between scholars who study nationalism as a phenomenon and those intellectuals who have been involved in the theory and practice of nationalism. From J. G. Herder and J. G. Fichte to the present, intellectuals have been closely identified with the formation of nationalist consciousness and with political leadership of nationalist parties in all parts of the world. However, in this dissertation, while discussing the general literature on nationalism, I am not dealing with activist intellectuals, only with those who study nationalism with “detached” curiosity.

that the subject has begun to be thoroughly explored by scholars from different disciplines of the social sciences (Tiryakian 1995).

This “new” interest in nationalism among academic circles was definitely related to the changing political landscape at that time. Starting from the late 1960s, there was a wave of “regional” movements for autonomy directed against the hegemony of Western states long associated with democracy, or states that had made commitments to democratization. For instance, there emerged quite visible nationalistic movements in Wales, Scotland, and North Ireland within the boundary of Great Britain;⁶³ Brittany in France;⁶⁴ Quebec in Canada;⁶⁵ as well as Catalonia and Basque in Spain.⁶⁶

In this situation, due to the invention of a variety of new conceptual tools (e.g., modernization, uneven development, internal colonialism, etc.) as well as new research methods (e.g., social surveys, participation observation, etc.), there was a marked increase in the number of sophisticated, multidisciplinary empirical studies of nationalism. For instance, Gellner’s (1983) project begins by exploring changes in social structure (e.g., industrialization and the coincident role of culture in the

⁶³. For works on the nationalist movement in Wales, see Hechter (1975); Ragin (1979, 1986); Ragin and Davies (1981); Rawkins (1979); and Thompson, Day, and Adamson (1999). For studies on the Scottish nationalist movement, see Ragin (1986); Schwarz (1970); and Trevor-Roper (1992). For research on the Irish nationalist movement, see Bell (1993); Cronin (1981); Doorley (1995); Finlayson (1996); Hanagan (2002); Hutchinson (1987); Irvin (1999); and White (1993).

⁶⁴. For studies on the Breton nationalist movement, see Meadwell (1989) and Reece (1979).

⁶⁵. For research on the Quebec nationalist movement, see Handler (1988); McRoberts (1979); Olzak (1982); Pinard and Hamilton (1986); and Schmid (1990).

⁶⁶. For studies of the Basque nationalist movement, see Davis (1997); Irvin (1999); Kauregui (1986); and Medrano (1995). For studies of the Catalan nationalist movement, see Johnston (1991) and Medrano (1995).

construction of social identity) to explain the emergence of nationalism. Breuilly's (1994) proposition can be seen as focusing on changes in the political structure or consciousness (e.g., the development of the modern "public" state) to describe the dynamics of nationalism. And Kedourie's (1960, 1971) scheme is to examine the surfacing of nationalism in the sphere of ideas and beliefs (e.g., the role of Western intellectuals in creating it).

Basically, we can label this line of literature on nationalism as "modernization theory" or "social structure theory."⁶⁷ These scholars seek to derive both nations and nationalism from the novel processes of modernization, and to show how states, nations and nationalisms, and notably elites, have mobilized and united populations in novel ways to cope with modern conditions and modern political imperatives. In other words, rather than a "persistent and recurrent" phenomenon of human history, nationalism is a "modern" phenomenon, a by-product of conditions prevailing in the modern world.

For significant comparative studies on these nationalist movements in Wales, Scotland, North Ireland, Brittany, Quebec, Catalonia and Basque, see Irvin (1999); Keating (1996); Kimmel (1989); Newman (1996); Rudolph and Thompson (1989); Tiryakian and Rogowski (1985); and Zariski (1989).

⁶⁷. Discussions of nation-related-phenomena have tended to present a number of overlapping sets of alternative explanations: as an expressive, non-rational sense of loyalty to putative kinsmen or as an instrumental rational response to socio-economic conditions; as a concern with cultural distinctiveness or as a facilitating condition for political mobilization; as a historical continuity from the past or as a product of modernization.

Analysis in the context of modernization theory in the study of nation and nationalism shows that the most significant dispute in the field should be the "perennialism-modernism debate," rather than the "primordialism-instrumentalism debate." While the former concerns the place of the nation in the history of humanity (i.e., the antiquity of the nation versus its purely modern appearance), the latter concerns the essence of the nation (i.e., the expressive dimension of nationalism versus its political aspirations and goals).

In the past, one could be sure that modernists were also instrumentalists (and vice-versa), while perennialists were always primordialists of one kind or another. But this simple dualism has given way to more variegated and complex formulations. It should take notes that "Not all modernists embrace a robust instrumentalism; and not all perennialists turn out to be primordialists" (Smith 1998, 159).

In his book *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (1998), Anthony D. Smith proposes that there are at least four different types of theoretical work based upon the modernization theory emerging in the 1970s and 1980s. They include the sociocultural types (e.g., Gellner 1983), the socioeconomic models (e.g., Nairn 1977; Hechter 1975), the political types (e.g., Mann 1985, 1993; Breuilly 1994), and the ideological types (e.g., Kedourie 1993) (see Table 2.3 for the summary of these versions).

(Table 2.3 about here)

Though affiliated with different versions of modernization theory, the proponents of this theoretical orientation share the following statements:

1. nations were wholly modern --- modern in the sense of being recent, i.e., since the French Revolution, and in the sense that the components of the nation were novel, i.e., part of the new age of modernity, and so modern by definition;
2. nations were the product of modernity, i.e., their elements were not only recent and novel, but also emerge, and had to emerge, through processes of “modernisation,” the rise of modern conditions and modernising policies;
3. nations were therefore not deeply rooted in history, but were inevitable consequences of the revolutions that constituted modernity and as such tied to their features and conditions, with the result that, once these features and conditions were transformed, nations would gradually wither away or be superseded; (A. Smith 1998, 21-2)

Starting roughly from the mid-1980s, there emerged another trend in much of the scholarly work on nations and nationalism to emphasize not just their wholly structural bases, but their peculiarly constructed and imagined quality (e.g., Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Brubaker 1996, Young 1993). This line of literature,

Table 2.3**Main Varieties of Modernization Theory in the Study of Nationalism**

	Representative	Major Work	Major Argument
Sociocultural version	Ernest Gellner	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i> (1983)	This version links nations and nationalism to the needs of generating a “ <i>high culture</i> ” for modernization and industrial development.
Socioeconomic version	Michael Hechter	<i>Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536 – 1966</i> (1975)	This version derives nationalism from rational workings of the world economy and the <i>social and economic interests</i> of individuals.
Political version	John Breuilly	<i>Nationalism and the State</i> (1993)	This version looks at the relationship of nationalism to the sources of <i>power</i> , notably war, elites and the modern state.
Ideological version	Elie Kedourie	<i>Nationalism</i> (1960)	This version tends to see nationalism as a <i>belief system</i> , a form of religion surrogate or secular religion, and to link its emergence and power to changes in the sphere of ideas and beliefs.

Source: Adapted from Smith (1998)

which I label as “constructionism,”⁶⁸ attempts to reveal that there is no such thing as the national essence, and suggests that the national formation should no longer be considered as suprasubjective wholes that generate and determine human action. Instead, they

⁶⁸. Some other authors (e.g, Young 1993, Wicker 1997, Lake and Rothchild 1998) use the term “constructivism” to describe the idea of this line of argument. Based upon Vermeulen and Govers (1997) and Gergen’s (1985) rationale, I would adopt the term “constructionism” to depict this theoretical orientation in this dissertation. Gergen defends the choice of the term “constructionism” in the following way: “Although the term constructivism is also used in referring to the same movement ..., this term is also used in reference to Piagetian theory, to a form of perceptual theory, and to a significant movement in 20th century art. The term constructionism avoids these various confusions and enables a linkage to be retained to Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) seminal volume, *The Social Construction of Reality*” (Gergen 1985, 266).

should be interpreted as the products of history, therefore as resulting from concrete acts that are motivated by people's interests. What social scientists are expected to do, according to this theoretical orientation, then, is to examine which social actors participate in generating such concepts of nation, and to locate the strategies and processes of construction that are used to make such totalities become real.

The proponents of constructionism may share the basic premise with theorists of modernism to see nation and nationalism as modern phenomena. However, attention should also be paid to the existence of different "epistemological foundations" between these two approaches.⁶⁹ On the one hand, in contrast to the modernist belief in the powerful sociological reality of nations (though not that of their own myth and self-image), constructionist scholars deny such reality to the nation outside the representations of its members and portraitists. In other words, while modernism still holds the position of "realism" to take the existence of nations for granted (Brubaker 1996, 13-5),⁷⁰ constructionism shifts this position and attempts to understand "nationness as a conceptual variable" (Brubaker 1996, 16). On the other hand, whereas the focus of modernism is still on the "organization and the mobilization" of nation-related phenomena, the concern of constructionism is basically "consciousness" itself

⁶⁹. Brubaker (1995: 292, 1996: 13) contends that this epistemological shift comes from four developments in social theory which have combined to undermine the treatment of groups as real, substantial entities: (1) the increasing use of network as an overall orienting metaphor in social theory; (2) the methodological individualism adopted by theories of rational action; (3) the emergence of the more "constructivist" theoretical stances; and (4) the appearance of postmodern theoretical sensibility focusing on the fragmentary, the ephemeral, and the erosion of fixed forms and clear boundaries.

⁷⁰. According to Brubaker's (1996: 14 -5) argument: "The treatment of nations as real entities and substantial collectivities is not confined to so-called primordialists, meaning those who emphasize the deep roots, ancient origins, and emotive power of national attachments. This view is also held by many 'modernists' and 'constructivists,' who see nations as shaped by such forces as industrialization, uneven

(Vermeulen and Govers 1997).

Scholarly works following the constructionist approach tend to conceive identity “as an idea or discourse rather than an empirically observed social ‘unit’ defined by features such as dress, language, or customs” (Tilley 1997, 511). These studies pay much attention to determining the elements, factual or otherwise, that contribute to the construction of a particular identity. They include examinations of the circumstances under which identities develop, the changes they undertake over time, and the social and political objectives for which identities may be created (e.g., Bhabha 1990; Brass 1991; Calhoun 1997; Chatterjee 1986). Those who use the constructionist approach study diverse nation-related-phenomena, yet they are united by a common understanding: “Whether ethnic divisions are built upon visible biological differences among populations or rest upon invisible cultural and ideational distinctions, the boundaries around and the meanings attached to ethnic groups are pure social constructions” (Nagel 1994, 167-8).

Under the aegis of this theoretical orientation, there is a proliferation of terms such as “identity,” “meaning,” “process,” “difference,” “fragmentation,” and “hybrid” appearing in the recent literature on nationalism. This new trend is related to the shift of academic fashion, since schools of thought like deconstructualism, postcolonial studies, and cultural studies, all started from the disciplines of the humanities, began to infiltrate the disciplines of the social sciences. Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill make the following observation regarding the recent trend in identity studies:

In what is referred to as the “cultural turn” there has been a shift away from

development, the growth of communication and transportation networks, and the powerfully integrative and homogenizing forces of the modern state.”

the study of structure as the privileged feature of social relations accompanied by an increased critical interest in language and how it is used to produce meaning in social life. It is within this context of current theoretical advances, particularly in poststructuralist and postcolonialist theory, that recent texts have argued for the need to return culture to the center of the debate on how we are to understand contemporary changing meanings of “race,” racism, and ethnicity. (Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill 1999, 1)

Basically, I agree with Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill’s observation. In the field of nation and nationalism, if we perceive the basic concern of former theoretical orientations as the exploration of “social structure factors,” then we can treat the “cultural meaning factors” as the fundamental considerations of this new theoretical approach. I shall put this research into the basic framework of constructionism, seeing nation, nationalism, and national identity as sorts of social construction, though with some minor revisions.

2.5.2 The Neglect of Subjectivity Issues within the Current Literature on Nationalism

Within the literature on nationalism, there exists a serious problem. To put it simply, the essence of national identity --- especially the elements relevant to the construction of subjective meaning --- has often been neglected, despite reminders that “it is ... the self view of one’s group, rather than the tangible characteristics, that is the essence in determining the existence or non-existence of a nation” (Connor 1994, 43). As a result, though we can find a lot of different models and terminologies invented by scholars to explain nation-related-phenomena, the subjective experiences of participants involved in the phenomena (e.g., activists of nationalistic movements) are seldom explored by researchers in the field.

Since the basic concerns of modernization theory, which is a macro approach in nature, are the social structural factors relevant to the emergence of nationalism, it is not reasonable to expect researchers affiliated with this theoretical orientation to deal with the issue of participants or actors in the nation-related-phenomena. After all, these participants or actors should be perceived from the micro level of analysis.

Nevertheless, it is surprising that scholars of constructionist theory do not take the issue seriously either, despite the fact that micro-level concepts --- such as “identity” or “consciousness” --- should be seen by many researchers as a fundamental concern.

Three possible reasons can be offered to explain this weakness. One is derived from the tendency toward “cultural objectification” within the study of nation and nationalism. The other is rooted within the concept of social construction itself. The third is related to the methodology or empirical data used in this line of research.

(2.5.2.a) First of all, while engaging in the process of reconstructing relevant concepts such as “nation,” the scholars of constructionism tend to fall into the conceptual trap of so-called “cultural objectification,” a concept proposed by anthropologist Richard Handler. In his serial studies of nationalism in Quebec, Handler invents the notion of “cultural objectification” to refer to “the imaginative embodiment of human realities in terms of a theoretical discourse based on the concept of culture” (1984, 56).

Handler contends that there exists a tendency in Western thought to imagine nonmaterial phenomena --- such as time, nation, culture, society, and group --- as embodied, physical objects. While a nationalist sees the nation as a “natural entity,” students of the social sciences as well as cultural studies, probably unconsciously, also tend to presuppose metaphors like boundedness, homogeneity, and continuity in their

discourses (Handler 1988, 8). Facing the interplay between nationalism ideology and social science theory, in his critique of the objectification of culture, Handler argues that anthropology objectifies culture just as nationalism does.

To proponents of constructionsim, the accusation of “cultural objectification” is sarcastic, since their basic concern is to “demystify” nationalism through questioning the “substantial existence” of the nation. However, while proposing to use concepts other than “nation” (because “nation” is seen as constructed by other social, political, and cultural forces with no substantiality) to investigate nation-related-phenomena, they inversely reify the notion of “nation” through other objectified concepts.

(2.5.2.b) Second, as Brubaker (2001) points out, once a challenge to the conventional wisdom, the notion of social construction has become the conventional wisdom. It is not that the notion itself is wrong; it is rather that it is too obviously right, too familiar, too readily taken for granted, to generate the friction, force and freshness needed to push arguments further and generate new insights. In other words, we cannot just claim that national identity “is” the product of social construction. Rather, in our research, we have to point out the very “process” itself through which national identity is constructed. While contending the necessity of reorienting the field of ethnicity and nationalism toward “cognitive perspectives,” Brubaker contends:

It is to specify how --- and when --- people identify themselves, perceive others, experience the world, interpret their predicaments and orient their actions in racial, ethnic or national rather than other terms. It is to specify how “groupness” can “crystallize” in some situations while remaining latent and merely potential in others. It is to link macro-level outcomes with micro-level processes. (Brubaker 2001b, 16)

(2.5.2.c) Third, due to the sound impact of structuralism and post-structuralism on the traditional fields of the social sciences, it seems that the Foucaultian notion of “discourse” (Foucault 1979, 1980) is one of the most significant metaphors among students of constructionism in the field of national identity. Accordingly, while analyzing the process of identity construction, most of the authors choose either the symbolic texts (e.g., Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Melluci 1989) or the material social processes such as rituals, practices, and institutions (e.g., Roseberry 1994; Urban and Sherzer 1991) as their empirical data. In view of that, this line of research tends to ignore the perspective that identity must also be analyzed as practices made by individual actors whose everyday lives are the arenas in which they organize the world and transform received worldviews. While criticizing the existing literature on nationalism, Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill make the following comment:

[Most of the existing theoretical orientations] assuming that each individual expresses a similar (rather than different) attitude towards “nationalism”: This is because theories of nationalism begin from the assumption that issues such as language, religion, territory or “culture” are relevant to the individual, and that each individual expresses a similar attitude towards them rather than examining how these issues are made relevant by individuals through processes of negotiation with others within particular sociospatial contexts. (Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill 1999, 9)

2.5.3 Concluding Remarks

Conclusively, we can find that most of the existing literature on nationalism, even within the works of constructionists, tend to ignore the perspective that national identity must be analyzed as practices made by *individual actors* whose everyday lives are the arenas in which they organize the world and transform received worldviews. As a

matter of fact, we have no reason to ignore the significance of the individual actor in our studies of nation and nationalism.

We are reminded by Thompson and Rudolph, “Regions are not actors; their inhabitants are” (1989, 5). If a particular territory becomes nationalistic, we must explain why some of its residents find nationalism attractive, and, if the nationalism is new or suddenly much stronger politically, why they have abandoned old appeals for new ones. Facing the research tradition of current literature on nation and nationalism, we can claim that the research is accomplished at the expense of what the participants of nation-related-phenomena have to say about their own participation.

If the existing literature on nationalism does not pay enough attention to subjectivity issues, what is an alternative framework useful for our inquiry into the formative process of national identity? This will be the focus of next chapter.

Chapter Three

Analytical Framework:

A Racial/Ethnic Identity Formation Approach to National Identity

The formation of ethnic identity may be thought of as a process similar to ego identity formation that takes place over time, as peoples explore and make decisions about the role of ethnicity in their lives.

--- Jean S. Phinney, *Ethnic Identity in Adolescents
and Adults: Review of Research*

3.1 Introduction

If the existing literature on nationalism does not pay enough attention to subjectivity, as shown in previous chapter, then what is an alternative framework useful for our inquiry into the formative process of national identity? I shall contend that it is probably more fruitful to bring the notion of national identity back into the tradition of social psychology and adopt identity formation theory as an alternative framework for analyzing national-identity-related issues.

In this chapter, first of all, I shall introduce the origins of identity formation theory, paying specific attention on the works by Erik H. Erikson and James Marcia. Then, I shall limit the scope of my discussion to research relevant to racial/ethnic identity, and briefly review the works adopting identity formation theory as their analytical framework. Third, William E. Cross's "Nigrescence" model will be presented, since this model will be used as the theoretical framework for analyzing the empirical data in this study. Finally, I shall argue for the appropriateness of applying identity formation theory to the

field of national identity, although no researcher has attempted to do this before.

3.2 The Origins of Identity Formation Theory

3.2.1 Identity as a Psychosocial Stage: Erik Erikson

As mentioned in previous chapter, while engaging in the discussion of the notion of identity, it is almost impossible to ignore the serial works by Erik H. Erikson. Erikson, whose own identity is interestingly ambiguous,⁷¹ develops the concept of “identity” or “identity formation”⁷² within the broad framework of psychosocial development (Erikson 1968, 1980, 1993a, 1994⁷³). Erikson’s theorizing on identity reflects the influences of Anna Freud and Heinz Hartman, with an emphasis placed on the adaptive functions of identity. Specifically, he sees the formation of a personal sense of identity (versus

⁷¹. Erik H. Erikson (1902-1994) was born in Frankfurt, Germany. There is a little mystery about his heritage. His biological father was an unnamed Danish man who abandoned Erik’s mother before he was born. His mother, Karla Abrahamsen, was a young Jewish woman who raised him alone for the first three years of his life. She then married Dr. Theodor Homberger, who was Erik’s pediatrician, when Erikson was three years old. Erikson got the surname Homberger since then. However, he improvised the surname Erikson after immigrating to the United States. Nobody seems to know where he got the name (Boeree 1997). Some biographers accuse Erikson of seeking to evade his Jewish origins (e.g., Berman 1970; Roazen 1976).

Erikson is an excellent scholar with numerous works. The two books that lay out his theoretical foundation are *Childhood and Society* (1993, originally published in 1950) and *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968). Both books are more like collections of essays on subjects as varied as Native American tribes, famous people like William James and Adolph Hitler, nationality, race, and gender. However, his most famous books are two empirical, rather than theoretical, studies in “psychohistory,” *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (1958) on Martin Luther, and *Gandhi’s Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (1969) on Mohandas Gandhi. Furthermore, Stephen Schlein edited an almost 800 page long anthology, *A Way of Looking at Things: Selected Papers from 1930 to 1980* (1987), for Erikson, covering most of his important works between 1930 and 1980.

For biography of and research on Erikson, see Coles (1987); Roazen (1976); and Wallerstein and Goldberger (1998).

⁷². As a matter of fact, for Erikson, “identity” should be regarded as an open and dynamic process throughout one’s entire life cycle, rather than a closed and static property inherited from birth. In this sense, Erikson’s understanding of identity has assumed the notion of “identity formation” already.

⁷³. Erikson’s book, *The Life Cycle Completed: A Review* (1994), was originally published in 1982.

identity diffusion) as one of the cornerstones of ego development, which tends to emerge during the adolescent years, or the identity-versus-role-confusion stage in his own term.

In *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, one of Erikson's important theoretical works on identity formation, he defines the concept of identity in the following way:

The wholeness to be achieved at this [adolescence] stage I have called a sense of inner identity. The young person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future; between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and to expect of him. Individually speaking, identity includes, but is more than, the sum of all the successive identification of those earlier years when the child wanted to be, and often was forced to become, like the people he depended on. Identity is a unique product, which now meets a crisis to be solved only in new identifications with age mates and with leader figures outside the family. (Erikson 1968, 87).

In this quotation, four points deserve our further attention for understanding Erikson's concept of identity. First of all, the person must experience inner sameness, or integrity. Accordingly, actions and decisions are not random at all. Rather, defined values, principles, and expectations order one's behavior, and a deviation is perceived as "not me" (Patterson, Sochting, and Marcia 1992, 9). Second, the sense of inner sameness is continuous over time. As a matter of fact, a person's solution to the riddle of identity has significant implications for subsequent psychological development, because without a successful resolution, further progress is somehow stunted. In other word, actions in the past and hopes for the future are experienced as related to the self of today. However, though Erikson perceives "identity formation" as a critical task of adolescence, the process of seeking one's integrated identity does not stop at the end of

adolescence, because it is an ongoing process throughout one's life.

Third, identity is experienced within a community of important others. From this perspective, identity should not be defined as a psychological term, but as a social psychological term concerning the relationship between self and others. After all, relationships and roles serve, ideally, to support and validate an integrated, continuous identity. Fourth, in addition to important others, identity is deeply influenced by the sociocultural context as well. This is true not only in the sense that the society and culture embody the repertoire of possible identities available at any given time, but also in the sense that the particular resolution selected may sometimes, as in the "great man phenomenon," reverberate throughout the social context and cultural atmosphere. We can see much of the latter case in Erikson's psychohistorical studies of Martin Luther, Mohandas Gandhi, and Adolf Hitler (see Erikson 1958, 1969, 1993b).

Based upon his notion of identity, Erikson develops a specific theory of psychosocial development, seeing the developmental changes occurring throughout one's life as a series of eight stages of psychosocial development (see Figure 3.1 for Erikson's proposed psychosocial stages). Erikson suggests that passage through each of the stages necessitates resolution of a crisis or conflict. Accordingly, each of the eight stages is represented as a pairing of the most positive and most negative aspects of the crisis of the period. Although each crisis is never resolved entirely --- life becomes increasingly complicated as one grows older --- it needs to be resolved sufficiently so that one is equipped to deal with demands made during the following stage of psychosocial development.

(Figure 3.1 about here)

In infancy, one's central issue is "trust versus mistrust," with its corresponding ego strength of hope. Infants develop feelings of trust if their physical requirements and psychological needs of attachment are consistently met and their interactions with the world are generally positive. In addition to the issue of hope, other issues --- such as will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care, wisdom --- will emerge later in the life-span to dominate one's own specific stages of life. "Autonomy versus shame and doubt" will dominate the second stage of life, "initiative versus guilt" will dominate the third, "industry versus inferiority" will dominate the fourth, and so on. As the life story unfolds, the concerns of early stages fade into the subtexts of subsequent stages. Therefore, the issue of "trust versus mistrust" never truly disappears in the later stages. Instead, it fades from being of primary importance early on to secondary importance as new issues arise in the life-span. Psychosocial development, therefore, is the ebbing and flowing of particular life motifs in a storied sequence over the life-span.

However, among the eight stages, the fifth stage (i.e., adolescence) is the time-span considered by Erikson as a very, if not most, significant one, because the central concern of this stage is related to identity. According to Erikson, the life stage of adolescence provides young people with the optimal situation for defining a sense of identity. Not yet firmly tied by adult commitments, the adolescent may try out a variety of possible commitments in occupation and ideology, eventually adopting a more or less permanent sense of who he or she is. Nevertheless, confusion over the most appropriate role to follow in life can lead to lack of a stable identity, adoption of a socially unacceptable role such as that of a social deviant, or difficulty in maintaining close personal relationships

Figure 3.1
Psychosocial Stages Proposed by Erikson

Psychosocial Stages									
Old Age	VIII								Integrity vs. Despair WISDOM
Adulthood	VII							Generativity vs. Stagnation CARE	
Young Adulthood	VI							Intimacy vs. Isolation LOVE	
Adolescence	V						Identity vs. Identity Confusion FIDELITY		
School Age	IV					Industry vs. Inferiority COMPETENCE			
Play Age	III					Initiative vs. Guilt PURPOSE			
Early Childhood	II					Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt WILL			
Infancy	I	Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust HOPE							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Source : Modified from Erikson (1968, 93)

later in life.

3.2.2 Identity as a Personality Construct: James Marcia's Identity Status

Model

One serious problem associated with Erikson's definition of identity is its lack of clearly defined boundary. By creating a concept with such breadth, Waterman (1992, 54) comments, "Erikson has created problems for those of us concerned with operationally defining identity for research purpose." In a step toward a more precise delimiting of the concept, James Marcia defines identity as a reflective self-structure:

[A]n internal, self-constructed organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history. The better developed this structure is, the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way in the world. (Marcia 1980, 159)

In attempting to establish an operational definition of identity, Marcia (1980)⁷⁴ focuses attention on the processes by which identity structures are formed. By using semi-structured interviews, where the criteria of encountering identity crisis and the presence of commitment are treated as two variables, Marcia interviews eighty-six college male students. On theoretical grounds, he identifies two dimensions, exploration and commitment, that in combination define four identity statuses, or alternative positions regarding the task of identity formation. *Exploration* refers to a period of struggle or active questioning in arriving at various aspects of personal identity,

⁷⁴. Marcia's earliest work toward this direction is his Ph.D. dissertation, which is entitled "Determination and Construct Validity of Ego Identity Status" (1964).

such as vocational choice, religious beliefs, or attitudes about the role of a spouse or parenting in one's life. *Commitment* involves making a firm, unwavering decision in such areas and engaging in appropriate implementing activities. Four distinct styles (i.e., identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement), termed "identity statuses," are identified for handling the psychological task of establishing a sense of identity based on the dimensions of exploration and commitment (see Figure 3.2).

(Figure 3.2 about here)

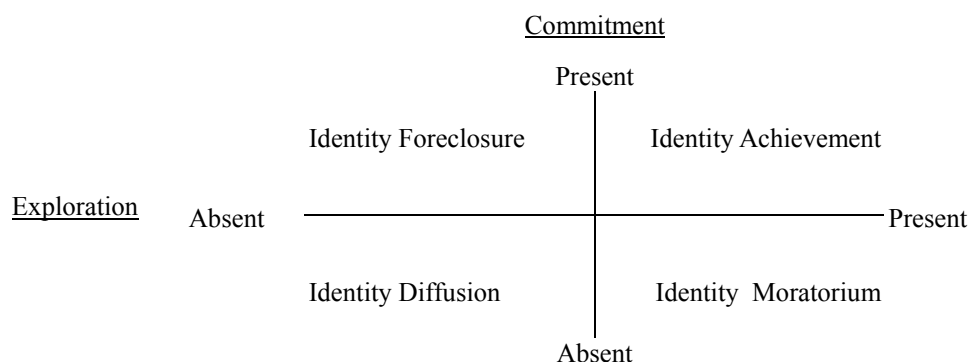
(3.2.2.a) First of all, the category of *identity diffusion* includes individuals who do not have firm commitments and who are not actively trying to form them. They may never have been in an identity crisis or they may have a period of questioning and been unable to resolve it, emerging without having made decisions regarding goals, values, and beliefs.

(3.2.2.b) Second, a person is classified as a *foreclosure* if he or she has never experienced an identity crisis but is nevertheless committed to particular goals, values, or beliefs. These commitments are generally established relatively early in life, often on the basis of identification with parents or with other authority figures.

(3.2.2.c) Third, the term *moratorium* is used to refer to a person who is currently undergoing identity exploration and is actively seeking among alternatives in an attempt to arrive at a choice. For some, the crisis is between simultaneously available alternatives for which the person is trying to weight the relative strengths and weaknesses of each. For others, the crisis is not as sharply focused but is evident in a series of changes in plans or beliefs that have been made over a number of years.

(3.2.2.d) Finally, an *identity achiever* is someone who has gone through a period of

Figure 3.2
Four Categories of Identity Status Proposed by Marcia



Source: Modified from Waterman and Archer (1990, 37)

exploration and has emerged from it with relatively firm identity commitment. The choices made are generally felt to be personally expressive and provide a sense of direction for the future. Although there is often an awareness of the difficulties that could arise in the implementation of a particular identity element, this does not lessen the determination to pursue the chosen course of action.

3.3 The Application of Identity Formation Theory to Studies on Racial/Ethnic Identity

Within the racial/ethnic identity literature, partially inspired by Erikson and Marcia's perspective on identity, some scholars contend that the formation of racial/ethnic identity may be thought of as a process similar to ego identity formation that takes place over time, as people explore and make decisions about the role of

race/ethnicity in their lives. As far as studies of ethnic identity are concerned, in an oft-cited review essay, Phinney (1990) labels the theoretical orientation adopted by the research as “identity formation theory.”⁷⁵

This literature started to emerge in the 1970s and, interestingly, much of it has focused on African Americans (e.g., Akbar 1979; Cross 1971; Hall, Freedle, and Cross 1972; B. Jackson 1975; Sherif and Sherif 1970; C. Thomas 1971).⁷⁶ This situation is understandable since most of these works were written in the aftermath of the Black civil rights struggle and in the context of the Black power movement. These authors are interested in understanding and transforming the individual and social systems that supported racial discrimination and oppression. Through the experiences of African Americans during the 1960s and 1970s, they describe dramatic transformations in racial identity from internalized subordination into a liberated valuing of Blackness (Adams 2001, 212).

Based upon the insights borrowed from these studies of African Americans, other research on identity development has also been conducted for Asian Americans (e.g.,

⁷⁵. This review essay (i.e., Phinney 1990) is based upon 70 empirical studies focusing on a variety of ethnic groups in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Israel, and Australia. Most of the research is from psychology, though some come from sociology, anthropology, social work, and education. In addition to “identity formation theory,” other theoretical orientations mentioned by Phinney are “social identity theory” and “acculturation theory.”

It is notable that the label of so-called “identity formation theory” is not universally accepted by all scholars of various fields. For example, while referring to similar theoretical orientations in the field of racial identity, Wijeyesinghe and Jackson (2001) call this line of literature as belonging to “racial identity development theory.”

⁷⁶. Among these different models, the Cross (1971) model has become the one most frequently cited and researched in the racial/ethnic identity formation literature. See next section of this chapter for more elaboration.

Gupta 1997; Kim 1981; 2001; Root 1997; Spickard 1997; Sue and Sue 1990),⁷⁷ Hispanic/Latino Americans (e.g., Atkinson, Morten, and Sue 1993; Hurtado, Gurin, and Peng 1994; Keefe and Padilla 1987),⁷⁸ Jewish Americans (e.g., Kandel 1986), and even Euro-Americans (e.g., Hardiman 1982, 2001; Helms and Carter 1990; Ponterotto 1988; Rowe; Bennett, and Atkinson 1994; Tokar and Swanson 1991). This research has tended to substitute “ethnic” terminology to call attention to differences grounded in culture and language rather than “race” as sites of internalized domination and subordination. In other words, in addition to the issues relevant to “racial identity,” which was the major scholarly concern in the past, the issues relevant to “ethnic identity” also deserve our attention, as far as “identity formation theory” is concerned.

Furthermore, a similar process of identity development for nonracial/ethnic minority groups has also been noted. In fact, specific models of feminist identity (e.g., Downing and Roush 1985; McNamara and Rickard 1989) and sexual identity (e.g., Cass 1979; Cox and Gallois 1996; D'Augelli 1994; Kitzinger and Wilkinson 1995; Rust 1993) have been created by scholars interested in the identity formation process of these nonracial/ethnic minority groups.

Influenced by studies on nonracial/ethnic minority groups, recent writings on the development of racial identity have also focused increasingly on the numerous multidimensional sources of social and cultural variability among Black identity profiles, based on factors such as class, gender, immigrant status, sexual orientation, or religious

⁷⁷. For a review essay on research relevant to racial/ethnic identity of Asian Americans, see Sodowsky, Kwan, and Pannu (1995) for details.

⁷⁸. For a review essay on research relevant to racial/ethnic identity of Hispanic/Latino Americans, see Casas and Pytluk (1995) for details.

belief (e.g., Cross and Fhagen-Smith 2001; Cross, Strauss, and Fhagen-Smith 1999; Greene 1997; Bodkin 1996; Reynolds and Pope 1991).

Some authors have drawn parallels across racial/ethnic groups, gays and lesbians, women, and disabled persons and have noted that the common experience of oppression --- though shown through different form of expression such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, or ageism --- serves as a unifying factor among these diverse groups (Adams 2001; Atkinson, Morten and Sue 1993; Myers et al. 1991). For example, the Cross model of Black identity (Cross 1971) is similar to models of female identity development (Avery 1977; Downing and Roush 1985) and to a model of identity development for gays and lesbians (Cass 1979). These four models describe a similar developmental process in which individuals progressively experience (1) a denial, devaluation, or lack of awareness of their oppressed identity; (2) a questioning of their oppressive identity; (3) an immersion in the oppressed subculture; (4) a realization of the limitations of a devalued sense of self; and (5) an integration of the oppressed part of self into their whole self-identity.⁷⁹

In the next section, I shall pay more attention to Cross's racial identity development model, which is the major theoretical framework used in analyzing the empirical data in this study.

⁷⁹. Despite commonalities that can be extrapolated, identity formation models often use different terminology to describe a similar process. For example, to describe the common process of becoming involved in an oppressed group's subculture, the following terms have been used: immersion (Avery 1977; Cross 1971), identity pride (Cass 1979), and embeddedness (Downing and Rousch 1985).

3.4 Cross's Nigrescence Model

In Cross's (1971, 1978, 1991, 1995) serial works,⁸⁰ he formulates and tests a five stage developmental process which he calls the "Nigrescence," or the "Nigro-to-Black conversion." He hypothesizes that a series of stages exist through which Black Americans pass when they encounter Blackness in themselves. Cross suggests that this stagewise transformation occurs without regard to socio-economic status, educational level, and regardless of whether the African American is light-skinned or of ebony hue.

The five stages proposed by Cross are labeled as follows: (1) pre-encounter; (2) encounter; (3) immersion-emersion; (4) internalization; and (5) internalization-commitment. Among these stages, the last stage has received less attention in the existing literature because, as contended by Helms (1990, 19-20), it is difficult to differentiate this stage from other stages in terms of "measurement."

⁸⁰. William E. Cross, Jr., who ever taught at Cornell University and Pennsylvania State University, is currently a professor in Social Personality Program, Dept. of Psychology, City University of New York (Cross 1991, backcover; Ponterotto et al. 1995, 676; Wijeyesinghe and Jackson 2001, 271).

Though Cross's Nigrescence model is quite influential in the relevant fields (especially in counseling psychology), the number of his publications, essentially, is not quite extraordinary. Most of his works are published in the form of journal article or book chapter, the only book he published is *Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American Identity* (1991). However, even this book, an anthology of his previous publications, is not a self-contained large-scale study. The work that lay out Cross's theoretical foundation is his first essay "The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience: Toward a Psychology of Black Liberation (1971)," which was published before he finished his dissertation in 1976. Since the publication of this paper, Cross did not have major changes, though with minor revision, in the theoretical orientation of his research on Black identity.

Cross's model is mainly based upon the experience of African American residing in the Chicago area. In fact, Cross's model is not the only one in the literature on Black identity. In addition to Cross's works, other similar, though not identical, models concerning the developmental process of Black identity include Thomas (1971); Jackson (1975); Milliones (1980); and etc. The subjects of these models are African Americans residing in Watts, Texas; Albany, New York; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, respectively. However, Cross's model is the most influential one among these various models.

In terms of other research applying Cross's model in the study of Black identity, see M. Brown (1994); Butler (1975); Helms (1984, 1986, 1987); Parham and Helms (1981); and Price (2001). For important review article regarding these studies, see Cross, Parham, and Helms (1991); Helms (1990); Ponterotto and Casas (1991); and Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993).

Accordingly, some researchers suggest treating the “internalization-commitment” stage as an extension, either in the form of second mode or second phase, of the “internalization” stage (e.g., Helms 1989; Parham and Helms 1985b). I agree with this perspective, so only four stages will be examined in the following discussion.

For a brief characterization of the stages proposed by Cross, see Table 3.1.

Generally speaking, the “pre-encounter,” Stage 1, refers to existing identity, the one that is changed. Stage 2, “encounter,” captures the phase during which an individual has experiences that make him/her feel a need to change. The “immersion-emersion,” Stage 3, is the period of transition from the pre-encounter identity to the new one. Stage 4, “internalization,” is where the person begins to integrate the new identity into their existing personality and social networks. I shall provide a more detailed examination of these stages below.

(Table 3.1 about here)

3.4.1 Pre-encounter Stage

In the pre-encounter stage, a person tends to identify with White culture and rejects or denies Black culture. The individual thinks of the world as being non-Black, anti-Black, or the opposite of Black. The thoughts and behaviors of the Black person toward self and other Blacks are dictated by the logic, values and evaluation of White society. In Cross’s own words,

[T]he Pre-Encounter identity is the person’s first identity, that is, the identity shaped by early development. This socialization involved years of experiences with one’s family, extended family, neighborhood and community and schools, covering the periods of childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood. It is a tried and fully tested identity that serves the person

Table 3.1
The Four Stages of Nigrescence

Four Stages of Nigrescence	Abstractions: Attitudes and Characteristics Associated with the Stage	Substantive Behavioral and Attitudinal Manifestations
1. Pre-Encounter	Low salience to race attitudes; view of Blackness as a social stigma; anti-Black attitudes	The low salience individual does not emphasize being Black, but does not deny it either; or he/she might be anti-Black.
2. Encounter	Encounter = experiencing an event, dream, or insights related to Blackness. The encounter must be personalized; it must change a person's perception and attitude.	The encounter is the origin of a person's search for information about Blackness; attends meetings or gatherings related to Blackness.
3. Immersion-Emersion	Erasure of the old identity while building the new one; the person has not yet changed, but has decided that he or she must change; beration or denigration of the old self. Anger, anxiety, anomie, common.	Early manifestations of the identity can be shallow, quixotic, overly dramatic or crude; the person has not been deeply socialized into the new perspective and identity, and may lack detailed information about appropriate norms.
4. Internalization	Dissonance is resolved and the individual reaches a new dynamic equilibrium, comfortable with who he or she now is; the core of the person's self is reconstituted and it is the group referent and worldview that have changed, not the personality.	The new identity is internalized and appears a "natural" part of the person's self; general defensiveness and simplistic thinking fades; Blackness becomes one of many salience as the person considers other issues as a part of Blackness.

Source: Adapted from Price (2001, 29)

day in and day out. It helps the person feel centered, meaningful, and in control by making life predictable. (Cross 1995, 104)

To put it concretely, three general attitudes define the "pre-encounter stage:"

low-salience to race, social stigma, and anti-Black.

(3.4.1.a) The *low-salience* individual does not emphasize being Black, but does not deny it either. The sense of self, well-being, and purpose in life are not tied to Blackness, but other things, such as career, religion, political affiliation, life-style, and status. “As long as their Pre-Encounter attitudes bring them a sense of fulfillment, meaningful existence and an internal sense of stability, order and harmony, such persons will not likely be in need of any type of identity change, let alone movement toward Afro-centricity” (Cross 1995, 98). “Research suggests that the Pre-Encounter stage incorporates bi-modal trends in which some people are classically self-hating, but the majority are not. The majority show low salience for race but apparently derive mental health benefits from group identifications not necessarily connected to Black culture” (1995, 97).

Pre-encounter Blacks do not oppose or criticize Black people, Black studies, or Black nationalism simply because of self hatred, low self-esteem or anti-Blackness. Rather, a “cultural bias” prevents them from accordingly legitimacy to other histories, experiences, and life ways outside the Western, White experience. “The most damning aspect of miseducation is the development of a world view and cultural-historical perspective that can restrict one’s knowledge about, and one’s capacity to advocate, the cultural, political, economic and historical interests of Black people” (Cross 1995, 100).

(3.4.1.b) The person with a *social stigma* sees race as a stigma or problem. According to Cross (1995, 98), these people, though sharing the low-salience orientation with the low-salience individual, also see race as a problem or stigma at the same time. Thus, race, by default, is attributed some significance, not as a proactive force or cultural issue but as a social stigma that must be negotiated from time to time. The only

“meaning” accorded race is its tie to issues of “social discrimination.” From this perspective, race is a hassle, a problem, a vehicle of imposition.

Such people may have a mild interest in Black causes, but not because they want to further Black interests or learn about Black history. They are likely to know little about Black history and culture. Rather, they express a “need to defend oneself against Blackness as stigma” or to “destroy the social stigma associated with Blackness” (Cross 1995, 99). The problem for these people is that Blackness can intrude as a stigmatizing force upon their lives and activities. Thus, they oppose the stigma without in interest in Black culture, history, or causes. Consequently, when one asks such people to define their Black identity, they invariably respond by telling one “what it is like to be oppressed” (Cross 1995, 99).

(3.4.1.c) Finally, for the *anti-Black* Black, Blackness is a negative referent. It refers to everything he/she finds problematic with Black people. There is not much difference between the anti-Black and the rhetoric of White racism. The anti-Black Black feels no sense of Black community, finds ludicrous the idea of Black culture, and is estranged from most other Blacks who are not anti-Black. The anti-Black Black will likely hold a positive racial view of White people. He or she believes Black people are their own worst enemies.

No matter which specific types of attitudes they hold, Blacks who are at the pre-encounter stage are adversely affected by miseducation, an Eurocentric cultural frame of reference, race-image anxiety, a race-conflict resolution model that stresses assimilation-integration objectives, and a value-system that gives preference to other than Afrocentric priorities (Cross 1995, 99).

Pre-encounter Blacks distrust Black-controlled businesses or organizations. Along with the self-hatred, Blacks at this stage suffer from a depressed affect. They prefer to be called “Negro,” “Civilized,” “Colored,” “Human being,” or “American citizen.” In becoming a good American, the Black person has to become anti-Black and anti-African.

3.4.2 Encounter Stage

The “encounter stage” is signaled by a significant experience which forces the pre-encounter Black to question his or her current feelings about him- or herself. The experience of the encounter can be physically tangible, such as witnessing an event, or it could be a dream or a series of insights. The encounter must shatter the relevance of the person’s current identity and worldview, and at the same time provide some hint of the direction in which to point the person undergoing change.

At the analytical level, the “encounter phase” consists of at least two major processes: (1) the experiencing the encounter; and (2) personalizing the encounter where the person reinterprets the world as a consequence of the encounter. Cross (1995, 105) suggests that just about every Black person has been exposed to information or some sort of encounter in the course of a year, let alone a lifetime; but unless the person personalizes the encounter, his or her current worldview or attitude about race may go unchanged. He expresses it as follows: “An Encounter must personally affect the individual in a powerful way” (Cross 1995, 105). For example, Helms once quoted a description from Lenita McClain, the first Black editorial writer for *The Chicago Tribune*, illustrating the nature of encounter experience. In 1983, due to the successful campaign and election of a Black mayor in Chicago, McClain entered her encounter stage and felt

she was a Black for the first time in her life:

A jubilant [Black] scream went up We had a feeling, and above all we had power. So many whites unconsciously had never considered that blacks could do much of anything, least of all get a black candidate this close to being mayor of Chicago. My [primarily White] colleagues looked up and realized, perhaps for the first time, that I was one of “them.” I was suddenly threatening. (quoted from Helms 1990, 25)

The encounter need not be negative, as in the case of experiencing a racist event. It may, instead, revolve around exposure to powerful cultural-historical information about the Black experience previously unknown to the person. We can use the examples of Prophetess Esther and Brother Yendis: “Personalizing the Encounter may challenge the person to radically rethink his or her conception of Black history and Black culture” (Cross 1995, 105). Some observations deserve our further attention in terms of the person in the encounter stage of their identity journey.

(3.4.2.a) First of all, the encounter phase can arouse *anxiety*, *anomie*, *confusion*, and *anger* in the individual. It is a very powerful experience to realize that “one’s frame or reference, worldview, or value system is ‘wrong,’ ‘incorrect,’ ‘dysfunctional,’ or more to the point, ‘not Black or Afrocentric enough’” (Cross 1995, 105). Accordingly, on the one hand, the person in the encounter stage starts to reject previous identification with White culture; on the other hand, he or she also begins to seek identification with Black culture. Take the example of Lenita McClain, again, we can see her description about her struggle after the encounter experience in the following way:

In one day my mind has sped from the naive thought that everything would be all right in the world if people would just intermarry, to the native thought that we should establish a black homeland where we would never have to see a white face again. (quoted from Helms 1990, 25)

(3.4.2.b) Second, the person in encounter stage enters a phase that may be referred to as *seekership*. In the encounter stage, the person's abandonment of the previous identity leaves him or her virtually "identity-less" (Helms 1990, 26), a condition that is more uncomfortable than it is comfortable. Nevertheless, one needs some cognitive framework for making sense of one's own emotions, the world, and one's place in it. Consequently, the person begins an active search for a Black identity, a search that Helms (1990, 26) describes as akin to a "religious rebirth." Cross says of the search as follows:

[T]he proposed new identity is highly attractive, the person throws caution to the wind and begins a frantic, determined, extremely obsessive, motivated search for Black identity. At the end of the encounter stage the person is not Black yet, but he/she has made the decision to become Black. (Cross 1978, 85)

(3.4.2.c) Third, it should be noted that the encounter experiences that trigger into the encounter stage are *idiosyncratic* to the individual. As pointed out by Helms (1990, 26), it is not appropriate to assume that one common set of experiences leads every individual to the encounter stage. Rather, the encounter experience is the common psychological experience of confronting "an identity-shattering something" that links individuals to this stage. However, the "something" varies according to the person's life circumstances.

(3.4.2.d) Finally, it has been an issue whether the encounter stage lasts long enough to be considered a stage itself. There is considerable controversy among scholars of racial/ethnic identity formation (see Cross et al. 1991; Ponterotto and Wise 1987) concerning whether the encounter stage is in fact a full-blown stage. However, because a person mentally re-visits the encounter and personalizes the experience, it is reasonable to treat it as a distinct phase (Helms 1990, 24; Price 2001, 32). This is also my position

in this study.

3.4.3 Immersion-emersion Stage

To Cross, the “immersion-emersion stage” of Nigrescence addresses the most sensational aspect of Black identity development; it represents the “vortex of psychological nigrescence” (Cross 1991, 201). Immersion-emersion is basically a period of transition and the individual begins to demolish the old perspective and searches for a new understanding of self as Black. The immersion in the world of Blackness involves a turning inward and the view that everything of value must be Black.

In this phase, the person engages the work of erasing the old identity while building a new one. The person has not yet changed, but has decided that he or she must change. He/she is moving from the familiar to the uncertain, and in the process, will berate or denigrate the old self. This may take the form of a denial of the old self, or at least its import, given the new concerns. Because the person is not yet sure about how to become what he or she wants, thus, the early manifestations of the identity can be shallow, quixotic, overly dramatic, or crude. The person has not been thoroughly socialized into the identity and lacks detailed information about norms appropriate to what he or she wants to be. Cross says as follows:

In effect, the new convert lacks knowledge about the complexity and texture of the new identity; consequently, he or she is forced to erect simplistic, glorified, highly romantic and speculative images of what he or she assumes the self will be like. This state of “in betweenness” can cause the person to be very anxious about whether he or she is becoming the “right kind of Black person.” (Cross 1995, 106)

Several observations could be made about the person in immersion-emersion stage.

(3.4.3.a) First of all, it is important for the immersion-emersion Black to seek out those individuals and groups who represent what he or she plans to be. As a matter of fact, without the help from those individuals or groups, he or she might not be able to fully develop the new identity and resolve crises associated with the situation. As Cross explains in the following way:

..... most converts will seek and find the social support of others by joining certain organizations and groups. The groups joined provide a counterculture to the identity being replaced by entangling the person in membership requirements, symbolic dress codes, rites, rituals, obligations and reward systems that nurture and reinforce the emerging “new” (Black or Afrocentric) identity. (1995, 109)

(3.4.3.b) Second, in the immersion-emersion stage, the course of seeking out those individuals and groups with similar mentality could be understood as a process of *re-socialization*. This very process involves a quest for information and gradual participation in group activities. The person submerges him- or herself in Black culture and history. He/she attends cultural and political meetings that focus on Black concerns and may even join these organizations and drop their pre-encounter associations (Cross 1995, 107).

(3.4.3.c) Third, emotionally, the *anxiety* and *zeal* that characterize the encounter stage can still be found in the immersion-emersion stage. The person is angry at Whites because of their role in racial oppression, at herself or himself for having been a party to such a system for however long, and at other Blacks whose eyes have not been properly opened yet. Thus, one’s acknowledgement of Blackness is high, though it is not internalized; the person seems to be conforming to a preconceived notion of Black identity. Some research comparing characteristics of pre-encounter and

immersion-emersion stages (Parham and Helms 1985a, 1985b) suggests that they are similar in that they both appear to be reactions to environmental circumstances, but dissimilar in that hostility seems to be measurably associated with those at the immersion-emersion stage.

(3.4.3.d) Fourth, it is notable that “*either/or thinking*” (i.e., dichotomous thinking) characterizes the cognitive development of persons in immersion-emersion. The immersion-emersion person completely identifies with Black culture and denigrates White culture. The immersion is a strong dominating sensation constantly being energized by Black rage, guilt, and a developing sense of Black pride. Black is beautiful as the person accepts his or her physical characteristics. Along with a turning inward and turning away from the White world and White perspective, a need to “confront the man” develops. Confrontation, bluntness, and either/or mentality are the primary basis for communicating with other people, Black or White. The Black person engages in activities designed to prove his or her Blackness (Cross 1978).

(3.4.3.e) Finally, individuals may *stagnate* at the immersion-emersion stage. In this case, they are described as persons having a “pseudo” Black identity, because it is based upon the hatred and negation of White people rather than on the affirmation of a pro-Black perspective. In addition to possibly stagnating at the immersion-emersion stage, the person could regress to pre-encounter attitudes if the drive for change in a more positive direction is not strong enough (Cross 1995, 111-2).

3.4.4 Internalization Stage

Internalization is the fourth stage in the Cross model. Having gone through

anxieties and uncertainties, searching out information and like-minded people, the convert internalizes the new identity. The previous stages were a process of reconciling conflicts, erasing the old self, and solidifying the new self. By the internalization stage, the new identity outwardly manifests as a natural part of the person's identity repertoire. As a matter of fact, people in the internalization stage mark the point of dissonance resolution and a reconstitution of one's steady-state personality and cognitive style.

In this stage, the person perceives himself or herself to be totally changed, with a new worldview and a revitalized personality. The individual internalizes Black culture and transcends racism; the person focuses on something other than him- or herself and his or her own racial group. Internalization occurs as the person works through the challenges and problems of the transitional period of immersion-emersion. Some points regarding people at the internalization stage deserve our further attention.

(3.4.4.a) First of all, the main theme of the internalization stage is the internalization of a positive personally relevant Black identity. Dissonance is resolved during the internalization phase as the person reaches a new dynamic equilibrium, comfortable with who he or she now is. Anger and rage at Whites and oppressive systems are substituted with critical analysis and contemplation. In other words, persons in internalization no longer need judge people by their cultural group memberships (e.g., race, gender, nationality). Rather they are concerned with common personhood. Consequently, the Internalizing person can find value in people who do not look like her or him.

The change from immersion-emersion stage to internalization stage, according to Cross, can be a transition from "unrealistic urgency that can lead to dropping out [of the Nigrescence transition] to a sense of destiny that enables one to sustain long-term

commitment; from anxious, insecure, rigid, pseudo-Blackness based on the hatred of Whites, to proactive Black pride, self-love, and a deep sense of connection to, and acceptance by the Black community” (Cross 1995, 113).

(3.4.4.b) Second, in internalization stage, while advanced Black identity development results in one’s giving high salience to issues of race and culture, not every person in this stage shows the same degree of salience for Blackness. Some Blacks reaching the internalization stage develop a bicultural or multicultural reference group orientation. Some other Blacks, however, hold the Black nationalistic perspective which leaves little space for nonracial considerations. Cross elaborates the issue as follows:

For the settled convert [in the internalization stage], the new identity gives high salience to Blackness, with the degree of salience being determined by ideological considerations. At one extreme are certain nationalists whose concern for race leaves little room for other considerations, but for others, Blackness becomes one of several (biculturalism) or many (multiculturalism) salencies. (Cross 1995, 113)

Persons who construct a strong nationalistic framework from their Immersion-Emersion experiences may continue along this ideological path at Internalization, whereas others may derive a far less nationalistic stance. The former can lead to total salience of Blackness, and the latter to less salience. (Cross 1995, 115)

Some Black nationalists may discourage bridging into other ethnic groups and races, and favor working with their own. However, Pan Black movements may require bridging for many reasons. Cross (1985) sees bridging as favorable because it facilitates absorption of new ideas and technologies, and that rigid, provincial identities do not deal well with change. Even if a person holds a Black nationalist perspective, the Cross

model suggests they are likely to become more flexible, allowing for a more highly faceted view of people of other races at the internalization stage (Cross 1995, 120).

(3.4.4.c) Third, internalization stage is a balancing and synthesizing of Blackness with other demands of personhood, such as one's sexual identity, occupational identity, religious or spiritual identity, and various role identities, aspects of which may be very race sensitive or race neutral. In other words, the process of internalization does not stop with the resolution of conflicts surrounding one's racial identity. Cross (1995, 116), borrowing from Bailey Jackson's perspective, contends that Nigrescence can be understood as a process during which a single dimension of a person's complex, layered identity is first isolated, for purpose of revitalization and transformation, and then, at the internalization stage, reintegrated into the person's total matrix. In Jackson's doctoral dissertation,⁸¹ he has the following explanation:

For the person who sees himself/herself as a Black only or to view his/her Blackness completely separate from the other aspects of the person is seen as a dysfunctional fragmentation of self. While recognizing the necessity for the separation of the person's Blackness from other parts of him/herself in earlier stages as a strategy for making sense of that aspect of self, the person now needs to complete the developmental process by internalizing and synthesizing this new sense of Blackness. (quoted from Cross 1996, 116)

To put it differently, having gone through the first three stages, it is possible for people in the internalization stage "to shift attention to other identity concerns such as religion, gender and sexual preference, career development, social class and poverty, and

⁸¹. The title of this work is "The Functions of Black Identity Development Theory in Achieving Relevance in Education," a dissertation written for University of Massachusetts in 1976. However, I do not have this dissertation at hand.

multiculturalism” (Cross 1995, 113).

(3.4.4.d) Finally, at the internalization stage, one’s behavior may involve participation in social and political activities designed specially to eliminate racism and/or oppression regardless of the race of the perpetrators and victims. For example, in the research conducted by Carter and Helms (1987), they find that an activist orientation may be associated with internalization attitudes.

3.5 An Identity Formation Approach to National Identity

Based on my best knowledge, there is almost no national-identity-related study adopting identity formation theory as its theoretical foundation.⁸² To comprehend the state of this neglect, one of the possible explanations is that, within the field of nationalism, relevant scholars tend to ignore the significance of micro-level study (this is my major argument as presented in Chapter Two). However, several justifications for using the identity formation theory as the theoretical framework for analyzing national-identity-related phenomenon deserve our attention.

First of all, following Richard Jenkins’ (1996) contention that national identity should be understood as a specific type of social identity, it does not make sense to pursue our inquiry on racial/ethnic identity, gender identity and sexual identity only and exclude the national identity while analyzing the identity formation process. Though the existence of similarity between national identity and other types of social identity is incontestable, we are still not sure about the applicability of general principles derived from identity formation theory to national identity. We have to conduct an empirical

study in order to validate this applicability.

Second, like other types of social identity, national identity also involves a power struggle, especially in the context of multinational states (MacIver 1999). Because of the existence of oppression in national identity (official national identity versus dissident national identity, for example), we may think of the construction of national identity as a dynamic process similar to identity formation in other types of social identity, as people explore and make decisions about the role of nationality in their lives.

Last but not least, the implicit distinction between racial, ethnic and national identity in the existing literature is problematic. These categories are terms used to distinguish or classify human groups according to physical and/or cultural as well as territorial characteristics. No one of these categories presents a clear boundary in relation to the others. By the same token, it can be assumed that none of them can exist in isolation from the others since ethnicity, for example, always combines with race and/or nation. However, as Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) state, these categories can be distinguished by their different discourses or projects, often influenced or determined by political intentions. In other words, it is legitimate, at least tentatively, to borrow a theoretical framework based upon racial/ethnic identity for analyzing national identity.

⁸². The only exception, as far as I know, is Makkawi's (1999) unpublished dissertation.

Chapter Four

Methodology: The Biographical Method

Political Science without biography is a form of taxidermy.

--- Harold Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics*

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter addresses methodological issues confronting this study. I shall begin with a review of the *biographical method*, introducing the evolution of this method in the social science literature. Next, after summarizing the advantages and shortcomings of the biographical method, I shall explain *the reason why I decide to use this method* as the basis of the research design in this study.

Third, I shall review *the process for selecting biographical information* relevant to the six activists affiliated with the U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement, which serves as the main data source for this study. I shall define the key terms in this study such as the “U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement” and “activists,” explore the full range of biographical information available, review the criteria used in this study to select the research subjects, and outline the biographical information for research in this project. Fourth, I shall present the procedures for *data analysis* adopted in this study. Finally, I shall briefly discuss the *research relationships*.

4.2 The Biographical Method

4.2.1 The Definition of Biography

I shall adopt the published biography as the main data source in this study. To put it simply, we can define “biography” as “the written history of a person’s life” (L. Smith 1998, 185). We can further divide biography into two types: biography and autobiography. While the former refers to the written description of other person’s life, the latter is meant to be the written description of one’s own life.⁸³ As a type of literary genre, modern biography emerges during the eighteenth century as part of the Enlightenment’s commitment to understanding the relationship between morality, ethics and the vagaries of everyday life (Erben 1993, 15).

From a broader perspective, biography can be seen as a variant of Plummer’s (1983, 2001) so-called “documents of life,”⁸⁴ which include also life history, personal history, oral history, life story, and so on.⁸⁵ According to Titon (1980, 283), “life history” or “personal history” can be defined as a “written account of a person’s life based on spoken conversations and interviews.” In this situation, some biographies, which are also based

⁸³. So far, most of the discussion on the “genre” of biography is offered by scholars of literary theory (e.g., Couser 1979; Durling and Watt 1941; Garraty 1964; Pascal 1960). In addition to the most simplified dichotomy between biography and autobiography, other ways of classifying the genre of biography include at least “formality vs. informality,” “narrowness vs. comprehensive,” and “adherence to fact vs. fictionalization” (N. Taylor 1998, 144). Furthermore, Clifford’s (1970) classification of biography also deserves our attention. He classifies biography into five forms or genres, including (1) objective biography; (2) scholarly-historical biography; (3) artistic-scholarly biography; (4) narrative biography; and (5) fictional biography.

⁸⁴. In another concise but oft-cited book *Interpretative Biography* (1989), Denzin uses the term “biographical method” to include all these relevant “documents of life.”

⁸⁵. Of course, this list of “documents of life” is not comprehensive at all, since I only provide some of the examples in the text. In Denzin’s (1989, Ch. 2) discussion of the biographical method, he also mentions other relevant terms like ethnography, auto-ethnography, ethnography story, fiction, case history, self story, personal experience story, etc.

on spoken conversations and interviews with the subjects themselves, can also be understood as a kind of “life history” or “personal history.”

Following Denzin (1989, 48), we can define “oral history” as “personal recollection of events, their causes and effects,” in which the emphasis is on the relevant events, rather than on the persons themselves. Finally, “life story” is referred to as “a life, or a segment of a life, as reported by the individual in question” (Denzin 1989, 42). In this definition, autobiography can also be seen as a variant of a life story. For a summary of the definitions of these biography-related terms/forms, see Table 4.1.

(Table 4.1 about here)

4.2.2 A Brief History of the Biographical Method in the Social Sciences

Though books affiliated with the genre of biography are quite significant in the publishing market,⁸⁶ there are not many works adopting this type of genre as a research subject or major data source in the various fields of the social sciences. Rather, the study of biography is dominated by scholars of the humanities, especially those writings on literary theory and history (e.g., Yu-ren Cai 2003; Couser 1979; Durling and Watt 1941; Folkenflik 1993; Zhuo-cheng Liao 1992; Olney 1972; 1980; 1998; Spengemann 1980; Stone 1981; Zun-ren Zheng 2002).

As some scholars point out (e.g., Plummer 1983, 39-42; Plummer 2001, 36-7; Witty

⁸⁶ For example, in the advertisement offered by the Book-of-the-month-club in 1987, the staff classified all books into seven categories. Among these categories, one was autobiography and the other was biography (Denzin 1989, 30-1). In other words, biography-related books composed two seventh of the publication-genre. As far as Taiwan’s publication market was concerned, there were 6,107 biographies published between 1945 and 2002, which composed 1.09% of all books released during this period (Ching-yi Lee 2003).

Table 4.1
Terms/Forms Relevant to Biography

Terms/Forms	Definition	Note
Biography	The written history of a person's life	Broad definition
Biography	The written description of other person's life	Narrow definition
Autobiography	The written description of one's own life	
Life history/ Personal history	The written account of a person's life based on spoken conversations and interviews	Some biographies can also be understood as a kind of "life history" or "personal history"
Oral history	Personal recollection of events, their causes and effects	The emphasis is on the relevant events, rather than on the persons themselves
Life story	A life, or a segment of a life, as reported by the individual in question	Autobiography can also be seen as a variant of a life story

Source: Compiled by author

1990, 58-9), it was not until the publication of two important projects affiliated with the Chicago School⁸⁷ in the 1920s that the biographical method began to gain a full and proper recognition within the social sciences. The first one was *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, a five-volume-book published between 1918 and 1920 by William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki.⁸⁸ The other was Clifford Shaw's *The Jack-roller:*

⁸⁷. For the historical background of the Chicago School, refer to Plummer (1997).

⁸⁸. The original version of this book contained no less than 2,200 pages. The version I refer to is the abridged version published in 1984 (see Thomas and Znaniecki 1984).

A Delinquent Boy's Own Story, which was published in 1930.⁸⁹ Since then, social scientists began to take the personal documents more seriously and endeavored to use this kind of data source in their research. For example, Jozef Chalasinski, an inheritor of Znaniecki, collected hundreds of topical “autobiographies” of Polish peasants. Published in 1938, these accounts presented an understanding of social relationships through individuals’ lives (Bertaux 1981, 2-3).

In addition to the Chicago School, students of political psychology, especially those researchers following the tradition of psychobiography, also extensively adopt the biographical records as their data source. For example, both Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George’s *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study* (1956) and Erik H. Erikson’s *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (1958) receive much academic attention in this line of literature. Because their subjects are historical figures who passed away long time ago, they have no choice but to use the written documents as their major data source, where biographical data plays quite a critical role.

In the field of psychology, besides psychobiography, the so-called “personology” is another academic tradition adopting copious biographical information as the data source. This tradition, which can be seen as a variant of “personality psychology” in a broader sense, is owed to Henry A. Murray, a psychologist affiliated with the Harvard Psychological Clinic.⁹⁰ In *Explorations in Personality: A Clinical and Experimental*

⁸⁹. The book I refer to is the 1966 version published by The University of Chicago Press, the original publisher of the 1930 version.

⁹⁰. It is noticeable that H. Erikson also conducted research as an affiliate of the Harvard Psychological Clinic (McAdams 1994, 598).

Study of Fifty Men of College Age (1938), which is based upon intensive studies of 50 college men, Murray and his colleagues envision a new agenda for what Murray comes to call “personology.” Murray defines personology as “the scientific study of the whole person” (cited from McAdams 1994, 601). Whereas psychologists of other persuasions study discrete processes and functions of the human organism, the personologist operates on a more molar and synthetic level, casting his or her empirical eye upon the overall pattern of an individual’s unique adaptation to the world.

Murray’s personology gives birth to the interdisciplinary “studies of lives” tradition in personality psychology, through which the individual lives of relatively normal adults, rather than abnormal adults examined by psychoanalysts, are examined in depth and over time, with special emphasis on biography, fantasy, imagination, creativity, values, motivations, and myth. Critical works following this tradition include Robert W. White’s *Lives in Progress: A Study of the Natural Growth of Personality* (1975),⁹¹ Daniel Levinson and his colleagues’ *The Seasons of A Man’s Life* (1978), and Dan P. McAdams’ *Power, Intimacy and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity* (1988).⁹²

However, in the general field of sociology, there is not much research totally relying on the published biographical data. For example, according to my best knowledge, there are less than ten works completely based on this kind of data source within the

⁹¹. The original version of this book was published in 1952. The version I refer to is the third edition published in 1975. Robert W. White could be seen as one of the most significant inheritors of Murray’s research tradition. However, it is notable that this White is different from the other Robert W. White, a well-established scholar in the field of social movements. The most famous work of the latter White is his study of the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland (i.e., Robert White 1993).

⁹². The first version of this book was published by Dorsey Press (Homewood, Ill.) in 1985. The version I refer to was published by The Guilford Press (New York) in 1988. Dan P. McAdams is probably one of the most significant inheritors following the tradition of so-called “personology.”

sociological literature on social movements. These studies can further be divided into two categories on the grounds of their research design. The first category of research follows the tradition of “case study” design, taking the individual as the unit of analysis and presenting the biographical information on a case by case basis. For instance, both Richard G. Braungart and Margaret M. Brangart’s “Political Career Patterns of Radical Activists in the 1960s and 1970s: Some Historical Comparisons” (1980) and Victor E. Wolfenstein’s *The Revolutionary Personality: Lenin, Trotsky, Gandhi* (1971)⁹³ can be seen as representative following this research tradition. While the former examines the later lives of 18 radical activists of the 1960s on the basis of written documents, the latter, which can also be seen as a work following the tradition of psychobiography, traces the developmental process of personality patterns among three revolutionaries.

Though also depended on the biographical information as the major data source, the second category of works adopts McGuire’s (1993) notion of a “scientific approach” to analyze biographical data. Following the research design of quantitative research tradition, these studies use standardized format to code the biographical data, then present the research findings on aggregative grounds, rather than the case by case format in the aforementioned studies. Rita Mae Kelly and Mary Boutilier’s *The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict* (1978), Bobbi Humenny McCrackin’s doctoral dissertation “The Etiology of Radicalization: Among American and British Communist Autobiographies” (1980), and Mostafa Rejai and Kay Phillips’ series from *Leaders of Revolution* (1979) through *World Revolutionary Leaders* (1983) to *Loyalists and Revolutionaries: Political Leaders Compared* (1988) can be seen as representative of

this line of literature.

We can also find some work using published biographical information as the chief data source in the literature on identity. For instance, in her doctoral dissertation “White Identity Development: A Process Oriented Model for Describing the Racial Consciousness of White Americans” (1982), on the basis of six autobiographies by white Americans affiliated with the anti-racism movement, Rita Hardiman endeavors to examine the process by which white Americans develop a sense of racial identity as members of a racially privileged group.

Furthermore, in James Fowler and Robin Lovin’s edited anthology *Trajectories in Faith: Five Life Stories* (1980), the authors cover five case studies: Malcolm X, the leader of Black nationalist movement in the 1960s; Anne Hutchinson, a legendary female of Massachusetts Bay Colony in the seventeenth century; Blaise Pascal, French scientist, mathematician, and theologian in the seventeenth century; Ludwig Wittgenstein, Austrian philosopher at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century; and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, German minister and theologian in the first half of twentieth century. Though all the subjects in this book are historical figures, on the basis of written documents, these authors successfully use the so-called “structural-developmental approach” to describe the developmental process of faith, enabling us to understand the formation of religious identity from a quite different perspective.

4.3 The Rationale of Adopting the Biographical Method in this Study

The purpose of this section is to justify the choice of the biographical method in this

⁹³. The original version of this book was published in 1967. The version I refer to is the second edition.

study. I shall review the advantages and shortcomings of the biographical method first. Then, on the grounds of aforementioned discussion, I shall present the rationale for adopting the biographical method as the methodological tool in this project.

4.3.1 Advantages of The biographical method

Generally speaking, the biographical method has the following advantages: (1) taking the notion of “subjectivity” seriously; (2) being cable of capturing the “developmental process” implied in the data; (3) emphasizing “depth” and “totality” in analyzing the data; (4) allowing study on subjects to which the researcher does not have physical access; (5) being inexpensive compared with other methods in terms of cost; and (6) being qualified to control the problem of “reactivity.” While the first three points are specific features of the biographical method, the latter three points are pertinent to all document study.

(4.3.1.a) The first value of the biographical method is its emphasis on “*subjectivity*,” allowing the subject to describe their experiences in their own words. In this sense, advocates of the biographical method, first and foremost, are concerned with “the phenomenal role of lived experience” (Plummer 1983, 67) or “the continuous, lived flow of historically-situated phenomenal experience, with all the ambiguity, variability, malleability and even uniqueness that such experience usually implies” (Plummer 1983, 65). Indeed for Watson this is the central justification for using this research method:

When all is said and done, the only purpose to which the life history leads itself directly, that is where it is not used as a basis for inferences tied heavily to external constructs, theories or measures, is as a commentary of *the individual's very personal view of his [sic] own experience as he [sic] understands it.* (Watson 1976, 97; emphasis added)

(4.3.1.b) Second, the biographical method also facilitates a close examination of *personal development over the life course*. As a matter of fact, while most other research techniques in the social sciences offer static images of the subject, the biographical method is better suited to describe the processes and changes in the phenomena themselves (Hardiman 1982, 152; Kohli 1981, 65; Voneche 2001, 222). Most social science in its quest for generalizability imposes order and rationality upon experience and worlds that are more ambiguous, more problematic and more chaotic in reality. Researchers tend to spend most of their energy seeking consistency in subjects' responses when subjects' lives are often inconsistent. The biographical method is peculiarly suited to discovering the confusions, ambiguities and contradictions that play upon everyday experiences (Plummer 1983, 68). As Becker comments:

The life history, more than any other technique except perhaps participant observation, can give meaning to the overworked notion of *process*. Sociologists like to speak of ongoing processes and the like but their methods usually prevent them from seeing the processes they talk about so glibly (Becker 1966, xiii; emphasis added).

(4.3.1.c) Third, compared with other methods, the biographical method allows for a degree of *depth* and *totality* that is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve with other types of research methods, especially in vast survey studies. As expressed by Voneche (2001, 221), the biographical method “is similar to the lacy little country roads that allow the traveler to really discover the countryside, unlike the highways whose only merit is to bring one, more or less rapidly and safely, from one place to another, while riding in the middle of nowhere.” For that reason, the biographical method allows the researcher to study domains neighboring on the one under initial scrutiny, a study that is likely to shed

some light on the research in progress.

(4.3.1.d) The fourth value is “*accessibility*.” As a variant of document study, one of the basic advantages of the biographical method is that it allows research on subjects to which the researcher does not have physical access, and thus cannot study by any other method. For example, the most obvious group of people who are completely inaccessible for social research by any means except documents are those who are long dead (Bailey 1987, 291). Furthermore, the researcher interested in the study of clandestine political organizations or criminal groups also faces a similar problem of “*accessibility*.” In this situation, unless adopting the biographical method or some other research design based upon documentary sources, it is impossible for a researcher to conduct his or her study at all.

(4.3.1.e) The fifth value of the biographical method is its “*relatively low cost*.” In addition to accessibility, another advantage of the biographical method, like other types of document study, is its relatively low cost in terms of time and money. As Bailey (1987, 292) points out, although the cost of documentary analysis can vary widely depending on the type of document analyzed, how widely documents are dispersed, and how far one must travel to gain access to them, documentary analysis can be inexpensive compared to large-scale surveys. Often documents are gathered together in a centralized location such as a library or newspaper morgue where the analyst can study them for only the cost of travel to the repository.

(4.3.1.f) The last advantage of the biographical method is its “*nonreactivity*,” allowing one to study subjects’ own perceptions that are written without the psychological influence of a questioner or interviewer (Taylor 1998, 141).

The biographical method is less beset by the problem of reactivity than clinical and survey research, where the respondent, regardless of his or her true beliefs, often tries to give answers that are pleasing or displeasing to the investigator. As Allport (1942, 138) points out, the observer of biography, the reader, is not present during the writing process, and there is no structure, such as a questionnaire, to guide the information given. Given this lack of structure imposed by the research project, if any common patterns emerge in a study of a large number of biographies, such patterns would be unlikely to be artifacts of the research setting or instrument. Of course, this does not mean that the biographical method is free of bias, but the data-collection method itself generally does not change the data being collected (Bailey 1987, 291).

4.3.2 Disadvantages of The biographical method

Despite the positive implications of the preceding characterization of the biographical method, there stand an array of criticisms of this method from many different perspectives. Some of the oft-cited disadvantages, among others, include: (1) being influenced by the failure of biographee's memory; (2) being distorted by the author for some unstated reason; (3) sampling bias; and (4) lack of a standard format with which to conduct comparative analysis.

(4.3.2.a) The first shortcoming is the distortion caused by *failure of memory*, particularly during the important formative period before the age of six. In either autobiography or biography, the existence of this kind of bias is unarguable (McCrackin 1980, 73). However, failure of memory is not unique to biographical information, it also affects information obtained by other research methods such as surveys and

interviews.

(4.3.2.b) The second disadvantage is the *intentional distortion by biographical authors* to serve some specific purpose. As noted in the previous sub-section, many biographies used in social research are not originally for research purposes. The various goals and purposes for which biographies are written can bias them in various ways. For example, some scholars have pointed out that biography is often used as a vehicle for self-justification and self-glorification, particular in political biography (Pascal 1960, 120-1; Maurois 1929, 56-7). By contrast, religious converts and social outcasts seeking reacceptance allegedly tend to exaggerate the evil nature of their early, pre-conversion lives (Burr 1909, 236-7; Shumaker 1954, 65).

(4.3.2.c) The third problem is *sampling bias*. A distinct criticism of biographies as a data source is that they comprise a set of data with certain common properties that differentiate them from those who do not have biographies available. For example, as noted by Bailey (1987, 293), poorly educated people are much less likely than well-educated people to write documents, including autobiographies. In addition, most of the authors of biography do not pay specific attention to people with less education. Thus it is likely that the lives of poorly educated people are not well represented in published works, biographies included.

(4.3.2.d) The fourth disadvantage of biographical information is its *lack of standard format*. Like other types of documents, biographies differ quite widely in regard to their standardization of format (Bailey 1987, 294). Therefore, comparison is difficult, if not impossible, since valuable information contained in one biography may be entirely lacking in another.

4.3.3 Why the biographical method in this Study?

After discussing the advantage and shortcoming of the biographical method, in this sub-section, I shall propose the rationale behind why I decide to choose the biographical method as the research design in this project. Five points are pertinent to this decision: (1) the importance of taking “subjectivity” into consideration in this study; (2) the significance of longitudinal data in this project; (3) the specific role played by “narrative” in the biographical data; (4) the potential for biographies to connect micro and macro levels of analysis together; and (5) considerations of accessibility and cost.

(4.3.3.a) First of all, the “*subjectivity*” implied in biographical data is not a kind of bias, as claimed by critics of the biographical method; rather, it is a significant resource for any research endeavoring to reconstruct the biographee’s identity. This point is basically a response to the second criticism --- the possible distortion by biographical authors --- mentioned in the previous sub-section. As a matter of fact, this is also one of the oft-cited shortcomings associated with the biographical method. In the following discussion, I shall defend the legitimacy of this “subjectivity” in this study at two epistemological levels.

First, the more moderate strategy of defending the legitimacy of the biographical method is to acknowledge that our basic concern in this study is “subjective meaning” rather than so-called “objective facts.” For instance, in their study of the life-course development of left- and right-wing youth activist leaders from the 1960s, M. Braungart and R. Braungart adopt a similar strategy and express it in the following way:

This is a retrospective study, based on the recollections of the activist leaders

interviewed. The interest is less in accuracy of the account than in how events have been remembered and interpreted, for *it is these interpretations that have affected subsequent perceptions, attitudes, and responses to politics.* (M. Braungart and R. Braungart 1990, 252; emphasis added)

In fact, as contended by Burr (1909, 290-2), biography has been termed a process of re-creation. It is a discovery and a recovery of the self in relation to the experiences and pressures of society and culture. From this perspective, the nature of biographical “truth” is less historical than aesthetic. Furthermore, even though the experience shown in biographical data is “real,” without the medium of “interpretative matrix” implied in the biographical author’s words, there will be only “facticity without meaning,” according to Shumaker (1954, 117).

The second defensive approach, rejecting the significance of straight objectivity, is the more radical one. We can directly treat the notion of “objectivity” as a kind of *myth* and contend that it is impossible to claim that it is “value-free” for all social science research (biographical study is only one of its forms, of course). In other words, the “problem” (if there is one at all) of the absence of objectivity is not only related to biographical study, it is associated with all social science research. This argument has recently gained much wider theoretical support from philosophers, Marxian and feminist constructionists, social scientists, and philosophers of science (e.g., R. Bernstein 1976; Fiske and Shweder 1986; M. Gergen 1988; Popper 1972; Putnam 1987, 1990). For instance, the philosopher Hilary Putnam (1987, 1990) argues that there cannot, even in principle, be such a thing as a “God’s eye view,” a view that is the one true objective account. Any view is a view from some perspective, and therefore incorporates the

stance of the observer.⁹⁴

(4.3.3.b) Second, compared with other methods, the biographical method allows for a close examination of *process-oriented and longitudinal data* that is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve with other types of research methods. As shown in Chapters Two and Three, one of the most theoretical implications for the notion “national identity” is that national identity, just like other types of social identity, is not static in nature. Rather, national identity is dynamic and changeable. Since the major concern in this project is the biographee’s content of national identity in his/her different life stages, it is inevitable that we need a sort of longitudinal data for this study. To cover a 70-year-long life history, except the biographical method, it is almost impossible for any researcher to adopt other methods --- such as questionnaire or in-depth interview --- to collect the necessary data.

(4.3.3.c) The third rationale of adopting the biographical method is *the potential usefulness of “narratives,”* the written form of biography. Some scholars observe that the form of narratives gradually becomes a critical material adopted by recent students of identity studies (Baumeister and Newman 1994; Ricoeur 1991). Accordingly, the so-called “narrative identity” becomes a very popular concept among scholars in this field (e.g., Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001; Gregg 1991; Hinchman and Hinchman 1997;

⁹⁴. The more radical version of this perspective will extend its application to natural sciences. For example, Fleck (1979) contends that, to observe the medical “facts” in an x-ray, a physician must first learn what parts of the picture to ignore. Furthermore, the “fact” that objects “fall” to the ground is a fact only in a social context where gravity is an accepted explanation for the behavior of falling objects. Scientific facts are constructed and developed, they do not have an independent, objective existence of their own.

McAdams 1989; Somers and Gibson 1994; Spickard and Burroughs 2000).⁹⁵ Some scholars also begin to use this concept to analyze the national-identity-related phenomena (e.g., Bhabha 1990; de Cilia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999; Feldman 2001; Rosenthal 1997).

If we define “narratives” as “[telling] a story,” (Cuddon 1991, 566), then we can find that biography is not only a form of narratives in nature, but also a very appropriate material to explore the so-called narrative identity. Rosenthal even makes a radical claim about the matter in the following way:

The concept of biography makes the concept of identity redundant. Biography is an empirically more productive, logically multirelational (instead of birelational), and linguistically more narrative (instead of argumentative) concept. Empirically analysis of narrated life stories allows us to reconstruct the lived-through life history of the biographer, as well as to reconstruct the biographers’ construction of their life, that is, how their past appears to them today --- beyond their conscious interest in presentation --- and how it makes sense of their present and future. (Rosenthal 1997, 23-4; emphasis added)

(4.3.3.d) The form of biography involves the analysis at *both the micro- and macro-levels* simultaneously, and this feature is indeed the necessary condition for study on national identity. As a matter of fact, the biographical method provides important resources, through which it is possible to see how specific people internalize particular social expectations and aspirations. As pointed out by McCrackin (1980, 78-9), there exists a dialectical relationship between biography and history, since the individual is the product as well as the producer of history at the same time.

⁹⁵. The power of this wave of “narrative studies” can be demonstrated by the issue of a new journal, *The Narrative Study of Lives*, by Sage Publications in 1993. Currently, this journal is sponsored as well as published by the American Psychological Association.

Basically, I posit this project as a study focusing on the micro-level of analysis, since my basic concern is the “social identity” measured at the individual level. However, the “individual” identity is inevitably influenced by the external environment beyond the individual level. Accordingly, while analyzing the content of the research subject’s national identity, we also have to deal with the “discourse” relevant to national identity at the macro-level of analysis. Since the biographical method can allow us to focus on both the micro- and macro-levels, it becomes a very powerful tool to conduct the national-identity-related study.

(4.3.3.e) Finally, the biographical method also has the advantages of “accessibility” and “relatively low cost.” As a dissertation project, this consideration is quite important and practical.

4.4 Selection of Biographical Works

4.4.1 Defining the U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement

In this study, I shall define my research subjects as “the activists of the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM) in the United States.” Two parts are involved in this definition: “the U.S. TIM” and “the activists.” The following is my definition of “the U.S. TIM.” The definition of “the activists” will be discussed in the following sub-section.

As a matter of fact, the more precise term for describing the U.S. TIM should be “*social movement industry*” (Zald and McCarthy 1980; 1987, 161-80). In other words, the U.S. TIM is constituted by *more than one* social movement organization (SMO). This movement includes SMOs established in different periods (e.g., 1950s, 1960s, 1970s,

1980s, 1990s), SMOs based on different political ideologies (e.g., left-wing TIM, right-wing TIM, etc.), and SMOs adopting different strategies (e.g., violent terrorism, direct action, lobbying, etc.).

To put it concretely, the so-called U.S. TIM consists of at least three types of groups: (1) political organizations openly promoting direct action for the cause of Taiwan independence, (2) political organizations using more moderate strategy to pursuit the goal of Taiwan independence, and (3) social organizations whose purpose is to enhance the fellowship of Taiwanese community in the United States.

(4.4.1.a) First of all, there are political organizations openly promoting direct action, or even violent terrorism, for pursuing the idea of Taiwan independence, such as the World United Formosans for Independence --- USA Headquarters (*Taidu Lianmeng Meiguo Benbu* 台獨聯盟美國本部, hereafter WUFI),⁹⁶ the Taiwan Era (*Taiwan Shidai* 台灣時代), and the Taiwan Revolutionary Party (*Taiwan Gemingdang* 台灣革命黨).

(4.4.1.b) Second, there are some other political organizations, most of which adopt more moderate strategies like lobbying or research, indirectly promoting the idea of

⁹⁶. Founded on January 1, 1970, the original Chinese name of WUFI was “*Shijie Taiwan Duli Lianmeng*” (世界台灣獨立聯盟). This organization was an umbrella organization consisting of the US-based “United Formosans in America for Independence” (*Quanmei Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 全美台灣獨立聯盟), the Canada-based Committee for Human Rights in Formosa (*Jianada Taiwan Renquan Weiyuanhui* 加拿大台灣人權委員會), the Japan-based “United Young Formosans for Independence” (*Taiwan Qingnian Duli Lianmeng* 台灣青年獨立聯盟), and the European-based “Union for Formosa’s Independence in Europe” (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 119-20; Xi Huang 1992, 62-3; Shu 2001a, 109-11). In 1987, “in order to insist on the way of revolution and face responsibility for nation-building” (Jia-guang Huang et al. 1991a, 127), the Chinese name of this organization was changed to “*Taiwan Duli Jianguo Lianmeng*” (台灣獨立建國聯盟). However, the English name of this organization, WUFI, remained unchanged.

In the following discussion, I shall use the name WUFI to label this organization, regardless of whether it refers to the “United Formosans in America for Independence” before 1970 or the “World United Formosans for Independence” after 1970. However, in some cases, to be sensitive to the context of specific situations, I shall use the exact name of this organization at that time.

Taiwan independence. Both the Formosan Association for Public Affairs and the Formosan Association for Human Rights (*Taiwan Renquanhui* 台灣人權會) belong to this group.

(4.4.1.c) Finally, there are some “social” organizations, whose purpose is to promote the fellowship and welfare of the Taiwanese community in the U.S., also supporting the pursuit of Taiwan independence in one way or another. Examples in this type include the Taiwanese Association of America, the North America Taiwanese Women’s Association (*Beimeizhou Taiwan Funuhui* 北美洲台灣婦女會) and the North America Taiwanese Professors’ Association (*Beimeizhou Taiwanren Jiaoshou Xiehui* 北美洲台灣教授協會).

Although the ostensible purpose of these organizations is to promote the fellowship and welfare among their members, however, as pointed out by Fupian Chen (1998, 6), “as far as the goal of ‘Taiwan independence’ is concerned, these ‘quasi-Taiwan independence groups’ (*qin Taidu tuanti* 親台獨團體), though not promoting the idea of ‘Taiwan independence’ directly, can still be classified as the ‘pan-Taiwan independence organizations’ (*fan Taidu tuanti* 泛台獨團體).” Similar opinions are also expressed by Xi Huang (1992, 64); Jin Lin (1993, 63-6); and Cohen (1991, 287)

On the one hand, in terms of membership, there exists a high degree of overlap between these “social” organizations and both types of political organizations. On the other hand, these “social” organizations also conduct coalition building with both types of political organizations quite frequently. For example, in December 2000, the “World Taiwanese Congress (*Shijie Taiwanren Dahui* 世界台灣人大會),” a recently formed

umbrella organization, was founded in Washington, DC. As far as the participating organizations in this new umbrella organization are concerned, in addition to WUFI and FAPA, which are political organizations promoting the idea of Taiwan independence in one way or another, the names of some other “social” organizations, e.g., the Taiwanese Association of America, the Taiwanese Collegian (*Taiwan Xueshengshe* 台灣學生社), and the North America Taiwanese Women’s Association, can also be found on the list (Secretariat of World Taiwanese Congress 2001). Furthermore, in September 2001, nineteen Taiwanese organizations in the United States endorsed a document entitled “White Paper 2001 Regarding Taiwan and Its Future.” Among the organizations endorsing this document, we can find not only WUFI and FAPA, but also some “social” organizations such as the Taiwanese Association of America, the Taiwanese Collegian, and the North America Taiwanese Women’s Association, the North America Taiwan Professors’ Association, and the North American Taiwanese Medical Association (*Beimeizhou Taiwanren Yishi Xiehui* 北美洲台灣人醫師協會)(Formosan Association for Public Affairs et al. 2001).

For a brief introduction to these TIM-related organizations in the U.S., refer to Appendix: A Brief Introduction to the TIM-related Organizations in the United States.

4.4.2 Defining the Activist

In addition to the notion of “the U.S. TIM,” finding the appropriate definition of “activist” or “movement joiner” is the next task of this project. Three points about my definition of activist in this dissertation deserve further attention.

(4.4.2.a) First of all, in this study, I decide to use “*membership*” as the criterion to

define this term “activist”. As far as the current literature on political activism is concerned, there does not seem to be a consensually established definition of “activist.” As Lofland (1996, 202-14) points out, the meanings of “joining” are bedeviled by slippery, varied, and shifting referents regarding many different aspects of it. For instance, according to Keniston (1968, 306), there are at least three criteria for defining the term “activist”: (1) those who act together with others in a *group*; (2) those who are associated with some specific social ideological or political *issues*; and (3) those who hold liberal or radical *views*. In other words, in addition to the criterion of “membership,” Keniston adds two other criteria to define the activist --- “concern for specific issues” and “possessing some specific views” --- as the criteria of activist as well. I agree that those “unseen” criteria are also very important for defining activists. Nevertheless, in reality, I have to acknowledge that these criteria are very difficult to operationalize. This is my rationale to adopt “membership” as the criterion to define the term “activist.”

Briefly, the subjects have to hold “self-proclaimed membership in U.S. TIM-related SMOs,” one of the most conventional ways for defining the term “activist.” The rationale behind this is that activists are those who participate in the specific SMO. Of course, while taking “membership” as the measure for defining the term activist, self-proclaimed membership is not the only way to define this term. Another possible way to decide the SMO “membership” is based upon the organization’s (i.e., SMO) definition rather than the individual’s own definition. Certainly, as far as the list of SMO members is concerned, the list based on the self-proclaimed membership is probably different from the result derived from organizationally defined membership.

However, since these exist no comprehensive or even partial member list provided by the U.S. TIM-related organizations, it is impossible for me to use “organizationally defined membership” as the criterion in this project.

(4.4.2.b) It is notable that both *current and veteran activists* of U.S. TIM are included in this project. In some cases, these activists not only joined the U.S. TIM-related SMOs, but also once served as the cadre of these groups. However, after participating in the TIM for a long time, at present moment, they seem to be changing their national identity once again and reject the goal of TIM.

For example, Cary Hong (*Hong Zhesheng* 洪哲勝), who once served as the vice chairperson of WUFI as well as one of the initiators of Taiwan Revolutionary Party, is now very active in the Chinese Democratic Movement in the United States. Furthermore, Hsin-liang Hsu (*Xu Xinliang* 許信良), who first initiated the *Formosa Weekly* (*Meilidao Zhoubao* 美麗島週報) in Los Angeles and later organized the Taiwan Revolutionary Party with Cary Hong in the 1980s, is promoting the idea of “moving toward the West bravely (*dadān xījīn* 大膽西進)” and contending that the Taiwanese government should broadly open the various kinds of exchange between Taiwan and China. In this project, I still decide to include these veteran activists as my potential subjects, although they do not necessarily agree with the goal of TIM at this point in time.

(4.4.2.c) Due to the transnational nature of the U.S. TIM, many activists have moved back to Taiwan to continue their political activism on behalf of the TIM, especially after the lifting of the blacklist policy by the KMT government in the 1990s. In this case, it seems unreasonable to exclude these veteran activists, since many of them have been residing in the US and participated in lots of TIM-relevant activities for decades. As on

those activists not residing in the US at the time of my research, if they *resided in America for at least 7 years* before moving back to Taiwan, they are still qualified as potential subjects.

4.4.3 All Possible Biographical Data

After conducting intense library research,⁹⁷ I found the written documents relevant to 148 activists of the U.S. TIM. Among these documents, there are book-length biographies (rather than essay-length information) related to 22 activists (for a summary of these biographies, refer to Table 4.2).⁹⁸ These biographies are further divided into four types: (1) autobiographies or memoirs written by activists themselves; (2) biographies of activists written by other writers; (3) diaries written by activists themselves; and (4) other academic works not written in biographical format but relevant to these activists.

(Table 4.2 about here)

(4.4.2.a) First of all, there are 8 autobiographies written by 7 activists. They included *I Want to Go Home* (*wo yao huiqu* 我要回去) (1990) and *Formosa TV and I* (*Minshi yu wuo* 民視與我) by Trong R. Chai (*Cai Tongrong* 蔡同榮), *The Story of Tina Chang* (*Zhang Dinglan de gushi* 張丁蘭的故事) (2000) by Tina Chang (*Zhang Dinglan*

⁹⁷. I conducted research in the following libraries: the Kroch Library of Cornell University, the Hoover Institute Library at Stanford University, the Research Library of Indiana University at Bloomington, the General Libraries of the University of Texas, Austin, the Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard University, and the Library of Congress. This list covers most of the significant libraries with Asian collections in the United States.

⁹⁸. To my best knowledge, this should be the most comprehensive list of biographical works relevant to activists in the U.S. TIM.

Table 4.2
Biographies of Activists Affiliated with the Taiwan Independence Movement
in the United States

Subject	Author	Title	Publication Date	Type	Whether Selected by this Study
Chai, Trong R. (蔡同榮)	Chai, Trong R.	<i>I Want to Go Home</i>	1990	A	Yes
	Chai, Trong R.	<i>Formosa TV and I</i>	2003	A	
Chang, George T. (張燦璫)	Wang, Mei-xiu	<i>Searching for a Taste of Life: George T. Chang's Thirty Years of Participation in the Taiwan Independence Movement</i>	1992	B	
	Wang, Mei-xiu	<i>Dreaming the Taiwan Nation: George T. Chang's Thirty Years of Participation in the Taiwan Independence Movement</i>	1995	B	
Chang, Tina (張丁蘭)	Chang, Tina	<i>The Story of Tina Chang</i>	2000	A	
Chen, Fang-ming (陳芳明)	Chen, Ming-cheng	“The Fang-ming Chen Phenomenon and the Study of His National Identity”	2002	R	Yes
Chen, Tsing-fang (陳錦芳)	Jeppson, Lawrence	<i>The Neo-Iconography of Tsing-fang Chen</i>	1978	R	Yes
	Chen, Tsing-fang	<i>Diary of A Young Artist (Circulating Corridor)</i>	1991	D	
	Chen, Tsing-fang	<i>These Days in Paris</i>	1996	D	
Chen, Yi-song (陳逸松)	Lin, Zhong-sheng	<i>Memoirs of Yi-song Chen: Full of Wind under the Flag of Sun</i>	1994	B	
Chiu, Timmy (邱義昌)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>The Homeless Migratory Bird: The Quiet Timmy Chiu</i>	2000	B	

Table 4.2 (Cont.)

Chou, Grace (吳秀惠)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>Mt. Ali in North America: Sammuel Chou and Grace Chou</i>	2000	B	
Chou, Samuel (周焯明)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>Mt. Ali in North America: Sammuel Chou and Grace Chou</i>	2000	B	
Chuang, Strong C. (莊秋雄)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>Late Autumn, The Man in Exile: The Quiet Strong C. Chuang</i>	2000	B	Yes
Coe, Shoki (黃彰輝)	Coe, Shoki	<i>Recollections and Reflections</i>	1994	A	
Hsu, Hsin-liang (許信良)	Hsia, Chen	<i>The Political World of Hsin-liang Hsu</i>	1999	B	
Hu, Min-xiong (胡敏雄)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>Hu House Village and Morrisville: The Quiet Min-xiong Hu</i>	2000	B	
Huang, Wu-dong (黃武東)	Huang, Wu-dong	<i>Memoirs of Wu-dong Huang</i>	1986	A	
Kuo, Pei-horng (郭倍宏)	Lin, Wen-yi	<i>The Reed without Soil: The Legend of Pei-horng Kuo</i>	1991	B	
Lee, Ying-yuan (李應元)	Chen, Ming-cheng and Guo-zhen Qiu	<i>The Challenge from Ying-yuan Lee</i>	1990	B	
Peng, Ming-min (彭明敏)	Peng, Ming-min	<i>A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of A Formosan Independence Leader</i>	1972	A	Yes
Wang, Kenjohn (王桂榮)	Wang, Kenjohn	<i>Memoirs of Kenjohn Wang: The Struggling History of Immigration of a Taiwanese American</i>	1999	A	
Wang, Po-wen (王博文)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>The Quiet Taiwanese: The Quiet Cong-mei Huang, The Quiet Qi-xian Zheng, and Everyday Life Description of Po-wen Wang</i>	2000	B	

Table 4.2 (Cont.)

Wu, Mu-sheng (吳木盛)	Wu, Mu-sheng	<i>The Footprint of A Brave Duck: My Memory</i>	2000	A	Yes
Yang, Tom C. (楊宗昌)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>From Nantun to Pleasanton: Tom C. Yang's Talk about His Own Experience</i>	2000	B	
Zheng, Qi-xian (鄭啓賢)	Lin, Shuang-bu	<i>The Quiet Taiwanese: The Quiet Cong-mei Huang, The Quiet Qi-xian Zheng, and Everyday Life Description of Po-wen Wang</i>	2000	B	

Source: Compiled by author

Note:

A = autobiography or memoir written by activist

B = biography of activist written by other writer

D = diary written by activist

R = research not written in biographical format but relevant to the activist

張丁蘭), *Recollections and Reflections* (1994) by Shoki Coe (*Huang Zhanghui* 黃彰輝),

Memoirs of Wu-dong Huang (*Huang Wudong huiyilu* 黃武東回憶錄) (1986) by

Wu-dong Huang (*Huang Wudong* 黃武東), *A Taste of Freedom: Memories of a*

Formosan Independence Leader (1994) by Ming-min Peng,⁹⁹ *Memoirs of Kenjohn Wang:*

The Struggling History of Immigration of a Taiwanese American (*Wang Gueirong huiyilu:*

yige Taimeiren de yimin fendou shi 王桂榮回憶錄：一個台美人的移民奮鬥史)(1991)

⁹⁹. This book was originally published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston (New York) in 1972. The Chinese version of this book, which is entitled *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of Ming-Min Peng* (*ziyou de ziwei: Peng Mingmin huiyilu* 自由的滋味：彭明敏回憶錄), was published by the Taiwan Publishing Co. (Irvine, Calif.) in 1986.

by Kenjohn Wang (*Wang Gueirong* 王桂榮), and *My Memory: The Footprint of A Brave Duck* (*yayong de jiaoyin: wo de huiyi* 鴨勇的腳印：我的回憶) (2000) by Mu-sheng Wu (*Wu Musheng* 吳木盛).

(4.4.2.b) We can further divide the second type of data into two subtypes: fictional biography and other general biography. As far as fictional biography is concerned, I found 8 biographies relevant to activists in the U.S. TIM, all were written by Shuang-bu Lin (*Lin Shuangbu* 林雙不). These activists include Timmy Chiu (*Qiu Ichang* 邱義昌)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000a), Samuel Chou (Shuang-bu Lin 2000e), Grace Chou (*Wu Xiuhui* 吳秀惠)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000e), Strong C. Chuang (*Zhuang Qiuxiong* 莊秋雄)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000b), Min-hsiung Hu (*Hu Minxiong* 胡敏雄)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000d), Bo-wen Wang (*Wang Bowen* 王博文)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000f), Tom C. Yang (*Yang Zongchang* 楊宗昌)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000c), and Qi-xian Zheng (*Zheng Qixian* 鄭啓賢)(Shuang-bu Lin 2000f).

Shuang-bu Lin is a novelist as well as a TIM activist residing in Yunlin, Taiwan. Starting in October 1995, Lin traveled several times to the United States to interview activists, their family members, and their close friends. The whole process of data collection took about 2 years. Then, Lin spent six months writing these activists' biographies and published the final product in six volumes in 2000. Basically, these activists were chosen as the subjects for Lin's project because "they were involved in the overseas TIM for quite a long time; donated money, spent time but never asked for recognition; never participated in Taiwan's election [as candidates]; and never made use of the movement to pursue interest and fame for themselves" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000e, 5).

In terms of works other than fictional biography, I found 6 books relevant to 5 activists in the U.S. TIM. They are *The Challenge from Ying-yuan Lee* (*Li Yingyuan de tiaozhan* 李應元的挑戰)(Chen and Qiu 1990), *Reed without Soil: The Legend of Pei-horng Kuo* (*jianmang litu: Guo Beihong chuanqi* 菅芒離土：郭倍宏傳奇)(Wen-yi Lin 1991a), *Searching for a Taste of Life: George T. Chang's Thirty Years of Participation in the Taiwan Independence Movement* (*zhuixun yizhong shengming de qingdiao: Zhang Zanhong sanshinian de Taiduyundong shengya* 追尋一種生命的情調：張燦鑒三十年的台獨運動生涯)(Mei-xiu Wang 1992), *Dreaming the Taiwan Nation: George T. Chang's Thirty Years of Participation in the Taiwan Independence Movement* (*mengxiang Taiwanguo: Zhang Zanhong sanshinian de Taiduyundong shengya* 夢想台灣國：張燦鑒三十年的台獨運動生涯)(Mei-xiu Wang 1995), *The Political World of Hsin-liang Hsu* (*Xu Xinliang de zhengzhi shijie* 許信良的政治世界)(Chen Hsia 1999), and *Memoirs of Yi-song Chen: Full of Wind under the Flag of Sun* (*Chen Yisong huiyilu: taiyangqi xia feng manlou* 陳逸松回憶錄：太陽旗下風滿樓)(Zhong-sheng Lin 1994a). Among these works, three books (i.e., Chen and Qiu 1990; Mei-xiu Wang 1992, 1995) cannot be seen as “standard” biographies from the more rigid perspective, since all of them also include news clips, interviews with biographees, and articles written by the biographees themselves. Accordingly, to this research, the value of these works is not as high as other data source.

(4.4.2.c) Third, I also found two diaries written by a U.S. TIM activist --- *Diary of A Young Artist (Circulating Corridor)* (*shaonan riji (huilang)* 少男日記(迴廊)) and *These Days in Paris* (*zai Bali de rize* 在巴黎的日子). Both of them are authored by

Tsing-fang Chen (*Chen Jinfang* 陳錦芳). While the former (i.e., Tsing-fang Chen 1991b) is his diary as a college student at National Taiwan University between May 1957 and April 1958, the latter (i.e., Tsing-fang Chen 1996a) is part of his diary as a graduate student at the University of Paris from October 1963 to December 1968.

(4.4.2.d) Finally, I also found two academic works relevant to U.S. TIM activists. One is Lawrence Jeppson's *The Neo-iconography of Tsing-fang Chen* (1978), a book about Tsing-fang Chen's paintings written by an art critic. The other is Ming-cheng Chen's "The Fang-ming Chen Phenomenon and the Study of His National Identity (*Chen Fangming xianxiang ji qi guozu rentong yanjiu* 陳芳明現象及其國族認同研究)" (2002), a master thesis of Department of History, National Cheng Kung University. Whereas the former emphasizes Tsing-fang Chen's artistic accomplishment, the focus of the latter work is the transformation of Fang-ming Chen's national identity. It is difficult to see these as "standard" biographies since both writers only concern with specific dimension of the biographees' lives. However, they can at least be seen as "topical life documents" (Plummer 2001, 26) because it is inevitable for both authors to deal with the biographees' life history while conducting their research.

4.4.4 The Criteria Used in This Study to Select the Research Subjects

To select the research subject, one of the most critical criteria used in this study is the "breadth and comprehensiveness" of the biographical source. Since I posit this research as exploratory study, I do not attempt to test the appropriateness of any existing hypothesis or model. Rather, my purpose is to establish a preliminary model for understanding the dynamics of identity formation through the empirical data. In this

situation, to make the final decision about the selection of the research subject for this project, the “breadth and comprehensiveness” of the biographical data itself becomes the most important consideration. To certain extent, I have to acknowledge that I adopt a sort of principle of “exclusion” to omit the inappropriate biographical data. To put it more concretely, I employ the following criteria to select the research subject for this project:

(4.4.4.a) The first criterion concerns *the relative importance of national-identity-related issues* in the biographical texts, since it is my basic interest in this research. In other words, the biographies have to be explicitly concern with the biographee’s lives as a Taiwanese, and with their growth and development regarding issues on national identity and political belief. Judging from this perspective, many biographies have to be excluded from the finalist because they are not rich enough to provide the data needed for my analysis.

For example, some biographical works do not contain much information about the mind journey of the biographee --- such as Pei-horng Kuo’s biography by Wen-yi Lin (1991), Ying-yuan Lee’s biography by Ming-cheng Chen and Guo-zhen Qiu (1990), Kenjohn Wang’s autobiography (1999), George T. Chang’s biographies by Mei-xiu Wang (1992, 1995), Hsing-laing Hsu’s biography by Chen Hsia (1999), and Tina Chang’s autobiography (2000) --- so they have to be omitted from the finalist. Furthermore, as ministers affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, both Wu-dong Huang (1986) and Shoki Coe (1994) pay much attention in their autobiographies on the religion-related matter rather than the national-identity-related

issue. Accordingly, their works are also excluded from this project for the similar consideration.

(4.4.4.b) The second criterion is the *balance of life story among biographee's different stages of life course*. In other words, the biographies have to cover the biographee's life experiences over a long period to provide a sense of how the biographee developed. Judging from this concern, Yi-song Chen's biography by Zhong-sheng Lin (1994a) is excluded because it only covers Chen's life story during the Japanese era (before 1945), not dealing with his life events in the following years at all.

(4.4.4.c) The third consideration is *the balance of the representation of biographical data*. Although most of the fictional biographies by Shuang-bu Lin fulfill the aforementioned criteria, we have to be very careful while considering to adopt his works as our data source. After all, as a TIM activist himself, Shuang-bu Lin had intensive interaction with the biographees of these works. This "interaction," which appears in almost every biography to certain extent, is intrinsically inevitable. However, while taking the "diversity" of data source into consideration, to avoid the "overinfluence" of Shuang-bu Lin's perception on national identity on this project, it is not appropriate to choose too many research subjects from Lin's works. I finally decided to choose Strong C. Chuang's biography by Shuang-bu Lin (2000b) as the research subject, excluding other works by Lin from the finalist.

(4.4.4.d) The final criterion is *the possible extension of the biographee's biographical as well as other relevant data*. Since "national identity," the major concern of this project, is only one of the many dimensions in the biographee's life history, sometimes the biography itself is not rich enough for the exploration of the

biographee's national identity in a specific life stage. In this situation, data source other than biography --- such as articles and books written by the biographee him/herself --- becomes critical supplementary information for the description and analysis of the biographee's national identity. Accordingly, while choosing the research subject for this project, biographees with more publication during their different life stages should be considered as better candidates for the finalist of research subject.

Taking these criteria in mind, I finally chose Ming-min Peng (1923 -), Mu-sheng Wu (1934 -), Trong R. Chai (1935 -), Tsing-fang Chen (1936 -), Strong C. Chuang (1938 -), and Fang-ming Chen (1947 -) as the research subjects for this study.

4.4.5 Biographical data Relevant to the Selected Research Subjects

In this section, I shall provide a brief introduction to biographical data relevant to the six activists selected in this project.

(4.4.5.a) The major source of Ming-min Peng's life history is his autobiography, *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of A Formosan Independence Leader*, which was published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston (New York) in 1972.¹⁰⁰ The significance of this autobiography in the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement is twofold. On the one hand, this book, a work finished in the 1970s, was published earlier than most other auto/biographies relevant to activists of the OTIM;¹⁰¹ on the other hand, while most of

¹⁰⁰. Basically, the version I use in this study is the one published by Taiwan Publishing Co. in 1994, which is described as the "second edition" of this English book (see Ming-min Peng 1994). Since there still exists a little bit of differences between the English and Chinese versions of Ming-min Peng's this autobiography, sometimes I also refer to the Chinese version of this book (i.e., Ming-min Peng 1984) in this study.

¹⁰¹. Among the biographical works I found for this project, in addition to Peng's autobiography, there were

other OTIM-related auto/biographies are published in Chinese,¹⁰² this book, an English publication, is more influential in the English-speaking world.

However, one problem in Peng's autobiography is that it does not cover his life story after 1970, since this book was published in 1972. To continue our exploration of Peng's life history, we have to rely on Peng's other data source. In 1976, Peng co-authored with Chiautong Yuzin Ng (*Huang Zhaotang* 黃昭堂) and published an academic work entitled *The Legal Status of Taiwan* (i.e., Peng and Ng 1976) in Japanese. This book is an excellent source for understanding Peng's sense of national identity in the mid-1970s. Furthermore, after ending his life as an exile and coming back to Taiwan in the 1990s, Peng not only established the so-called "Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation" (*Peng Mingmin Wenjiao Jijinhui* 彭明敏文教基金會), but also published a Chinese book in 1994 entitled *Ming-min Peng's Views on Taiwan* (*Peng Ming-min kan Taiwan* 彭明敏看台灣) through that same foundation. We can observe the Peng's evolution of national identity in the 1990s through this critical work.

(4.4.5.b) The major source of life history for Mu-sheng Wu is his autobiography, *The Footprint of A Brave Duck: My Memory*, which was published in 2000. Basically, this autobiography can be seen as the most comprehensive among the auto/biographical works I found for this project, since it covers 1934, the year of Wu's birth, to 1998, the year Wu moved to Northern California. By contrast to Ming-min Peng, Wu is not a

only two books published before 1990: Lawrence Jeppson's *The Neo-iconography of Tsing-fang Chen* (1978) and Wu-dong Huang's *Memoirs of Wu-dong Huang* (1986).

¹⁰². Except for Peng's autobiography, two other English publications relevant to activists of the OTIM were Lawrence Jeppson's *The Neo-iconography of Tsing-fang Chen* and Shoki Coe's *Recollection and Reflections*.

quite famous leader of the U.S. TIM. However, though as a senior engineer, Wu is quite interested in creative writing whenever time is available. In addition to his autobiography, Wu also published four other literary books, including *The Fourth Movement* (*disi yuezhang* 第四樂章)(1993), *Herbal Tea* (*qingcaocha* 青草茶) (1994a), *A Second Life* (*dier shengming* 第二生命)(1996), and *The Anecdotes of Taiwanese American* (*Taimeiren qushi* 台美人趣事)(1997). Thus, to explore the formative process of Wu's national identity at different life stages, we can also refer to these books, in addition to his autobiography.

(4.4.5.c) The major data sources for Trong R. Chai are his two autobiographies, *I Want to Go Home* (1990) and *Formosa TV and I* (2003). Chai once served as the chairperson of WUFI as well as the president of FAPA. Since both organizations can be seen as the most active groups in the U.S. TIM, Chai's role as one of the representative figures in this movement is unquestionable. *I Want to Go Home*, a book written before Chai came back to Taiwan in 1990, covers most of the events relevant to Chai's participation in the U.S. TIM. As far as *Formosa TV and I* is concerned, this book is about his participation in Formosa TV and the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan (*Gongmin Toupiao Cujinhui* 公民投票促進會) after 1990. Through both biographies, we can review Chai's life history comprehensively and explore the developmental process of his national identity at various periods more thoroughly.

(4.4.5.d) Up to date, there have been no formal biographical publications related to Tsing-fang Chen. However, in Lawrence Jeppson's *The Neo-iconography of Tsing-fang Chen* (1978), we can find some information about Chen's life history. Furthermore, his two published diaries, *Diary of A Young Artist* (1968) and *These Days in Paris* (1996), are

probably the most critical material for researcher to reconstruct his life history. Especially the latter diary, which covers the time of 1963 – 1968 with almost 1,700 pages, is a valuable source to examine the world of his mind's journey as well as the evolution of his national identity. Finally, though a painter in profession, Tsing-fang Chen, who was awarded the doctoral degree in art history in 1970, is also very interested in creative writing. Through his writings published throughout his different life stages, we can also explore the very content of his national identity by his own words.

(4.4.5.e) The major data source for Strong C. Chuang is his biography written by Shuang-bu Lin (2000b), *Late Autumn, The Man in Exile: The Quiet Strong C. Chuang* (*shenqiu tianya yixiangren: anan jingjing Zhuang Qiuxiong* 深秋天涯異鄉人：安安靜靜莊秋雄). The time covered by this biography is from 1939, the year of Chuang's birth, to 1996, the year he was diagnosed to have prostate cancer. The value of treating this biography as a source to examine the formation and transformation of Chuang's national identity is twofold. On the one hand, the covering period of this biography is comprehensive enough for the matter. On the other hand, for Shuang-bu Lin himself, he also sees Chuang's content of national identity as an important dimension in his writing.

In addition to this biography, Chuang has also been a diligent writer himself. He published his first book, *The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home* (*haiwai youzi Taidu meng* 海外遊子台獨夢),¹⁰³ in 1993, and had a sequel of this book in 2002. The first book is his anthology of essays on the TIM written from 1965 to 1991; the latter covers articles he finished after 1990, including

¹⁰³. The edition on my hand is a 1994 reprint.

reporting stories, political essays, and people profiles. Given the value of both books, when juxtaposed with the biography by Shuang-bu Lin, they can definitely provide us a better picture of how Chuang's national identity developed through his various life stages.

(4.4.5.f) There are no formal biographical publications relevant to Fang-ming Chen so far. Except for the master thesis written by Ming-cheng Chen, "The Phenomenon of Fang-ming Chen and the Study of His National Identity," which can be deemed a "topical biography," no others have written other biographies of Fang-ming Chen.

Nevertheless, since he is a very productive writer, and he has many writings in prose concerning his mind's journey in the struggle and lingering of his sense of national identity, using his writings in different periods as a text, we can explore his identity development process at different stages of his life.

4.5 Procedures for Data Analysis

While talking about various strategies used in analyzing and interpreting biographical data, Denzin (1989, 49-68) contends that there exist two basic orientations: objective and interpretive (see Table 4.3). The former can further be divided into two sub-types: the classic, objective, natural history approach associated with the tradition of the Chicago School (e.g., Allport 1942; Shaw 1930; Thomas and Znaniecki 1984) and the objective hermeneutics proposed by the scholars affiliated with the "New" German life history approach (e.g., Helling 1988). Despite the existence of different theoretical frameworks, scholars of both sub-types of objective approach adopt notions like validity, reliability, truth, falsity, bias, data, hypothesis, case representativeness, and

generalizability as the criteria for assessing the value of their research.

(Table 4.3 about here)

As far as students of interpretative approaches are concerned, they directly reject the aforementioned notions proposed by proponents of the objective approach as the criteria for evaluating the biography-related studies. Rather, they contend that it is necessary to adopt a more literary, fictional framework to interpret biographical data. Denzin further divides the interpretative approaches into three sub-types: research from the subjects' point of view (e.g., Lewis 1961), research based upon subject-produced autobiographies (e.g., Sloan 1987), and research for making sense of an individual's life (e.g., Sartre 1987).

First of all, the first sub-type of interpretative approaches focuses on the subjects' perspective only, without any interpretation by the researcher. Although still concerned with taking the subjects' viewpoint seriously, the second sub-type of research sees biography as a kind of raw data for social research, using analytical frameworks borrowed from sociology, psychology, or anthropology to interpret biographical data. The major concern in this research is the interpretation of the subjects' inner world by social scientists. The purpose of the third sub-type of interpretive approach is to understand the individual's life itself, rather than to contribute to existing knowledge in sociology or anthropology.

Following Denzin's classification system, I shall posit this research as the second sub-type of interpretive approach, i.e., research based upon subject-produced autobiographies. On the one hand, in this research, I not only rely almost entirely on published auto/biographies as my major data source, but also take the existence of the

Table 4.3
Various Strategies Used in Analyzing Biographical Data

Analytical Strategies	Representative	Major Work	Note
I. Objective Orientation			
The classic approach	Gordon W. Allport	<i>The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science</i> (1942)	Adopt notions like validity, reliability, truth, falsity, bias, data, hypothesis, case representativeness, and generalizability as the criteria for assessing the value of their research
The “New” German life history approach	Ingeborg K. Helling	“The Life History Method: A Survey and a Discussion with Norman K. Denzin” (1988)	Adopt notions like validity, reliability, truth, falsity, bias, data, hypothesis, case representativeness, and generalizability as the criteria for assessing the value of their research
II. Interpretative Orientation			
From the subjects’ point of view	Oscar Lewis	<i>The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family</i> (1961)	Adopt a more literary, fictional framework to interpret biographical data
Subject-produced autobiography	Ted Sloan	<i>Deciding: Self-deception in Life-choices</i> (1987)	Adopt a more literary, fictional framework to interpret biographical data
Making sense of an individual’s life	Jean-Paul Sartre	<i>The Family Idiot: Gustave Flaubert, Volume I, 1821-1857</i> (1987) ^a	Adopt a more literary, fictional framework to interpret biographical data

Source: Data from Denzin (1989, 49-68)

^a. The original publication date of this book was 1971.

biographical text at face value. I do not see the necessity of cross-checking the “correctness” of the biographical text from other data sources, which is one of the major concerns for students of the objective approach who see it as an essential procedure. While acknowledging the face value of the biographical text, I do not naively assume that all descriptions by the author in the text are “real.” Rather, my strategy is simply to recognize that the text holds keys to identity construction process affecting the auto/biographical authors.

That does not mean that completely relying upon the published the biographical text as my data source forces me to give up my role as a sociologist. That is, in this study, my ultimate concern is to use these auto/biographies as raw data to engage in a sociological research related to the formation and transformation of national identity.

To put it more concretely, facing the problem of how to analyze these auto/biographical texts, I shall follow two guidelines: identity formation theory borrowed from counseling psychology and grounded theory based upon the tradition of qualitative research. On the one hand, since “identity formation theory” is chosen as the analytical framework of this study, I shall try to connect the empirical results revealed in this study to the findings of students of identity formation theory, establishing how the dialogue between both of them works. On the other hand, since almost none of the existing literature on identity formation theory focuses on the issue of national identity, nor does the existing literature on Taiwan studies deal with the activists of the U.S. TIM, this research should be seen as exploratory. For this reason, I must keep the theoretical application of this research as flexible as possible, in order to preserve the existing the uniqueness of the empirical data. By adhering to the tradition of qualitative research, I

shall follow the notion of “grounded theory” (Glaser and Strauss 1967) to let “the data tell its own story” (Patton 1990, 393).

At the more practical level, I have constructed five interrelated steps to analyze my empirical data in this research. First, I immerse myself in the subject’s life; second, I establish a basic file about the subject’s life history; third, I construct an analytical file; fourth, I conduct an intra-case analysis; and fifth, I conduct a cross-case analysis.

To some extent, these steps can be understood as points on continuum of analytical procedures ranging from the subject’s own perspective to the researcher’s theoretical concern about building a model to comprehend the experience, to a gradual deepening of the researcher’s involvement. We can refer to Table 4.4, A Continuum of “Construction.” Following the logic of this table, we can see that the first step of analytical procedure, i.e., immersion in the biographee’s life, which is based upon the subject’s “pure construction,” as the first layer of this continuum. Next, the basic file constructed as part of second step involves the editing of personal documents. The third step of constructing the analytical file can be seen as the third layer of this continuum, since it is related systematic thematic analysis. The intra-case analysis in the forth step is the next layer of this continuum, which presents the subject’s life history through concrete examples. Finally, the fifth step, i.e., the cross-case analysis, can be seen as the last layer of this continuum, which deals with the subject’s life history filtered through the researcher’s concern with theory-building.

(Table 4.4 about here)

Table 4.4
A Continuum of “Construction”

I	II	III	IV	V
The subject’s “pure construction” (raw)	Edited personal documents	Systematic thematic analysis	Verification by anecdote (examplng)	The sociologist’s “pure construction”
e.g., original diaries, unsolicited letters, autobiographies, self-written books, sociologist’s own personal experience				e.g., sociological theories

Source: Plummer (2001, 180)

4.5.1 Immersion in the Biographee’s Life

First of all, before beginning the “formal” process of data analysis, I shall adopt the so-called “analytic inductive process” (Coetz and LeCompte 1981), reading through these biographies several times, making notes of potential themes, and developing a picture, albeit inchoate, of the whole. In this stage, I have to engage in an immersion (Moustakas 1990), associated with phenomenologic inquiry, a “steeping of oneself in all that is: of contacting the texture, tone, mood, range, and content of the experience” (Patton 1990, 409).

4.5.2 Establishing a Basic File about the Biographee’s Life History

After developing a whole picture of the subject’s life history, I shall formally begin

the process of data analysis. In this stage, my major task is to arrange a basic file about the biographee's life history. My conception of "basic file" is quite similar to Plummer's (2001, 152) notion of "core file" in his discussion of the strategies used for analyzing biographical data. I see this file as the first-order file for transforming the raw data into "useful" information. The purpose of this file, which serves as the foundation for the following analytical steps, is to summarize the biographee's life history as "realistically" as possible.

In terms of the more concrete operational procedure, I shall borrow Atkinson's notion of "life timeline," using time frames to re-organize the textual data into a more accessible table. I do not use a specific software to analyze the data. Rather, I adopt Microsoft Word, probably the most common software for word processing, to establish this basic file. Using the "table" function provided by Microsoft Word, I insert a table with 6 columns and 200 rows (the number of rows is extendable, if necessary). While the columns represent the variable dimensions of the subject's life history, the rows simply indicate the time dimension of the biographee's life history.

Specifically, six variables are included in columns: (a) time; (b) significant events or context in general; (c) significant events or contexts relevant to the Taiwan Independence Movement or the Taiwanese opposition movement; (d) significant events in the subject's life history; (e) significant events relevant to the subject's "significant others" (e.g., parents, siblings, spouse, etc.); and (f) data source.

At the more operational level, the task can be further divided into three procedures. I shall discuss them in order.

(4.5.2.a) Using the fundamental biographical data as the original material, I try to

code the relevant events into this basic file, as far as I “feel intuitively” that the information is relevant to my research. Practically, my principle of choosing the events is that “more is better than less.” In other words, if I feel that there are “possible” connections between the events in the subject’s life history and the formation of the subject’s national identity, I shall definitely put the information into this basic file. The following is a simple description of the variables I use:

(a). Time: In most cases, I shall code the year only. However, if necessary, I shall also include the date and month of a given event.

(b). Significant Events or Context in General: If I find something relevant to a significant event (especially a political event) at a given time in biographical data, I shall code the information into this basic file.

(c). Significant Events or Context Relevant to the Taiwan Independence Movement or the Taiwanese Opposition Movement: If something about the Taiwan Independence Movement or the Taiwanese opposition movement is mentioned in biographical data, I shall code the information into this basic file.

(d). Significant Events in the Subject’s Life History: This part is probably the most important one in my analysis. It can be further divided into three sub-dimensions:

(d.1). Significant Events in General: Data of birth, primary school, secondary schools, college, military service, work experience, experience relevant to a future partner, marriage, study overseas, graduate degrees, children, work experience after getting the graduate degree, etc. are included in this basic file inasmuch detail as possible.

(d.2). Participation in Social and Political Activities: Events like participation in extracurricular activities, participation in political organizations, participation in a Taiwanese Association after going overseas, participation in the SMOs relevant to the Taiwan Independence Movement, the first experience of participating in a demonstration, experience of serving as an official of specific social/political organizations, etc.

(d.3). Events Directly Related to the Formation of National Identity: Items such as the description of the specific content of national identity of a specific life stage, the subject's attitudes toward Taiwan independence at specific life stages, the reference group influencing the subject's national identity at specific life stage, significant events influencing the subject's national identity at specific stage, etc.

(e). Significant Events Relevant to the Subject's "Significant Others": While we can skip respecting (d.1) in this dimension, we should code the dimensions parallel to (d.2) and (d.3) insofar as they are relevant to the subject's "significant others" in this file.

(f). Data Source: Finally, I shall also include the data source of the information.

(4.5.2.b) After finishing the codification of the subject's life history based upon the primary biographical source, I shall also refer to other supplementary sources, follow the same codification procedures, and "fill" the relevant information in the table of this basic file as comprehensively as possible. If we depend only on the primary biographical source, we will probably find it difficult to describe the status of the subject's national identity at any specific life stage. After all, national identity is only part of the contents

of a subject's biography. Accordingly, we have to refer to other data sources, especially articles or books written by the subject him/herself, since the supplementary information is critical to our task of capturing the subject's national identity.

(4.5.2.c) After finishing the task of "filling" the table, we can begin to consider the best way to divide the subject's life history. Since national identity is the ultimate concern of this study, while deciding how to divide the subject's life history, the primary reference should be the transformation of the content of the subject's national identity.

4.5.3 Constructing an Analytical File

While arranging the basic file, we can use Microsoft Word to create another analytical file at the same time. Compared to the "changeless" nature of the basic file,¹⁰⁴ the function of the analytical file is to examine the subject's life history, which is summarized by the basic file, from a more theoretical and dynamic perspective.

While coding relevant events into the basic file based upon the original text itself, I do not try to make specific connection between these events and my analytical framework. However, after establishing the basic file, at this moment, I can directly copy text from the basic file, put it in an analytical file, and give it an appropriate label. I can also extract some concepts from the existing literature on identity formation, using these notions as tools for analyzing the subject's life history.

Thus, this analytical file is changeable in nature. As my ability to comprehend the empirical data increases over time, more and more possible themes and concepts for

¹⁰⁴. I do not mean to suggest that the basic file is really "changeless." Rather, the function of the basic file is to code the subject's life history chronologically, not to analyze the subject's life history.

analyzing the data emerge. When the content of a specific analytical file becomes too complicated and unorganized I can consider opening another analytical file, transferring some themes or concepts in the previous analytical file to a new analytical file.

During the process of constructing the analytical file, I gradually find some concepts borrowed from racial/ethnic identity formation theory useful in interpreting the transformation of national identity. However, I have also encountered a shortage of empirical data sometimes, which causing difficult to interpret the subject's national identity for some of his specific life stages. In this case, I shall try to find additional empirical data about the subject's life history. In addition to data relevant to other U.S. TIM activists, the internet is another useful source for collecting the biographic information. Based upon the additional data, I can not only extend the basic file, but also smooth out the analytical process.

4.5.4 Conducting a Within-case Analysis

Due to the uniqueness of the formation of every subject's national identity, I shall first adopt the so-called "within-case analysis" (Miles and Huberman 1994) strategy to comprehend the subject's transformational mode of national identity. After finishing this task, to more fully capture the research theme, I shall conduct a cross-case analysis in the next procedure.

In terms of the operation of the "within-case" analysis, based upon the basic file and the analytical file, I shall re-arrange the subject's life history and present it in the form of a narrative story. The decision to choose a narrative story is to connect the subject's formation of national identity with the context to which it is related. After all, if I chose

the related themes and concepts, rather than time-sensitive narration, as the principal axis along which to organize the empirical data, the presentation will become too fragmentary and disjointed.

During the writing process, as far as the final presentation of the “within-case” analysis is concerned, to fit the research objects of this study, I did some experimenting and developed two different ways to describe the subject’s life history. The first way is to totally separate the narration of the subject’s life history and my analysis of the subject’s national identity. In other words, I first presented the subject’s life history chronologically (for example, birth, schooling in Taiwan, leaving Taiwan for advanced study, coming back to Taiwan after the 1990s) without “theoretical intervention.” After the comprehensive narration of the subject’s life history, I then began to analyze the subject’s content of national identity during different life stages from a more theoretical perspective.

The second way is to put the narration of life history and the analysis of national identity together. In other words, after dividing the subject’s life history into several stages, I adopted the narrative way to present the subject’s life story of a specific stage first, and then analyzing the content of the subject’s national identity in this specific phrase immediately. After finishing the presentation of both the life history and the analysis of national identity of a specific stage, I then moved to the subject’s next life stage and continued this very process.

In the initial process of dissertation writing, I adopted the first way to finish a case study and the second way to finish two studies. I then submitted the three cases to my dissertation advisor as well as two friends, asking for their opinion about the advantages

and shortcomings of both modes of presentation. After summarizing their comments, I decided to use the second way to present my case studies in this project. One of the major rationales of this choice was that my case study was quite comprehensive and some cases were even over 90 pages. In this situation, if I had adopted the first way to present my case study, the reader, while reading the part with the analysis of the subject's national identity, could have forgotten the content of the subject's life story of that specific stage already, since it was put at the very end of the case study.

Chapter Five to Ten of this dissertation is the within-case analysis of six subjects through the second way of presentation.

4.5.5 Conducting a Cross-case Analysis

Finally, I shall conduct a cross-case analysis. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the purpose of cross-case analysis is to obtain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the research topic. Through the identification of similarities and differences between different subjects, I shall attempt to build a dynamic model to explain the process of identity formation among these U.S. TIM activists.

4.6 Research Relationships

The research relationship, the relationship between the researcher and the subject, is a complex and changing phenomenon, especially in qualitative research, where "the researcher is the instrument of the research" (Maxwell 1996, 66). As a matter of fact, the role of the researcher as the primary data collection instrument necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study. In

this section, I will first introduce the possible types of research relationships mentioned in the literature. Then, I will briefly describe my personal experience and attribute my role as “complete-member-researcher” in this project. Finally, I will conclude this section with a discussion about the possible advantages and shortcomings associated with this research relationship.

Following Adler and Adler’s (1987) typology, in terms of the researchers’ involvement with their settings and subjects, there are at least three possible membership role categories for researchers to adopt: peripheral membership, active membership, and complete membership. First of all, peripheral-member-researchers participate as insiders in the activities of the group they are studying, but they refrain from engaging in the most central activities. Second, active-member-researchers participate in the core activities in much the same way as members, yet they hold back from committing themselves to the goals and values of members. Finally, complete-member-researchers study their topics from the perspective of full members by either selecting groups to study in which they have prior membership or by converting to membership in these groups.

As a Taiwanese student, after coming to the United States in 1991 for advanced study, I got the opportunity to develop personal networks within the U.S. TIM. On the one hand, I actively participated in the activities of Syracuse Taiwanese Association (*Xuecheng Taiwan Tongxianghui* 雪城台灣同鄉會), which is both a registered student organization under Syracuse University and a local chapter of the Taiwanese Association of America. I not only served as the editor-in-chief for the Newsletter of this organization from 1992 to 1994, but also was elected president of this organization from 1994 to 1996.

On the other hand, I engaged in the activities of the Taiwanese Collegian, a national association organized by Taiwanese students studying in North America. I served as a committee member as well as the coordinator of the Information Subcommittee for this organization from 1994 to 1996. Furthermore, I was also elected president of North American Taiwan Studies Association (*Beimeizhou Taiwan Yanjiu Xuehui* 北美洲台灣研究學會), the largest academic association for Taiwan studies in the U.S., from 1998 to 1999. Through participation in both local and national Taiwan-related associations in the United States, I got the opportunity to meet many rank-and-file activists as well as leaders of the U.S. TIM. While choosing the TIM as my research topic, I have to acknowledge that the basic rationale is that I not only agree with the goals of this movement, but I am also a supporter, and even an activist, in this movement.

Accordingly, based upon Adler and Adler's (1987) terminology, I belong to the "complete-member-researcher" category. I am a native Taiwanese. I also share the values, beliefs, and goals of my subjects, as well as most of their behavior. Furthermore, I identified with the U.S. TIM *long before* my decision to choose this movement as my research topic, rather than *during* the process of studying it.

One of the most visible advantages to my role of complete-member-researcher is "empathy," the feeling of being able to vicariously experience what another person is experiencing (Jary and Jary 1991, 142). Some scholars convincingly conclude that the interpretation of the subject's life history data requires something beyond cognition in the area of empathy (e.g., Frank 1985; Blee 1998b). Accordingly, my interpretation of these activists' life course will be more accurate if I can feel what they had felt. The explanatory validity of the study will be more effectively ensured if I can feel the

moments of these activists' thrills, excitement, shame, humiliation, depression, sense of empowerment, fear of reality, and emotional rewards from possessing a new identity. However, individuals vary in their capacity for empathy. An empathic genius may be able to share the subjective reality of others whose cultures and life experiences are far different from his or her own. For most researchers, an empathic connection and the act of interpretation will be enhanced when researcher and subjects share some central characteristics and experiences (Hannon 1991, 74). From this perspective, my role of complete-member-researcher in this study should be helpful as far as the establishment of empathy is concerned.

However, my active participation in this movement is also problematic for this research. As a matter of fact, many scholars have pointed out the possible shortcomings associated with a researcher's "over-participation" during the course of a study, due to the possibility of "going native" (Gold 1958), a phrase used in anthropology to refer to a researcher's devoting so involved and active with subjects that their original intentions get lost. To avoid the possible drawbacks for this study, I reminded myself for onward over to keep the role of researcher/sociologist consciously in mind during the course of data analysis. In other words, at the action level, I would probably participate in some activities with my subjects on behalf of the values and goals of the U.S. TIM. However, at the conscious level, I had to acknowledge my role as researcher/sociologist, not just as an activist. As Thorne points out,

I now believe that the intrinsic limits to a fieldworker's being a full member of a setting lie not primarily in actions, but in consciousness. To do fieldwork entails a double consciousness. One learns to experience and even act within the everyday reality of members (.....), but by virtue of doing sociology, one *also* experiences analytically and with detachment ---

recording, comparing, theorizing about the things one sees. While members often theorize about their daily worlds, the sociologist theorizes toward a different end: the development of more abstract, comparative knowledge. And the sociologist theorizes with outside audiences in mind. (Thorne 1988, 233; emphasis original)

Chapter Five

Case Study (1): The Process of National Identity Formation of Ming-min Peng

The last dim light of the island gradually faded behind me. I was almost to the high sea and beyond the reach of the Nationalist Chinese agents. In my whole life I had never felt such a sense of “real” freedom. This feeling of freedom was so overwhelming that it was physically almost unbearable. The fact that I risked my life to flee Formosa is itself a complete repudiation of the regime and all their propaganda aimed at discrediting me.

--- Ming-min Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*

5.1 Introduction

A scrutiny at Ming-min Peng's life history is steeped in meaning. From a historical perspective, his personal history represents the common experience of his generation --- a transition from Japanese rule to Chinese rule. From a political perspective, we can learn from his experience the long shifting path of the political development in Taiwan --- a transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government.

As Ming-min frequently says, “My life is Taiwan's modern history” (quoted from Bo-xuan Chen 1992, 12). His destiny, indeed, has been closely related to the politics in Taiwan. Ming-min was born into a doctor's family in 1923. During the Japanese rule period, his father was already a local dignitary; and after the KMT took over Taiwan, his father became one of the key politicians handling the February 28 Incident in Kaohsiung, the largest city in southern Taiwan. After experiencing the corrupt and incompetent

KMT government, however, his father no longer wanted to touch anything in connection with politics. Unexpectedly, Ming-min's whole life had been intertwined with politics --- teaching political science and also exiling overseas due to political reason. After 22 years' exile life, he was able to return to Taiwan, plunging into the camp of the largest opposition party at that time, and throwing his weight around in the political arena in Taiwan --- becoming the Democratic Progressive Party's candidate for Taiwanese President in 1996. With a legendary life like that, he indeed deserves our special attention.

In 1972, Ming-min published in English *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of A Formosan Independence Leader*, which is the main data source for reconstructing his life history in this study.¹⁰⁵ However, since the book was published in 1972, for his life history afterward, we have to look for other data sources. Although he did not publish much while in exile, we still have to scare up his limited writings during this period to piece together his development of national identity at this stage. Besides, after returning to Taiwan in the 1990s, Ming-min organized the "Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation" in Taipei. In 1994, this foundation published *Ming-min Peng's View on Taiwan*, which is the main source to observe his content of national identity around the time he returned to Taiwan in 1992. Finally, when he represented the DPP to run for Taiwanese President in 1996, several books about him were published, e.g., *A Taste of Power: Ming-min Peng* by Bo-xuan Chen (1996), and *The Ming-min Peng*

¹⁰⁵. As mentioned in one footnote on Section 4.4.4 of methodology chapter (Chapter Four), basically, the version I use in this study is the one published by Taiwan Publishing Co. in 1994, which is described as the "second edition" of this English book (see Ming-min Peng 1994). Since there still exists a little bit of differences between the English and Chinese versions of Ming-min's this autobiography, sometimes I also refer to the Chinese version of this book (i.e., Ming-min Peng 1984) in this study.

Hurricane by Wu-liu Tao (1995).¹⁰⁶ Both of them are worth adopted as supplementary sources for this study. For Ming-min's recent photo, refer to Figure 5.1.

(Figure 5.1 about here)

Basically, if we look at Ming-min's life history, we can roughly divide the development of his national identity into the following six stages: (1) the childhood period and adolescence periods (1923-1939); (2) the period while study in Japan (1939-1945); (3) the period under KMT rule (1946-1964); (4) the period while drafting "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation;" (5) overseas exile (1971-1992); and (6) the period during Taiwan's democratization (1992-). Each stage will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2 The Childhood and Adolescence Periods (1923-1939)

5.2.1 Family Background

According to Ming-min himself, "I know very little about my ancestors" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 2), and they were assumed to be "among the extremely poor farmers and fishermen who left Fukien¹⁰⁷ more than a hundred years ago to settle on the rugged island frontier" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 2). However, his grandfather "seemed unable to remember or was uninterested in tracing the family lineage back across the Straits to China" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 2). To his ancestors, leaving the homeland behind was to

¹⁰⁶. The book by Bo-xuan Chen is a thin book with fewer than a hundred pages, emphasizing on Ming-min's likely political views and strategies in the Presidential election. As for the book by Wu-liu Tao, unfortunately, I was unable to obtain one.

¹⁰⁷. Fukien is one of the provinces on the southeast coast of China. In pinyin system, Fukien is spelled as *Fujian* (福建).

Figure 5.1
Photo of Ming-min Peng



Source: Greater Vancouver Taiwanese Association (2002)

find a new land and “make a new life” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 4), and while they “broke with the past in China” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 4), their memories related to China also drew to an end. Since his ancestors came to Taiwan, through their contact with the English Presbyterian missionaries, they had established a close relationship with the Western world.

In 1865, about the time of his grandfather’s birth, the English Presbyterian missionaries also established themselves in Kaohsiung. The mission leader at that time was Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell (1836-1921). Ming-min’s great-grandfather was reputed to have been one of the early converts to Christianity in Taiwan.¹⁰⁸ As a youth his grandfather “was employed as a cook for the missionary doctor, Dr. Thomes Barkley” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 5). “Clearly my grandfather was happy in his association with

¹⁰⁸. The Presbyterian Church’s proselytizing and its peripheral ventures (such as medical service and education) in Taiwan had a close relationship with the history of Taiwan. For the development of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (*Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui* 台灣基督長老教會), refer to Huang and Xu (1995); The Commission on Church History, Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (1995); and Rubinstein (1991).

the foreign teachers and doctors and was interested in Western culture and in the changes that were so swiftly taking place around him” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 5).

In 1895, due to the imperial China’s defeat to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, “Peking handed Formosa over to the Japanese” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 6). The Japanese established a medical school in Taipei in 1899 (Bi-chuan Yang 1988a, 103). This school “offered a short course to train men urgently needed for the proposed islandwide public health clean-up campaign. He [Shimpei Goto (*Houteng Xinping* 後藤新平), Civil Administration Chief of the Taiwan Government General (*Taiwan Zongdu Fu* 台灣總督府)] advertised for students, offering each a small monthly subsidy”(Ming-min Peng 1994, 8). At that time,

My grandfather had become a lay minister serving the English Presbyterian church mission. He was a poor man with five sons and three daughters to support. The boys gathered firewood in the hills and did the most menial work in the town in order to help support the family. My grandfather was much too poor to send all his sons to school, but when the new government offered this subsidy for medical studies, he urged his third son --- my father --- to enter the course at Taipei. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 8-9)

My grandfather, however, was an optimist, a man of good will, and intensely interested in new ideas. His long association with the missionary doctors and teachers at Tainan influenced him to look away from China and the past, and try to make the best of the dramatic change the Japanese were determined to bring about. Though lacking in formal education, he was a truly enlightened man. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 9)

After Ming-min’s father graduated and started to make money, “he sent his brothers to the medical school as soon as he was able to do so. One after the other, they too began to prosper, and the bothers together took great pleasure in making my grandfather’s

life more comfortable” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 10). Under the situation, it is no exaggeration to say that Ming-min was born in a medical dynasty: four doctors in his father’s generation, eight his own generation, and all in the third generation, including his son, daughter and nieces (Ming-min Peng 1984, 10; Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 13). In fact, Ming-min, a maverick in the family, is the only one among the siblings that did not choose medicine as a profession. During the Japanese colonial period, such a family background definitely belonged to the upper crust of Taiwanese society. With such a well-to-do background, together with his own endeavor, Ming-min was able to attend a Japanese elementary school where most Taiwanese children were difficult to get in, becoming a special case in Taiwan at that time.

5.2.2 Father

Ming-min’s father, Qing-kao Peng (*Peng Qingkao* 彭清靠 1890-1955), seemed to have a close relationship with him.¹⁰⁹ After finished medical training in Taipei, Qing-kao spent two years as an intern at MacKay Hospital, Taipei, and then moved down to the small coastal town of Tachia (*Dajia* 大甲) in central Taiwan, opening his practice for 18 years, and then went for further study at Tokyo Imperial University for upward of one year, obtaining his M.D. degree. After returning to Taiwan, he opened Peng’s Obstetrics and Gynecology Hospital (*Peng chanfurenke yiyuan* 彭產婦人科醫院) in

¹⁰⁹. In Ming-min’s memoir, his father was the most-cited family member. For example, when he just arrived in Canada for advanced study in 1951, he mentions all the time how he missed his father in his autobiography. “I sat hour after hour, passing through a monotonous landscape, thinking always of my father” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 81). In contrast, his wife, children and mother are mentioned far fewer than his father.

Kaohsiung (Ming-min Peng 1984, 10; Hsiao-feng Li 1994, 326).

Unlike his contemporary doctors such as Wei-shui Chiang (*Jiang Weishui* 蔣渭水), Ho Lai (*Lai He* 賴和) and Shi-quan Han (*Han Shiquan* 韓石泉),¹¹⁰ Qing-kao was not so avid in anti-Japanese social movement, but he obviously was not a thoroughly pro-Japan person, either (Hsiao-feng Li 1994, 326). I shall provide the following evidence to corroborate the inference.

(5.2.2.a) First of all, in his memoir, Ming-min mentions that he was taken by his parents for a trip to China when he was about five years old (circa 1927). “I remember how cold it was in Shanghai, and I recall the long flights of steps to the newly constructed mausoleum of Sun Yat-sen near Nanking. Mr. Huang Chao-chin [Chao-chin Huang (*Huang Chaoqin* 黃朝琴), 1897-1972], one of my father’s acquaintances who was then in the foreign ministry at Nanking, guided us about the capital. They [Ming-min’s parents] were of course impressed by the immensity of China and felt some nostalgia

¹¹⁰ The aforementioned three people were very enthusiastic activists of anti-Japanese social movement during the Japanese colonial period. Wei-shui Chiang (1891-1931), a graduate of Taipei Medical School (*Taipei Yixuexiao* 台北醫學校) in 1915, was one of the most famous physicians promoting nationalist movement in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 112-3). For his biography, refer to Hunag-xiong Huang (2000). Ho Lai (1894-1943), a graduate of Taipei Medical School in 1914, was not only a dedicated activist of nationalis movement, but also a influential writer with works in vernacular prose, poems and novels (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 128). Current research on He Lai is primarily focused on his literature works, with the research conducted by Rui-ming Lin (1993) being the most representative. Shi-quan Han (1897-1963), a graduate of Taipei Medical School in 1918, like Wei-shui Chiang, was one of the key leaders of the Taiwan Culture Association (*Taiwan Wenhua Xiehui* 台灣文化協會) in the 1920s.

Physicians had been playing a very special role in Taiwanese history. As the Taiwanese with the most prestigious social status under the colonial system, they not only cured ‘human bodies,’ but also played the role to cure “Taiwanese society” in nationalist movement or other social movements. For related research regarding the Taiwanese physician’s various identities (professional identity, national identity, etc.) during the Japanese period, refer to Lo (2002). In addition, based upon three case studies of Wei-shui Chiang, Ho Lai and Xin-rong Wu (*Wu Xinrong* 吳新榮), Ya-hui Chang (2001)’s master thesis explores the relationship between physicians, medicine and humanity in Taiwan during the Japanese period.

toward the land of their ancestors” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 12).

As a matter of fact, Chao-chin Huang was appointed the first mayor of Taipei City by Taiwan Governor Yi Chen after the war. In the meantime, he was also the first speaker of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly (*Taiwan Sheng Canyihui* 台灣省參議會). As early as in 1925, when Huang was studying in the United States, he already joined the KMT and, after the war, he was known as the leader of the so-called “Half-Mountain (*Banshan* 半山)” People¹¹¹ (De-xi Xie 1987). Now that Qing-kao befriended Chao-chin Huang and went to visit him while traveling in China, *Qing-kao’s political orientation should not be too different from that of Chao-chin Huang’s*.

(5.2.2.b) Moreover, *Qing-kao seemed to always have a special concern over what was happening in China*. While mentioning about the “January 28 Incident”¹¹² the Japanese forces launched in 1932 (Qing-kao was studying in Tokyo together with his family at that time), Ming-min has the following description in his autobiography:

During these years we heard much talk of the Japanese invasion of China and of the “Shanghai Incident.” It aroused a complex feeling in us. The Japanese newspapers carried stories of the noble deeds of Japanese soldiers and of Japan’s righteous purpose in subduing the backward Chinese. Teachers and students at school echoed these patriotic sentiments, but *at home we heard our parents talking about the brave Chinese who had resisted the Japanese invasion*. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 15; emphasis added)

Besides, Ming-min also mentions in his memoir that his “*father was well read and*

¹¹¹. The so-called “Half-Mountain” People, in general, refers to those Taiwanese politicians who came to receive Taiwan together with the Nationalist government after 1945. By the end of the 1970s, these people either had died or withdrawn from the political arena (Bi-chuan yang 1997, 10; Jacobs 1990).

¹¹². The so-called “January 28 Incident” happened on January 28 1932. On that day, the Japanese forces and the Chinese Army had a ferocious battle in Shanghai (Bi-chuan Yang 1988a, 157).

kept himself informed of developments in China as best as he could. The China War and foreign affairs were frequent topics of conversation in our home” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 19; emphasis added).

(5.2.2.c) Finally, in 1940, the Japanese colonial government started to launch the “Name Change Movement (*Gaixingming Yundong* 改姓名運動)”¹¹³ in full swing, hoping that by changing Taiwanese names into Japanese names, the Taiwanese would be further assimilated as Japanese citizens. Carried out with various incentive measures, by June 1943, the movement had caused some 100,000 Taiwanese to change their names (Bo-zhou Lan 2000a, 123-4). However, *the Peng family seemed not to have been affected by the tide; they did not follow suit to change to Japanese names.* Such behavior, to some degree, could be considered as a footnote to Qing-kao’s national identity.

Nevertheless, despite the difference from the Japanese in national consciousness, before the war, Qing-kao was basically a “non-political people.” “Not only had he never participated in any political activities, but also, in the historical destiny in which nationality was not a choice at all, like the ordinary Taiwanese, he had silently chosen to be a Japanese citizen, without ever considering the possibility of changing nationality” (Hsiao-feng Li 1994, 326).

5.2.3 A Taiwanese Attending Japanese Schools

Born at Tachia, Taichung, in 1923, Ming-min Peng was the youngest among three

brothers and an older sister. Though Qing-kao, Ming-min's father, was practicing medicine in central Taiwan, with an affluent family background and an enthusiasm in education, he rented a Japanese-style house in Taipei, accommodating his school-age children to live with their mother there, so that they could get the best education. "At Taipei after being rigidly examined, we were allowed to enter the best Japanese schools, attended by sons and daughters of Japanese officials" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 13). For the important events in Ming-min's life history, refer to Table 5.1.

(Table 5.1 about here)

Due to the fact that Ming-min's father often changed working place, before Ming-min went to study in Japan at the age of 16, he had attended six schools, including Taisho Kindergarten (*Dazheng Youzhiyuan* 大正幼稚園) in Taipei (one year), Kensei Primary School (*Jiancheng Xiaoxue* 建成小學) in Taipei (one year), the Japanese primary school at Tachia (two years),¹¹⁴ Kitagama Primary School (*Beipu Xiaoxue* 北蒲小學) in Tokyo (more than one year), Kue Primary School (*Qujiang Xiaoxue* 屈江小學) in Kaohsiung (one year),¹¹⁵ and Kaohsiung Middle School (*Gaoxiong Zhongxue* 高雄中學) in Kaohsiung (four years).

All those schools were the best in each place. Furthermore, almost all the teachers

¹¹³. The so-called "Name Change Movement," starting in 1940, allowed the Taiwanese to change their names into Japanese names. For research related to this movement, refer to Wan-yao Chou (1996, 176-83) and Jian-cheng Yang (1995).

¹¹⁴. Ming-min did not specify the name of the school in his memoir; he only referred to it as a "local primary school for Japanese children" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 15).

¹¹⁵. Again, Ming-min did not specify the name of the school in his memoir; he only referred to it as a "local primary school" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 16). However, Bo-xuan Chen (1996, 13) referred to the school as "Kue Primary School."

Table 5.1
Major Events in the Life of Ming-min Peng

Year	Event
I. The Childhood and Adolescence Periods (1923-1939)	
1923	Peng, the youngest among three brothers and an older sister, was born at Tachia, Taichung. His father was a physician and his mother was a homemaker. His parents tried their best to provide the best educational environment for the children.
1927	Peng was taken by his parents for a trip to China when he was about five years old.
1928	Peng was sent to study at Taisho Kindergarten in Taipei. Almost all the teachers of this school were Japanese, so were the students. Except for Peng, there was only one other Taiwanese child studying at this kindergarten.
1929	Peng entered Kensei Primary School in Taipei.
1930	Peng transferred to the Japanese primary school at Tachia due to relocation of his father's job.
1932	Peng entered Kitagama Primary School in Tokyo because his father went for further study at Tokyo Imperial University.
1934	Peng transferred to Kue Primary School in Kaohsiung. After graduation from elementary school, he was admitted to study at Kaohsiung Middle School.
II. The Period during Study in Japan (1939-1945)	
1939	Because the principal at Kaohsiung Middle School refused to allow Peng to take the entrance examinations to a higher school, Peng withdrew from school and left for Tokyo alone to study at the middle school section of the Kansei Gakuin.
1940	Peng took examinations and got into the literary and arts course at the Third Higher School in Kyoto, which was considered one of the two finest higher schools in Japan.
1941	December: The Imperial Japanese Navy made its "Attack on Pearl Harbor." Peng started to show deep interest in France through his learning of French at school. The writings of Ernest Renan have had a particularly strong influence on his political philosophy.
1942	Peng entered the Department of Political Science at the Tokyo Imperial University, the best university in Japan.
1944	Since consumer goods were scarce in Tokyo, Peng decided to leave Tokyo and go westward to the countryside for almost six months.

Table 5.1 (Cont.)

1945	April: On Peng's trip to take refuge at his brother's home, the small ferry taken by him was bombed by an American plane in Nagasaki. Though Peng survived, he lost his whole left arm, becoming a permanent handicap in his life. August: The Japanese emperor announced that Japan had agreed to unconditional surrender.
III. The Period under the KMT Rule (1946-1964)	
1946	January: Peng came back to Taiwan. Summer: Peng entered the National Taiwan University, which was newly renamed from the original Taihoku Imperial University.
1947	February: The "February 28 Incident" broke out. Peng's father was arrested when he went to negotiate with the KMT authority at the Kaohsiung garrison quarters.
1948	Summer: After graduating from the Department of Political Science at NTU, Peng stayed and worked as a teaching assistant at his alma mater.
1949	Peng married the eldest daughter of a landholding family living at Shilin.
1950	Peng's son was born.
1951	Peng went to study at the Institute of International Air Law at McGill University in Canada.
1953	Peng obtained his master's degree, and then he went to the University of Paris in France to study for his Ph.D.
1954	Upon earning his doctoral degree, Peng came back to teach at NTU.
1955	Peng's father passed away.
1957	Peng was promoted to professorship within three years, becoming the youngest full professor at the age of 34. Peng's daughter was born.
1960	Summer: While participating in an international conference sponsored by Harvard University in Tokyo, for the first time Peng noted publicly that the legal status of Taiwan had not been settled by formal action yet.
1961	Right after being made chairperson of the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, Peng was appointed advisor to the Chinese delegation to the United Nations.
1963	In an activity sponsored by the Taiwan Junior Chamber of Commerce, Peng was elected one of the "Ten Outstanding Young Men of Taiwan," becoming a very famous person in Taiwan at that time.

Table 5.1 (Cont.)

IV. Drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” (1964-1970)	
1964	At the age of 41, Peng was arrested by the authorities for drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation.”
1965	April: After more than six months’ interrogation and prosecution, Peng was sentenced to eight years in prison. November: Bowing to the pressure of international public opinion, the KMT authorities gave Peng a grand amnesty, though in fact he was put under “house arrest” by authorities.
V. Overseas Exile (1970-1992)	
1970	January: Peng escaped from Taiwan and arrived in Sweden, and was granted political asylum by Sweden government. September: Traveling on papers issued in Sweden on behalf of a political refugee, Peng entered the United States, working at the Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan.
1971	With the support from the WUFI, Peng founded Formosan Studies, Inc. in Kearny, New Jersey.
1972	Peng’s autobiography, <i>A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of A Formosan Independence Leader</i> , was published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston (New York). Peng was elected chairperson of the WUFI-World Headquarters.
1973	Peng moved to Ohio and taught at Wright State University as a visiting professor of political science for one year.
1976	Peng’s academic work <i>The Legal Status of Taiwan</i> , which was co-authored with Chiautong Yuzin Ng, was published by Tokyo University Press.
1979	January: The United States set up diplomatic relations with China, and formally severed its relations with Taiwan. February: Peng appeared in his capacity as director of the “Taiwanese-American Society” in the U.S. Congress hearing, testifying issues related to Taiwan. December: The “Formosa Incident” broke out in Kaohsiung, Taiwan.
1982	Peng moved to Oregon on the west coast. Peng published “The Establishment of Taiwanese Nationalism” in WUFI’s <i>Taiwan Independence Quarterly</i> .
1984	Peng’s autobiography was translated into Chinese and published by Taiwan Publishing Co. (Irvine, Calif.).
1985	Peng was elected the third president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs.

Table 5.1 (Cont.)

1986	September: The Taiwanese opposition movement broke through the party ban under the martial law, declaring the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party.
1987	July: Under the pressure at home and abroad, the Taiwanese authorities announced the lift of martial law which had been enforced for nearly forty years. December: Peng successfully won his second term as president of the FAPA.
1988	Peng published "Idea and Agenda of Taiwan's Political Institution in the Future" in <i>Anthology of Taiwan Problem: Current Status and Future of Taiwan</i> edited by Fu-mei Chang.
1989	Peng announced his resignation as the FAPA president.
1990	Peng, along with Rui-ming Wei, Jia-xing Ye, Yao-dong Hong, Maysing Yang and Tsung-min Hsieh, founded the "Asia Pacific Democratic Association."
VI. The Period during Taiwan's Democratization (1992-)	
1992	Peng came back to Taiwan.
1994	Peng set up the "Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation," by which <i>Ming-min Peng's View on Taiwan</i> was published.
1995	Peng joined the Democratic Progressive Party, went through the DPP primaries and became the DPP's Presidential candidate in 1996.
1996	March: Due to the strong Lee Teng-hui complex among the Taiwanese, Peng had only 21% of the votes in the 1996 Presidential election. April: Peng left the DPP and formed the "Nation-building Union of Taiwan," serving as its president, and declaring that "Taiwan should establish itself as a nation."
2000	Since Chen Sui-bian won the Presidency in May 2000, Peng has been appointed "senior advisor to the Office of the President" three times, and he has been one of a few who have been provided with offices in the Office of the President.

Source: Made by author

of these schools were Japanese, so were the students.⁷⁴ Though a member of the

⁷⁴. Before 1922, the Japanese had maintained separate primary schools for the children of Japanese colonists in Taiwan. By 1922, theoretically, the racial discrimination was abolished. Nevertheless, discrimination continued to exist, since "an examination system screened all applicants" (Ming-min Peng

“minority” --- the colonized Taiwanese --- Ming-min seemed to excel in all the schools. For instance, while at Taisho Kindergarten, except for Ming-min, there was only one other Taiwanese child. “Our teachers were kind and good, but nothing could conceal the fact that we were expected to consider ourselves fortunate” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 14). And at the Japanese primary school at Tachia, all together there were only about two hundred students. “I believe I was the only Formosan boy enrolled at that time. Here the Japanese principal developed an unusual affection for me, always turning to me with the questions other boys had failed to answer. On the small public occasions of a primary school, I was again and again put forward to represent the student body” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 15).

In spite of his excellent academic performance, and in spite of his teachers’ adoration and praise, for his difference from other Japanese students, Ming-min was not only very sensitive, he also felt very confused.

From my earliest childhood the problem of being a Formosan had become psychologically more and more complex. I spoke Japanese perfectly and usually stood high in my class; nevertheless *I was always self-conscious, constantly aware that I was different from my Japanese classmates*. My name embarrassed me; the Chinese character for “Peng” is in Japanese pronounced “Ho,” and when it was called out in the classroom it often provoked laughter.¹¹⁷ Mother wore the conventional dress of an upper-class

1994, 14). Ming-min had to pass the examinations to get into those schools reserved for Japanese children.

¹¹⁷. For other example where names were used as the foundation for ethnic division or even ethnic discrimination in school, refer to Yi-zong Zheng (1913). Yi-zhong Zheng was ten years older than Ming-min. According to Zheng’s autobiography, after studying at a public school for three years, as a result of the “co-education” promulgated by the Taiwan Government General, in 1922, he transferred to study at a primary school where Japanese students were a majority. “What embarrassed me most when I was in primary school was that we co-students (*gongxuesheng* 共學生) [note: refers to the Taiwanese studying at Japanese primary schools] were always called by full names. But the Japanese were called only by family names, together with a title like “Mr. or Miss,” such as Mr. Koike or Mr. Yamada. To me,

Formosan woman, but when she came to the Japanese school on public occasions I was embarrassed because she looked so different from the other mothers present. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 17; emphasis added)

Our fanatic principal [at Kaohsiung Middle School] and our military instructors inculcated in us a drill-master enthusiasm for war, lecturing us constantly on the backwardness and cowardice of the Chinese people, the heroic bravery of the Japanese, and Japan's self sacrifice on China's behalf. *We Formosan students found ourselves in an awkward and painful position.* My father was well read and kept himself informed of developments in China as best he could. Following his example, I may have kept myself better informed than some of my classmates, for I was a newspaper addict throughout my primary and middle school days, always reading every page of the papers very carefully. It is a habit I have never lost. The China War and foreign affairs were frequent topics of conversation in our home. Both my parents had foreign friends, members of the English and Canadian Presbyterian missions, who visited our home from time to time, and we visited them in return. I suppose that none of my middle school classmates had such foreign associations and wide foreign interests. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 19; emphasis added)

It was also because of the sensitivity and self-consciousness toward the colonized status that, when Ming-min first followed his parents to Japan for the first time at about ten years old, and experienced the real life in Japanese society, he felt much relieved. "The first trip to Japan in 1933 took me into a world quite different from anything I had known before. At that time in Formosa, the Japanese were a self-conscious minority of

this was indeed an insult, or even a shame. In primary schools, only we co-students were called by full names, and in middle schools, the situation continued. Such an insult had been torturing me all the time" (Yi-zong Zheng 1992, 93).

Yi-song Chen (*Chen Yisong* 陳逸松), who was 16 years Ming-min's senior, also mentioned his experience of being picked on by his Japanese classmates because of his name. "'Chen' is pronounced 'Chin' in Japanese, same as 'penis.' Thus, we suffered big time, often becoming the objects to laugh at by our classmates" (Zhong-sheng Lin 1994a, 42-3).

about 300,000 ruling a population of about 4,000,000, and no one could conceal the difference between the two groups. In Tokyo our family found itself lost in a sea of Japanese in one of the world's largest cities. *Nobody noticed us because we were Formosans*" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 15-6).¹¹⁸

5.2.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Before Ming-min entered kindergarten at the age of six, his national identity seemed to be in a spontaneous and natural status, which we can describe as a kind of "naïve we-group identity." The content seems not to be completely a Japanese identity, but probably closer to a "Taiwanese identity" or a "Han (*Hanren* 漢人) identity." The following points shall serve as the evidence of this inference.

(5.2.4.a) First, we have to consider the possible effect of physical and psychological constraints related to biological age. Before Ming-min turned six, *because he had not completely matured in terms of physical and mental development, it was difficult for him to develop a visible national identity*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸. The fact that Ming-min felt less ethnic oppression in Japan was obviously not a special case. While discussing the relationship between the Taiwanese and the Japanese in the middle of the Japanese colonial period (1919-1936), Chiautong Ng argues, "For those Taiwanese students who went to the inland of Japan to study during this period, since they were able to breathe the air of freedom not available in Taiwan, they were thus more inclined to understand the good points of Japan with broader minds" (Chiautong Ng 1996a, 66).

¹¹⁹. Some scholars point out that, since children with ages between four and seven have accumulated some early experiences of observation, they can sense the existence of various ethnic groups, make social comparison among ethnic groups and, meanwhile, start to explore ethnic orientation, and are gradually able to discern the ethnic group to which they belong (e.g., Aboud 1987; Katz 1987). However, there seems no clear evidence to support that the racial/ethnic concept formed in early childhood would have any concrete and visible impact on the racial/ethnic self-concept of pre-adolescence period or adolescence period (e.g., Semaj 1980; Spencer 1982).

Therefore, I am inclined to apply the viewpoint of Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 250-1), considering that the more appropriate starting point to discuss one's content of national identity should be placed at late

(5.2.4.b) Second, *to a child at this age, his or her family is the most important socialization agent*. Due to the fact that Ming-min's father was a doctor, an elite class in the local area, Ming-min was able to enjoy the "protection and warmth of a large family in a rural town" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 13). In addition, Ming-min was also "pampered and petted by household servants and surrounded by our Formosan friends" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 13). As a consequence, in his daily life, he was not subject to the discrimination and oppression from the Japanese that belonged to the ruling class. Under such circumstances, Ming-min was more likely to develop a positive identity toward his own group (i.e., the Taiwanese or the Han people).

5.2.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

Nevertheless, after entering school to study, Ming-min's "naïve we-group consciousness" described in the previous section gradually began to change, and he started to possess a Japanese identity. In fact, for most children living under the education system of a colonial rule, the identification toward the colonizing country "in spirit" was simply a matter of course.

(5.2.5.a) First of all, from a macro perspective, *the ultimate objective of education imposed by the Japanese colonialism, just like all other colonialist regimes, was to stabilize its colonial control*. Therefore, it had to use a set of distorted school curriculum or "spiritual" education to eliminate as much as possible the national consciousness of the Taiwanese, and to degrade Taiwan's original cultural value, so that the Taiwanese would

childhood period and early adolescence. The content of identity before these periods should only serve as a rough reference.

identify themselves with and become subservient to the Japanese colonizers.¹²⁰ As a whole, “the education of the Japanese imperialism in Taiwan was to transform the minds of the Taiwanese, making them to be more effectively manipulated” (Bo-zhou Lan 2000a, 115).

(5.2.5.b) Second, *during Ming-min’s childhood and adolescence periods, the “Japanization” in Taiwan was being accelerated or, to put it another way, had come to the time of maturity.* On one hand, the “Japanization” trend was influenced by the emerging Sino-Japanese War at that time. To facilitate waging the Sino-Japanese War, Japan started to promote the Kominka Movement (*Huangminhua Yundong* 皇民化運動) in Taiwan. The so-called “Kominka Movement,” according to Wan-yao Chou (1996, 164), was literally meant to change the Taiwanese into the “Komin (*huangmin* 皇民),” which could be explained as the “subjects of the Emperor,” or the “citizens of the Empire,” both actually meaning the same under the Japanese imperial system.¹²¹ To promote this movement, the Komin Hokokai (*Huangmin Fenggonghui* 皇民奉公會) was established to advance this campaign; the Chinese pages in newspapers were abolished; Taiwanese operas was prohibited; Taiwanese idols and temples were demolished; the lunar New Year and related customs were banned; and Taiwanese names were asked to be

¹²⁰. Such a description reminds us of the psychological status of the colonized described by Fanon --- the black writer and psychoanalyst born in the French island of Martinique in the Caribbean Sea. In his book titled *Black Skin, White Masks*, he mentioned that, though with black skin, the Antilles in Central America look down upon the Africans who are close to them in race. They used to tell their white rulers (the Frenchmen), “Please ignore my skin color,” since it was caused by the sun, but “my heart is as white as yours.” Obviously, such an action is intended to show that they identified themselves with their French colonizers.

¹²¹. For more detailed research regarding the “Kominka Movement” in Taiwan, refer to Wan-yao Chou’s doctoral dissertation at Yale University (i.e., Wan-yao Chou 1991).

changed. It is obvious that the objective of Japanese colonial government was to eliminate all kinds of the Han Chinese influence from the Taiwanese (Chiautong Ng 1996a, 68-9).

On the other hand, the “Japanization” trend was also related to the specific time span that Taiwan had been under Japanese colonial rule. At this time, the Japanese Empire had occupied Taiwan almost forty years. Through the spread of compulsory elementary education, the expansion of middle school education, the increase of Taiwanese students studying in inland Japan and other channels, the barrier of learning the Japanese language had been cleared basically. Accordingly, due to the popularity of using the Japanese language among Taiwanese, “the Taiwanese had been very similar to the ‘Japanese’” (Chiautong Ng 1996a, 69).

(5.2.5.c) Third, from a micro perspective, since Ming-min had been *under the distorted colonial education for as long as ten years during childhood and adolescence*, I believe it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to get rid of the compelling influence of the hegemony imposed by Japanese colonialism.¹²² In particular, because he was at an age when the so-called ‘independent thinking’ was not yet developed, it would be very difficult for a child to resist the systematic instillation of ideologies learned from

¹²². If we roughly divide the Taiwanese under Japanese rule into two generations --- the old generation and the new generation --- then we can see that, due to the difference in the time span they received Japanese education, their attitudes toward the colonizers were conspicuously different.

Take their response to Japan’s defeat as an example. “By the time when Japan was obviously crumbling in 1945, some people still said, ‘[Japanese] probably won’t be defeated,’ ‘The decisive battle will take place in inland Japan to get rid of the ‘ghostly and beastly Americans and British.’ Many people, especially those young people with Japanese education and inculcated with the ‘Japanese spirits,’ firmly believed so. On the other hand, there were also many order people, most of whom tormented by the Government General and unsatisfied with the discriminating treatments, who wishfully expected that Japan would be defeated” (De-shui Zhang 1992, 94). In this regard, Ming-min obviously belonged to the “new generation,” and his father could be classified as the “old generation.”

school education.

(5.2.5.d) Fourth, though the colonizers tried every effort to let the colonized forget their past as well as their original heritage, as émigré rulers, *the Japanese colonial regime in fact adopted systematic institutionalized discrimination against the colonized islanders.*

As pointed out by Ming-min in his memoir, “At the time in Formosa, the Japanese were a self-conscious minority of about 300,000 ruling a population of about 4,000,000, and no one could conceal the difference between the two groups” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 16). Under such circumstances, though on one side the Japanese colonizers promoted the concept that “Taiwanese are Japanese,” on the other side, the colonizers constantly reminded the colonized that “there are differences between the Taiwanese and the inland Japanese,” and “the Taiwanese are second-class citizens of the Japanese Empire.”¹²³ “Since the inferior status of Taiwanese was reminded again and again [through the racial discrimination], the Taiwanese identity had no choice but to be consolidated”

¹²³. Rong-zhong Ye (1900-1978), who was born during the Japanese rule period, reflected on his own experience in the following way: “The Japanese made every effort to assimilate the Taiwanese. However, if the Taiwanese were truly assimilated and became Japanese through and through, they would not necessarily like that. They only wanted the Taiwanese to forget their fatherland and become colonials second to the so-called ‘mother country citizens’ and nothing else. Their discrimination and humiliation actually provided the most effective fertilizer to the sprouts of fatherland concept and national consciousness among the Taiwanese, allowing them to flourish and eventually become impregnable” (Rong-zhong Ye 1977, 24).

In addition, to conclude the identity pattern of the activists affiliated with the Taiwanese political movement during the mid-term of Japanese rule, Chiautong Ng makes a comment to the point: “Since the people in Taiwan were under Japanese rule, they were the subjects or citizens of the Japanese Empire. Though equally as Japanese citizens, the Japanese were rulers, and the Taiwanese were those being ruled. The Taiwanese were a branch of the Han Chinese. However, although China was the fatherland of Taiwan, the Taiwanese were not citizens of China at all” (Chiautong Ng 1996b, 92-3).

(Cheng-feng Shih 1998b, 84).¹²⁴ Despite that Ming-min had been receiving the best education at prestigious schools, the institutionalized discrimination, obviously, still cast a profound shadow onto his soul, reminding him of his “original sin” as a Taiwanese.

(5.2.5.e) Fifth, in addition to the racial discrimination in daily life, *family also played a critical role for children and adolescents at Ming-min’s age*. In the case of Ming-min, his father’s identification toward “Han Chinese” or “Chinese” at the subconscious level, supposedly, still had certain influence on his development of national identity. The strength of such influence, however, seemed to pale in comparison to that of school education, but it still left Ming-min with repeated agony, confusion and embarrassment. Why would he have a family name different from those of other Japanese classmates? Why would his mother wear clothes different from those worn by the mothers of other Japanese students?

(5.2.5.f) In sum, *Ming-min’s national identity at this stage is quite similar to the “social stigma attitudes”* proposed by Cross in his analysis of the racial identity at “pre-encounter stage.” To Cross (1995, 98-9), the Blacks with social stigma attitudes, on one hand, though sharing the low-salience orientation, also sees race as a problem or stigma. Accordingly, race, by default, is attributed some significance, not as a proactive force or cultural issue but as a social stigma that must be negotiated from time to time. In other words, for those people who embrace such attitudes, the only “meaning” related to race is its tie to issues of social discrimination. Thus, race becomes a hassle, a problem and a vehicle of imposition. This type of people may have surface interest in

¹²⁴. In this context, the notion of “identity dogmatism” proposed by Connolly (2002) as well as the concept of “tyranny of identity” suggested by Appiah (1994) seem very appropriate to explain such situation.

Black causes, not as a way of supporting Black culture and the exploration of Black history but as a way of joining with those who are trying to destroy the social stigma associated with Blackness. Consequently, when you ask such people to define their Black identity, they invariably respond by telling you what it is like to be oppressed.

In general, for Ming-min's content of national identity during the period, we can conclude in the following way: although Ming-min, as one of the colonized people, attended the best schools established for the colonizers, he always knew his differences from other classmates, and had been feeling embarrassed for the differences, hoping that he could be completely the same as other classmates in all respects, including national characteristics.

5.3 The Period during Study in Japan (1939-1945)

In about 1939, because the principal at Kaohsiung Middle School refused to allow Ming-min to take the entrance examinations to a higher school (*gaodeng xuexiao* 高等學校),¹²⁵ he withdrew from school and left for Tokyo alone. He first stayed with his older sister, and then went to take the examinations for the Second Higher School (*Dier*

¹²⁵. Under the old Japanese education system at that time, middle school covered five years. However, with enough confidence, students could take the examinations for a higher school after completing four years of study. After graduating from higher school, they could get directly into most universities. Student who failed to pass the examinations and get into a higher school could continue to finish the fifth year, and took the examinations again. If failed again, they could take examinations and get into a higher normal school (*gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 高等師範學校), a higher industrial school (*gaodeng gongye xuexiao* 高等工業學校) or a higher business school (*gaodeng shangye xuexiao* 高等商業學校) (Zhong-sheng Lin 1994a, 22; Bo-zhou Lan 2000a, 120).

In the memoir, Ming-min mentions that the Japanese principal at Kaohsiung Middle School was "typical of many military men and super patriots in Japan at that time" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 18). This tall and austere principal did not allow any students to take examinations for a higher school (Ming-min Peng 1994, 20), probably he thought the students should get into the military as soon as possible, serving the Japanese Imperial Forces.

Gaodeng Xuexiao 第二高等學校)¹²⁶ at Sendai (*Xiantai* 仙台). “She [Ming-min’s older sister] had finished her medical work, and had married a rather successful Formosan businessman, a graduate of Keio University. To my chagrin, but possibly to my benefit, I failed. I had been an outstanding student in a small colonial middle school at Kaohsiung, far from metropolitan Tokyo, but it was not quite enough. Undoubtedly I was overconfident. Youth and homesickness, too, probably had something to do with it. I was then sixteen years of age” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 21).

Having failed in the examinations, Ming-min first transferred to the middle school section of the Kansei Gakuin (*Guanxi Xueyuan* 關西學院). Then, one year later, he took examinations and got into the literary and arts course at the Third Higher School (*Disan Gaodeng Xuexiao* 第三高等學校) in Kyoto. Finally, in 1942, he took examinations and entered the Department of Political Science at the Tokyo Imperial University (*Dongjing Diguo Daxue* 東京帝國大學).

5.3.1 The Middle School Section of the Kansei Gakuin

After failing in the entrance examinations for the higher school at Sendai, Ming-min transferred to a mission school, the middle school section of the Kansei Gakuin, which is

¹²⁶ Rong-zhong Ye divides the Taiwanese students who went to Japan to study during the Taisho period (1912-1926) into three categories. The first type was children of wealthy families whose fathers were not satisfied with the Japanese education system in Taiwan, and so they sent their children to the primary schools in Tokyo at early ages. The second type was those graduating from the highest schools in Taiwan, and then went to Japan for further studies. The last type was those who could not get into the “narrow gate” of the medical college and the national language school. Unable to continue to study, they left for Tokyo. The last category constituted the majority of Taiwanese students who went to study in Japan (Rong-zhong Ye 1995, 364). The situation of Ming-min was close to the third category. However, it was due to the intensity of the war that he never had the chance to take examinations, so he had to go to Japan to study.

located midway between Kobe (*Shenhu* 神戸) and Osaka (*Daban* 大阪). “This was a school much favored by aristocratic and wealthy families. The college was not first rate, and the lower school had a poor scholastic reputation. It was considered a refuge for the spoiled sons of indulgent wealthy parents” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 21). However, to Ming-min who had been receiving the militarism education in a colony, this was a great study environment steeped in happiness and freedom.

It would be impossible to imagine a greater contrast with life at that barbarous Kaohsiung Middle school. The Kansei Gakuin seemed to have assembled a faculty of entertaining eccentrics, nonconformists who loved teaching but did not fit into the drab papa-military regimentation of the state schools. Class requirements were very easy, nevertheless I worked hard, eager to absorb everything offered on the campus. This was a mission school, and every day there was a thirty-minute chapel service. For a time I admired the extremely handsome and well-dressed young music teacher. His exceedingly smart Western clothes and manner fascinated me.

..... The school itself was situated in the most westernized district in all Japan, a strip of suburban residential communities where many foreign businessmen and consular people maintained substantial homes. Some of my classmates came from wealthy westernized families in this area. We were free to travel on weekends, so I often went to Osaka or Kobe to wander about by myself. Sometimes I went to classical Kyoto. I was learning to enjoy Japanese food, and best of all, I now had no feeling of self-conscious strangeness. *Everywhere I was treated as an equal; I was no longer a subordinate colonial.*

On the contrary I found myself something of a favorite on campus, a Formosan who unexpectedly spoke Japanese surprisingly well. Also I was at the top of my classes. Even the military instructor liked me. I had been so thoroughly disciplined by the Kaohsiung martinets that I performed with a precision noteworthy among my easy-going classmates. In consequence I was usually assigned to carry the flag during parade drill, the

highest honor the military instructor could think to confer upon a student.
(Ming-min Peng 1994, 21-2; emphasis added)

5.3.2 Entering the Third Higher School in Kyoto

After one year at the middle school section of Kansei Gakuin, Ming-min took entrance examinations again, and this time he was admitted into the literary and arts course at the Third Higher School. This school was considered one of the two finest higher schools in Japan, sharing this distinction with the First Higher School (*Diyi Gaodeng Xuexiao* 第一高等學校) in Tokyo, with the students of highest quality nationally. “I cabled the news to my parents. They were extremely pleased although not altogether happy that I had decided not to study medicine. I was the maverick in the family. A long exchange of correspondence followed. Both my parents were disturbed, for as matters stood in Formosa, there was little hope for a distinguished career outside the medical profession, and even in the medical academic profession, only one Formosan had reached the rank of a full professor. Suppressing their disappointment, they gave me full support, observing only that *the youngest son always has his own way*” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 23; emphasis added).

At that time, the system of higher school in Japan was patterned after the Gymnasium system in Germany, different from the educational philosophy of current high school. It was then widely believed that the adolescents graduated from middle schools tended to fantasize beautiful dreams of life, and the system of higher school was to match the needs of those young daydreamers, reverse the cramming education of middle school, open the cage of knowledge and allow them to fly with abandon. Based on this philosophy, it was designed that for higher school graduates to get into colleges,

except for the Tokyo Imperial University, examinations were waived, even for medical schools. “As a result, students indulged themselves in the luxury of freedom, and considered it a shame to study for grades. Some even repeated on purpose, extending a program of three years to six, and still feeling complacent” (Zhong-sheng Lin 1994b, 82). It was under such a situation that Ming-min entered upon “the happiest period of my life” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 24), according to his own word.

The school was well-known for its liberal tradition. The San-ko¹²⁷ motto was “Freedom” and when I entered, it was fighting hard to maintain that liberal tradition. In 1940 it was under great pressure from the militarists. The China War was drawing Japan deeper into the continent. While Japanese recruits were being called upon to “die beautifully,” the national economy was being strained to prepare for further escalation of war. Our school administration and faculty were struggling to preserve a degree of intellectual and personal freedom for themselves and their students, a freedom then rare in Japan, and about to vanish.

..... My father now indulged me by providing an allowance of sixty yen per month, far more than I needed for food and lodging, and perhaps twice as much as the average student had to spend. I began to buy books. Soon I had a collection that was unusual for a student in the higher school. One day while walking through the grounds of the ancient Yoshida Shrine, I suddenly was swept with an overwhelming sense of exhilaration, perhaps the happiest moment of my life, for I felt that I had no cares, and could buy all the books I wanted. I was eighteen, an age when all things seem possible.

I had entered the literary and arts course rather than the science course. This was an intensive program of directed reading in history, literature and philosophy. We were stimulated by a sense of pride and friendly competition among ourselves. Each of us was eager to be the first to call

¹²⁷. San-ko (*Sangao* 三高) is the Japanese abbreviation of the Third Higher School.

attention to new discoveries. Everything and anything in print beckoned to us and we had insatiable intellectual curiosity. Each man thought he was a philosopher. We were visionaries at that age, and the friendships formed were deep and emotional, perhaps unconsciously assuring ourselves a little desperately that we knew much more of the world than our elders and the common man beyond the campus gates. *A strong sense of membership in an elite led us to look at the world with a degree of supercilious youthful contempt.* (Ming-min Peng 1994, 24-5; emphasis added)

Through his learning of French, Ming-min started to show deep interest in France.¹²⁸ “I soon found myself intoxicated with everything French, especially French history, language, and literature. I read these subjects in translation and in the original, and I joined a small informal group of students brought together by one of our Japanese professors. It was our custom to meet very early in the morning before regular classes assembled in order to read and discuss French literature and philosophy. The writings of Ernest Renan have had a strong influence on my political philosophy. His essay entitled *Qu’est qu’une nation?* (“What is a Nation?”) touched me as a Formosan, rather than as the loyal Japanese I was supposed to be. He raised the fundamental idea that neither race, language, nor culture forms a nation, but rather a deeply felt sense of community and shared destiny. Unexpectedly, his thoughts and analysis eventually became my guideline in dealing with the practical politics in Taiwan after the 1960s” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 25-6)

Though the faculty and students body at San-ko shared a strong antimilitarist

¹²⁸. According to Yi-song Chen’s memoir, higher school students with literary and arts courses were prepared to get into colleges of literature, law or economics of imperial universities. Foreign literature was their major at higher school: Group A majoring in English, B in German and C in French (Zhong-sheng Lin 1994a, 83). Based on the information, Ming-min belonged to Group C of the literary and arts courses.

sentiment, with the war in progress, step by step, the school's military instructors intended to destroy the liberal atmosphere on campus:

One day we witnessed an astonishing confrontation. The senior military officer who had recently arrived on campus was a colonel in the regular army. He called an assembly. Some small rules had been broken, and a junior military instructor had complained to the colonel. Singling out the guilty students, he heaped contempt upon them, scorning them as not true Japanese. After ranting on and on, he ended his tirade by ordering them to begin running around the parade ground bearing heavy arms until told to cease or collapsing in exhaustion. It was a harsh discipline. Suddenly one of the students broke out of line, dashed screaming at the colonel and struck him several times with his gun butt. He then threw the gun to the ground and ran across the field toward the campus gates. For a moment everyone stood frozen by this unprecedented and shocking action, and then the other military instructors raced after him. He was, of course, expelled and then called up at once for military service. We never knew what finally became of him. The school was shaken by the incident which no doubt hardened attitudes of ant-intellectual militarists toward liberal institutions such as ours. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 26-7)

My aversion to military service was intense. I had hated military drill since middle school days. School units were taken on long maneuvers from time to time, obliged to march with heavy equipment, camp in the rough for two or three days at a time, and perform drills and exercises along the way. Some students could not take it, breaking down physically. In my last year at Sanko, I simply did not report for the field maneuvers.

A Kyoto University student of economics who was the son of a wealthy Tokyo family and an outspoken critic of militarism lived in my rooming house. We were quite good friends despite the difference in our ages and academic status. One December day [in 1941] he rushed into my room shouting out, 'Tojo is a fool! Now he has done the most stupid thing! This will be the end of us!' My friend had just heard the radio report that Pearl Harbor had been attacked, and that Japan had won a great victory.

From that day the school was plunged into a mood of fatalistic despair, underscored by noisy crowds demonstrating in the streets outside. After the long years of fruitless campaigning in continental China a great victory in the Pacific was doubly welcome. Everyone boasted of how many American ships had been sunk and how many planes destroyed. There was pride and surging enthusiasm. China had been defeated in 1895, Russia had been defeated in 1905, and now the United States! There were lantern parades and public celebrations. But inside our campus gates faculty and students alike were not so sure. We had read too widely and knew too much of America. We were quite clean in our minds that the future was still a complete uncertainty. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 27-9)

5.3.3 The Low Ebb of Life in the High Tide of War

Truly bemused by French culture, Ming-min hoped to enter the Department of French Literature at the Tokyo Imperial University. “My parents patiently observed, again and again, that for my future I should enter a medical school,¹²⁹ and that French literature offered no livelihood for me either in Formosa or Japan. At last I offered a compromise. I would give up French as a major, and would enter the Department of Law or Political Science at the Tokyo Imperial University. I would become either a

¹²⁹. In his memoir, Rong-zhong Ye makes a concrete description of the material advantage as a physician. During the Taisho period (1912-1926), though both the National Language School and the Taiwan Medical College were the highest schools in Taiwan (the medical school was a four-year college, one year longer than the National Language School), “after graduation, there was a stark difference in job opportunities. A graduate from the National Language School, if from the national language section, would be very lucky to get an entry level employment; if from the normal section, at most could be director of students at a public school (primary school). However, as a graduate of the medical school, with luck and a successful practice, not only could a physician become wealthy locally in a few years, but also professionally he did not have to eat out of the hands of the Japanese, and socially he could get into the local upper crust. It was indeed an excellent profession that yielded a huge profit out of a small investment. Since there were so many benefits graduating from the medical school, there were so many people trying to get into it. Many young people were attracted to the medical school. Some parents and elders considered getting into it a must, and in fact many of them even ordered their kids to get into it or no further studies at all” (Rong-zhong Ye 1995, 365). Ming-min’s father, Qing-kaio Peng, was in fact an excellent example who made a fortune because of his medical practice.

lawyer or a bureaucrat. After many letters had passed back and forth, they accepted this, but with regret” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 28). Thus, in 1942, after taking fiercely competitive entrance examinations, Ming-min entered the Department of Political Science at the Tokyo Imperial University, the best university in Japan.

At this time, unfortunately, the situation of the Japanese Empire continued to deteriorate. With the increasing intensity of the war, it was announced that military service deferments were canceled for all students with major in the humanities and social sciences. Accordingly, a majority of the young men around Ming-min started to vanish from the campus. As a student from colony, Ming-min was not subject to conscription legally, but he did have the privilege of volunteering the military service. As a matter of fact, at all the Japanese universities, Taiwanese students majoring in the humanities and social sciences were summoned to the offices of the military instructors on each campus, where they were invited to sign individual applications for volunteer duty (Ming-min Peng 1994, 32).

On Ming-min’s campus the names of those who had been “invited” were soon posted, and his name appeared in it, too. After consulting with his oldest brother, then a student in the Nagasaki Medical School (*Changqi Yike Daxue* 長崎醫科大學), Ming-min decided not to volunteer. “I continued to attend lectures and read for my courses. My name remained posted as the only one who had not yet volunteered, and I began to fear arrest. I went to the campus less and less often. Fortunately the Japanese university system permitted this, for class attendance was not mandatory. Life in Tokyo was bleak” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 29).

Since consumer goods were scarce in Tokyo, Ming-min decided to leave Tokyo and

go westward to the beautiful old castle town of Matsumoto (*Songben* 松本) in the heart of the mountain country, where he stayed with a cousin of his for almost six months. Then, he decided to take refuge at his brother's home in a countryside village near Nagasaki (*Changqi* 長崎).¹³⁰ Unfortunately, on the last leg of his trip, the small ferry taken by Ming-min was bombed by an American plane, and he almost lost his life. Though Ming-min survived, he lost his whole left arm, becoming a permanent handicap in his life.¹³¹

Ming-min stayed at his oldest brother's place, recuperating from his wound. Little by little, he regained his strength and began to recover his spirits. Meanwhile, on August 14, the emperor announced that Japan had agreed to unconditional surrender. "As Formosans we were not so awed by the high-pitched imperial voice as our Japanese friends about us; nevertheless, we were deeply moved. Our astonishment was followed by a sense of immeasurable relief. An era had ended. What would come next? What would become of Formosans in Japan? What would become of Formosa" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 43)?

¹³⁰. From the memoir, it can be inferred that the time Ming-min left Tokyo for Matsumoto was around October 1944. In fact, on September 1, 1944, the "Taiwanese Conscription System" went into effect, and from then on, all the young males in Taiwan, whether liked it or not, had the responsibility to serve military duty for the Japanese Empire (Bi-chuan Yang 1988a, 176; Chiautong Ng 1989, 186). Born in the same year as Ming-min, former Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui entered the Department of Agricultural Economics at the Kyoto Imperial University in 1942, but he left school in January 1944, and was forced to "volunteer" to serve in the military (Shiba 1995, 105; Wakabayashi 1998, 51). Based on such information, the reason that Ming-min left Tokyo, except for the lack of consumer goods as indicated in the memoir (Ming-min Peng 1994, 33), "dodging the conscription" was probably a more important one. Wakabayashi (1998, 51) had a similar explanation about Ming-min's action.

¹³¹. Such a physical trauma should have had some impact on Ming-min's formation of self identity. In his autobiography, Ming-min also mentions that his choosing international air law as his academic field was because "I was stirred by some subjective fascination with planes, especially planes at war, after my own traumatic experiences at Nagasaki" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 77). The possible relation between an

The Peng brothers decided to go back to Taiwan. In late December 1945, they boarded on a cargo ship, starting their home-bound trip, also leaving Japan where Ming-min had spent six years studying.

5.3.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Almost all the literature on identity points out that, from the late adolescent to the youth is a pivotal stage that an individual goes into deep exploration of identity. Ming-min was no exception. Before going to study in Japan, Ming-min was only an adolescent from colony with excellent school performance. He possessed a kind of Japanese identity, and certainly felt somewhat embarrassed for his Taiwanese status. However, he obviously was still amorphous in thoughts, since he did not know what he would pursue in his study in the days to come, nor did he know what career he would get into in the future. Then, during this period that he went to study in Japan, Ming-min found that he was deeply interested in literature. After much consideration and consultation, he decided to enter the Department of Political Science, and become a bureaucrat or a lawyer after graduation.

Overall, in terms of Ming-min's national identity during this period, the following four points seem to deserve our discussion.

(5.3.4.a) First, through the osmosis at the higher school, *the essential spirit of "naïve liberalism"*¹³² seemed to have imprinted deeply on Ming-min's mind and, to some extent,

individual's physical trauma and identity should be a research topic that merits further study. Unfortunately, I am not familiar with the literature related to this topic at all.

¹³². Presently, liberalism can be considered as one of the most influential political thoughts. Although most people will use this jargon frequently in their discussion of politics and simply connect it with the

formed a part of his identity.¹³³ In an interview with a reporter from the *Independent Evening News* (*Zili Wanbao* 自立晚報), Ming-min had the following dialogue:

Q: Some say that you are a representative figure of liberalism. According to yourself, what did significantly affect the formation of your thoughts?

A: It was not a specific individual or a particular school of thought (*pai* 派) that affected me. Rather, the impacts came from all aspects, most importantly the philosophy and history courses I took during my higher school period in Japan. (Cang-po Cai 1994, 49-50)

The basic viewpoint of liberalism is to treat each “individual” (instead of any collectivity, such as a class or a nation, which surpasses an individual) with respect, and to believe that a society is crucially composed of individuals in a voluntary, contractual relationship with government. It stresses their liberty as the primary social good. This liberty is to be defended in such rights as those to free political institutions, religious

thinking of “rationality, suspicion and anti-authority,” however, just like other political thoughts, liberalism not only has a complex philosophical foundation, it also has different schools with significant differences between them.

In his memoir, Ming-min mentions about the “liberal tradition” at the higher school, but he does not actually mention the jargon “liberalism.” Therefore, I use “naïve liberalism” to describe Ming-min’s thought during this period, signifying that the liberalism he understood was not necessarily the rigidly defined theory in political philosophy. Rather, it was probably closer to the implicit “rational spirit” which he longed for. For the meaning, history and theoretical origin of liberalism, refer to Arblaster (1984), Rawls (1993) and Schapiro (1958).

¹³³. Noticeably, though at that time the Japanese thought circles had been greatly influenced by right-wing militarism, liberalism still seemed to be the main ideology of the intellectuals. According to a study by Bo-zhou Lan, at that time, there were three types of intellectuals with different attitudes. The first type involved the left-wing intellectuals who reconstructed their life and established their knowledge by connecting with the labor and peasant groups. The second type involved the right-wing intellectuals who, despaired of rationality, tried to return to life, but turned to the barbarism line instead. The third type involved the intellectuals who could probably be called as the ones with liberalism. These intellectuals always insisted on knowledge, no matter what vicissitudes they encountered in their life. During the period, these intellectuals should be the most in quantity. As compared to the first two types, they were the type to “keep the status quo,” and they did not possess the proposition of “denying the nation and promoting socialism.” However, to facilitate war preparation, the Japanese imperialists wanted to control public opinions, and these typical intellectuals with liberalism were thus constantly suppressed, thanks to their writings in the past (Bo-zhou Lan 2000a, 154-5).

practice, intellectual and artistic expression, to equal standing before the law, and to private property. “It implies a distrust of the right or efficiency of a state which interferes with such freedoms and with the workings of economic market” (Reilly 1999, 479).

Through the inculcation of liberalism, Ming-min somehow got good riddance of the humiliation of being a second-class citizen living in a colony, believing in that every individual --- including a colonial citizen --- should never be deprived of the basic rights.

(5.3.4.b) Second, during this period, Ming-min seemed to have developed *the political orientation of anti-war and anti-militarism* gradually. To some degree, such anti-militarism was closely related to liberalism. In his memoir, Ming-min clearly demonstrates a resistant rhetoric against the military conscription orders. As a matter of fact, he even turned out to be the only Taiwanese youth at the Tokyo Imperial University not yet “volunteered to serve.”¹³⁴ Though such behavior may not be necessarily related to Ming-min’s national identity, he did pay a huge price (losing his left arm on a trip) for his choice.

(5.3.4.c) Third, regardless of liberalism, anti-militarism or a fervent interest in French literature, at this stage, Ming-min had entered the so-called “identity vs. identity confusion” stage proposed by Erikson (1968). However, it seemed that *Ming-min did not spend too much time and energy to handle his racial/ethnic/national identity*. Rather, the identity exploration he underwent at this stage, according to his memoir, tended to be vocational choice and political ideology discussed by Marcia (1964).

¹³⁴. In fact, after the “Taiwanese Conscription System” went into effect in September 1944, Ming-min had become a “deserter” to some extent.

(5.3.4.d) In sum, as far as Ming-min's national identity at this stage is concerned, based upon the thought of liberalism and anti-militarism, *his national identity was very close to the "low-salience attitudes"* proposed by Cross in his analysis of the racial identity at "pre-encounter stage." To Cross (1995, 98), persons who hold "low-salience attitudes" do not deny being physically Black, but consider this "physical" fact to play an insignificant role in their everyday life. Being Black and knowledge about the Black experience have little to do with their perceived sense of happiness and contribute little to their purpose in life. In a sense, these persons place value in things other than their Blackness, such as their religion, their lifestyle, their social status, or their profession. In other words, they do have values and they do experience meaningful existence, but little emphasis is given to Blackness.

For some people with low-salience attitudes, since they do not think thoroughly about the issues related to race, they tend to have a kind of naïve thinking. They often see personal progress as a problem of free will, individual initiative, rugged individualism and personal motivation to achieve. For some other people with low-salience attitudes, they take a more conscious route toward neutrality and see themselves as having reached a higher plane (i.e., abstract humanism), beneath which lies, as they see it, the vulgar world of race and ethnicity. When pressed to give a self-referent, they may respond that they are "human beings [or Americans] who happen to be Black" (Cross 1995, 98). The latter type of low-salience attitudes seems to be closer to the way Ming-min thought at this stage. Through the logic of liberalism, he was inclined to feel that "I am a human being [or Japanese], and I happen to be a Taiwanese born in Taiwan".

5.4 The Period under the KMT Rule (1946-1964)

In January 1946, Ming-min and the family of his oldest brother arrived in Taiwan on a ship. In the fall of the same year, Ming-min entered National Taiwan University, which was newly renamed from the original Taihoku Imperial University (*Taipei Diguo Daxue* 台北帝國大學). In early 1947, the February 28 Incident erupted. As the chairperson of the “February 28 Incident Settlement Committee (*Ererba Shijian Chuli Weiyuanhui* 二二八事件處理委員會)” in Kaohsiung, Ming-min’s father was arrested when he went to negotiate with the KMT authority at the Kaohsiung garrison quarters (*Gaoxiong Yaosai* 高雄要塞). Though released later, Ming-min’s father was since disillusioned by the KMT government. After graduating in 1948, Ming-min stayed and worked as a teaching assistant at NTU. Three years later, he was awarded a scholarship from the “Sino-American Cultural and Educational Foundation (*Zhongmei Wenhua Jiaoyu Jijinhui* 中美文化教育基金會),” and, in 1951, he went to study at the Institute of International Air Law at McGill University in Canada. Two years later, he obtained his master’s degree, and then he went to the University of Paris in France to study for his Ph.D. Upon earning his doctoral degree in 1954, Ming-min came back to teach at National Taiwan University.

In the ten years that followed, Ming-min reached his golden days academically and professionally. He was promoted to professorship within three years, becoming the youngest full professor at the age of 34 in Taiwanese college history after the war. Besides, he also published a huge textbook in international law. In 1961, Ming-min became chairperson of the Department of Political Science as well as director of the Graduate Institute of Political Science. Two years later, he was invited to discuss

national affairs at the Yang Ming Shan Conference (*Yangmingshan Huiyi* 陽明山會議), and was appointed advisor to the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations Assembly. The series of glories culminated in his being awarded one of the “Ten Most Outstanding Young Men (*shida jiechu qingnian* 十大傑出青年)” on December 13, 1963. At this time, Ming-min was indeed having his stars aligned in both academia and politics.

5.4.1 The Expectations for the New Era

Just like all other Taiwanese who had experienced colonial rule, having felt embarrassed and unsatisfied with his status as a colonized, Ming-min somehow aspired for the arrival of a new era after the Japanese Empire collapsed.¹³⁵ In Ming-min’s memoir, there are two examples that can serve as footnotes to such an expectation.

First of all, about twenty days after the surrender, Americans began to appear in the small village of Tameishi (Shicun 石村) where Ming-min stayed with his oldest brother. One day Ming-min fell into conversation with two Americans in a jeep beside the road, and in passing, Ming-min “explained to them that I was not a Japanese, but a Chinese from Formosa. *It was something of a shock to find myself for the first time openly and proudly making this distinction*”(Ming-min Peng 1994, 45; emphasis added).

Second, while waiting a ship to go back to Taiwan, “[i]n a special compartment set

¹³⁵. In January 1946, the “U.S. Office of Strategic Information (*Meiguo Zhanglue Qingbaochu* 美國戰略情報處)” held a large-scale opinion survey in Taiwan. In the *Taiwan Report* generated by the survey, the Taiwanese elites who were interviewed in this survey, including Hsien-tang Lin (*Lin Xiantang* 林獻堂), Mosei Lin (*Lin Maosheng* 林茂生), Hsin Chen (*Chen Xin* 陳炘), Thomas W. I. Liao, Bing Xu (*Xu Bing* 許丙), all expressed that Taiwanese would like to regress to China, and become a province of China, but they also expected Taiwan to be governed by the Taiwanese, not ruled as a colony by the Chinese officials (Tsui-lien Chen 1995, 396). At this time, Ming-min probably had a similar viewpoint.

aside for evacuees and their luggage, I found myself talking with a very young Korean girl on her way home to Seoul. *We had all come to a dramatic point of change in our lives. It was a new era, and we were no longer second-class subjects of the Japanese emperor, but we were not sure of what lay ahead.* The Koreans had been promised independence, and we Formosans had been promised freedom in a new, reformed, post-war China, and had been handed over to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 46-7; emphasis added).

5.4.2 The First Impressions of China/Chinese

On January 2, 1946, the ship which Ming-min was on board reached Keelung (*Jilong* 基隆) at nightfall. For the first time Ming-min saw the Taiwan which had been under Chinese rule for several months. He seemed to feel unfamiliar with his own homeland, and even felt somewhat disappointed and depressed. “This was ‘Chinese Formosa’ and not the ‘Japanese Formosa’ we had known” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 49).

[In Keelung] [w]e came off the ship, hired rickshas at the dock, and made our way to the home of a noted doctor, my father’s old friend and classmate. When along the way we noticed a crowd of dirty men in ragged uniforms and remarked that they were not Formosans, *our ricksha men said in contempt and disgust that they were Chinese Nationalist soldiers*, recently delivered to Keelung by American ships coming over from continental ports (Ming-min Peng 1994, 47; emphasis added).

In a gray dawn the next morning we had our first experience of the change that had overtaken Formosa now that Nationalist Chinese were in charge. Before the war the Japanese government had maintained a precise schedule for twelve or fourteen trains running each day between Keelung and Kaohsiung. Some were expresses, some semi-expresses, and some were locals. There had been little wartime damage to the main lines.

..... At the time of surrender in October the rolling stock was extremely shabby, but it was intact. Now we discovered that under Chinese¹³⁶ management only one through train per day linked Keelung with Kaohsiung. The Keelung station was filthy and crowded with dirty soldiers who had been hanging about all night for want of a better shelter. When our train pulled in, there was a wild scramble to get aboard. As the pushing crowd surged forward, baggage and children were thrust in through the windows, and adults scrambled in after them in a fierce struggle to obtain space. Somehow we managed to find seats and began the long slow ride. The chill January air poured in through broken windows, the seats had been stripped of green plush that had once covered them, and it was obvious that the cars had not been cleaned for many weeks. *This was “Chinese Formosa” and not the “Japanese Formosa” we had known. We had never seen anything like this dirt and disorder on a public train in our lives.* (Ming-min Peng 1994, 48-9; emphasis added)

Ming-min finally got back to Kaohsiung, reuniting with his parents whom he had not seen for six years. “Through the hours of excited conversation that followed my father could not conceal his feeling that the whole prospect for Formosa was grim. Repeatedly he said, ‘We are in a terrible situation’” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 50). Ming-min’s father shared his own “Chinese experiences” as follows with his grown children:

In late October, [1945,] word came at last that Chinese military units were expected to land at Kaohsiung. My father was made chairman [sic] of a welcoming committee. The job soon became a nightmare. He was notified that the troops would arrive on a certain date. Preparations included the purchase of firecrackers and of banners bearing appropriate sentiments, construction of temporary booths at the exits from the landing stage, and

¹³⁶. Right here, either the term “Chinese soldiers” or “Chinese,” the notion of “they” was very clear. Apparently, while writing this autobiography, Ming-min did not consider himself a part of the “Chinese.”

preparation of huge amounts of roast pork and other delicacies, soft drinks, and tea. Then came notification that the arrival was delayed. The perishable foods had to be sold or given away. This happened twice again, tripling the expenses, before a fourth notification proved to be correct.

An American naval vessel came slowly into Kaohsiung Harbor, making its way among the sunken hulks. Local Japanese military authorities, awaiting repatriation with their men, turned out a smartly disciplined honor guard to line the wharf, ready to salute the victorious Chinese army. A great crowd of curious and excited citizens had come to support my father's welcoming committee and to see the show.

The ship docked, the gangways were lowered, and off came the troops of China, the victors. The first man to appear was a bedraggled fellow who looked and behaved more like a coolie than a soldier, walking off with a carrying pole across his shoulder, from which was suspended his umbrella, sleeping mat, cooking pot, and cup. Others like him followed, some with shoes, some without. Few had guns. With no attempt to maintain order or discipline, they pushed off the ship, glad to be on firm land, but hesitant to face the Japanese lined up and saluting smartly on both sides. My father wondered what the Japanese could possibly think. *He had never felt so ashamed in his life. Using a Japanese expression, he said, 'If there had been a hole nearby, I would have crawled in!'* This victorious Chinese army was made up of country conscripts who showed not the least sign of understanding the welcome arranged for them. They moved into the town, grabbing up what food they wanted and tossing aside things they did not like. There was no acknowledgment by the few Chinese officers accompanying them and no thanks for anyone. Within an hour these troops, spreading through the town, had begun to pick up anything that struck their fancy. As far as they were concerned, the Formosans were a conquered people.

Now that some Chinese troops were ashore and a garrison present in Kaohsiung, Chinese civil officials began to venture down from Taipei in larger numbers. They asked my father for advice and directed him to represent the Formosan side during the takeover. He was quickly

disillusioned, he said, *for invariably the first question seemed to be, "How much money is there in the city bank?"* That is the kind of question any new administration would eventually ask, but it was always their very first question, and because of the way it was asked, it left an extremely bad impression on my father and other Formosans. It was apparent that these petty officials coming down from the capital were little better than the common soldiers. Soon they began to dress well and to commandeer good houses. The reason for the new affluence was apparent to all Formosans who had to deal with them. They were carpetbaggers. From one end of Formosa to the other looting was in progress at all levels. The common conscript roaming in Kaohsiung was simply taking what he wanted from shops and homes and the public streets. The newcomers from Taipei had been sent down by the highest officials to loot the sugar mills and warehouses, the factory stockpiles and industrial equipment. Junks were leaving the harbor every day loaded with food stocks, scrap metal, machine tools, and consumer goods of every variety, destined for private sales along the China coast.

Father's sense of humor prompted him to suggest that someone should collect stories of the incoming Chinese, especially of the ignorant conscripts who had been shipped over to Formosa from inland provinces on the continent. Many were totally unacquainted with modern technology. Some had never seen or had never understood a modern water system. There were instances in which they picked up water faucets in plumber's shops and then, pushing them into holes in walls and embankments, had expected water to flow. They then complained bitterly to the plumbers from whose shops the faucets came. There was a story of one soldier who took a seat in a barber's shop, had his hair cut, and then when the barber picked up an electric hair-dryer, instantly put up his hands pale with fright thinking it was a pistol. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 51-3; emphasis added)¹³⁷

¹³⁷. The experience that Taiwan was colonized by the Chinese government, in fact, was a very special case in comparative politics. In most colonial systems, the colonizers seemed to be more "progressive" culturally, at least in the material level. In the case of Taiwan, since Taiwan's former colonizer (i.e., Japan) was more advanced than China in terms of modernization, and thus resulted in the situation that, after the war, the new colonizer was lower culturally than the colonized Taiwanese. For a comparison in all aspects (including industrialization, living standard, educational level, as well as living customs)

5.4.3 Entering National Taiwan University

In the summer of 1946 it was announced that all Taiwanese who had come home from the imperial universities in Japan were entitled to enter the new “National Taiwan University”¹³⁸ --- the former Taihoku Imperial University --- without having to take examinations. Since Ming-min lacked one year’s credit for his Tokyo Imperial University degree, he left Kaohsiung for Taipei to enroll at the university. “About thirty of us who qualified under these terms met to discuss the offer. We had come from faculties of law, economics, and political science, and we were an elite group, for we had survived the fierce competition to enter the best institutions in Japan. After discussing our problems, we called upon the dean and the president of the reconstituted university. They were scientists. Neither had any idea what to do with anyone not prepared to enter the science courses” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 55).

Soon a curious situation arose. “We students organized courses, recruited staff, and ran part of National Taiwan University. We notified the administration that we were prepared to earn all the course-credits prescribed by Nanking and were ready to begin. When the dean protested that National Taiwan University had no professors in our fields, we assured him that we could find some for him. To begin, we found some Formosan lawyers and an economist who were all graduates of the Tokyo Imperial University and

between Taiwan after 50 years of Japanese rule and Mainland China, refer to Hsiao-feng Li (1991, 198-98) for further description.

¹³⁸. In fact, after the Nationalist government took over the Taihoku Imperial University, from November 15, 1945 to January 8, 1946, the name of the university was changed to “National Taipei University (*Guoli Taibei Daxue* 國立台北大學).” After January 8, 1946, it was then changed to “National Taiwan University” (Hsiao-feng Li 1996, 1809).

each well qualified to teach. The young economist, for example, had been a protégé of Japan's distinguished economist Dr. Tadao Yanaihara. One of the lawyers had served on the bench in Japan, reaching the highest judicial office ever occupied by a Formosan in prewar years”(Ming-min Peng 1994, 56).

Under these circumstances, “our student-life was very busy but easy, and not to be compared with the pre-examination periods of intensive study we had all experienced in Japan. We disregarded only one important Nanking Ministry regulation, the precisely even, four annual divisions of degree courses, and by stepping up the pace, we completed the Ministry of Education credit-hour requirements in two years. It was an unorthodox performance, to be sure, but we were an unusual group. Each of us had proved himself in competition near the summit of the Japanese Empire's educational system, but at the war's end we had been at different levels and stages of development in the three-year Japanese university curriculum. Now we were working more or less as a body, adapting ourselves to the four-year Chinese system, calling ourselves at my suggestion the ‘Three-Three Club,’ representing three fields, law, economics and political science, and there years in the Japanese system. We got along well enough with our faculty and fellow-students at the university, *but as students of law, economics, and political science, we looked about us with growing disillusionment and anger*” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 57; emphasis added).

5.4.4 The February 28 Incident in 1947

Though the February 28 Incident was a provocation ignited by the Monopoly Bureau agents' investigation of illegal tobaccos, the eruption of the whole incident, as a

matter of fact, had something to do with the incompetence and corruption of Chinese officers. “American planes and ships ferried the Nationalists from China to the new island possession. Formosans welcomed them enthusiastically in October 1945, thinking that a splendid new era was at hand. *Within weeks we found that Governor Yi Chen and his commissioners were contemptuous of the Formosan people and were unbelievably corrupt and greedy.* For eighteen months they looted our island. The newcomers had lived all their lives in the turmoil of civil war and of the Japanese invasion. They were carpetbaggers, occupying enemy territory, and we were being treated as a conquered people” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 61; emphasis added).

The year 1946 was one of increasing disillusionment. “At all levels of the administration and economic enterprise Formosans were being dismissed to make way for the relatives and friends of men in Yi Chen’s organization” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 62-3). At the beginning of 1947 tension had reached a breaking point. “The governor general had a direct family interest in the management of the Trading Bureau to which many producers were obliged to sell their products at fixed prices, after which they were sold in turn at great profit within Formosa or on the continent. The commissioners of finance, communications, and industry developed between them an elaborate network of rules and regulations which gave them a stranglehold on the total island economy”(Ming-min Peng 1994, 63).

The emergence of February 28 Incident certainly had its historical context, but its direct igniting factor was accidental. The flashpoint came on the night of February 27 in Taipei when a dispute between a female cigarette vendor and an anti-smuggling officer triggered civil disorder and open rebellion that would last for days. What followed were

a series of confrontations between the government and the people, and between Taiwanese and Mainlanders, which quickly spread all over Taiwan (Research Group on the February 28 Incident of the Executive Yuan 1994, 47-8).

Though took part in a meeting to discuss about the current situation, Ming-min, who was in Taipei at that time, seemed not to have played any active role in the incident. “During the height of the excitement at Taipei, we students at the university gathered at the medical school auditorium to discuss the situation. There was no organization, and the meetings were inconclusive. *Our situation on the campus was a favorable one, and we still thought we lived in a detached world.* We would have liked a better and larger faculty, but we had no real academic grievance. Our only grievances were both personal and general: the troubles, injuries, and losses suffered by our families and by Formosans in general. When our meetings broke up, we each went our own way with the tacit understanding that each would do what he wanted in the crisis” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 67; emphasis added)

Meanwhile, Ming-min’s father experienced a cruel ordeal in Kaohsiung. After the incident, a “February 28 Incident Settlement Committee” was also formed in Kaohsiung, and Ming-min’s father, Qing-kao Peng, was elected chairperson. Together with other members of the Settlement Committee, including Guang-ming Tu (*Tu Guangming* 涂光明) and Jie Lin (*Lin Jie* 林界), Qing-kao went to the Kaohsiung garrison headquarters to negotiate with the garrison commander, General Meng-chi Peng (*Peng Mengqi* 彭孟緝). As soon as they reached the compound there, they were immediately seized and bound with ropes. Three members of the group were shot to death. Qing-kao was lucky to survive, but not before all kinds of torture and humiliation from the military. After the

ordeal, Qing-kao was completely disappointed at Chinese politics. In the memoir, Ming-min describes the transformation of his father's mind journey:

Totally exhausted, my father came home. He had nothing to eat for two days and he was emotionally shattered. His disillusionment was complete. Henceforth he would have nothing more to do with politics and public affairs under the Chinese. His was the bitterness of a betrayed idealist. *He went so far as to cry out that he was ashamed of his Chinese blood and wished that his children after him would always marry foreigners until his descendants could no longer claim to be Chinese.* (Ming-min Peng 1994, 69; emphasis added)

Notably, before the war, Qing-kao did not get involved in politics. But between 1945 and 1947, he had led an extremely active life in public affairs. “After suffering through the disenchantment and the dangerous months of General Yi Chen’s administration that ended in such disaster, in total disillusionment he had withdrawn altogether from public life and confined himself exclusively to the administration of his clinic” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 74).

5.4.5 Going to the Western World to Study

In the summer of 1948, sixteen months after the February 28 Incident, Ming-min graduated from the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University. He was offered two jobs after his graduation. One was a career in business, a position offered by the First Commercial Bank (Diyi Shangye Yinhang 第一商業銀行), whose chairperson was former mayor of Taipei City, Chao-chin Huang. The other one was in the academic circles, a position of teaching assistant at the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, where he could do research and help the department

with administrative work.

It was a difficult choice to make. The bank salaries were at least three times as large as academic salaries at National Taiwan University, and if I performed with even reasonable competence, I could expect rapid promotion. But my heart was really not in commerce. Nonetheless I decided to enter the bank, and reported for the beginner's training program. For one month I reported faithfully to work each day, but it was clear to me that I could not be a good bank clerk. Neither banking nor any other commercial activity was to my taste. I quit after thirty days and returned to work as a teaching assistant at National Taiwan University where my future seemed to be. My course was set. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 73)

In February 1949, Ming-min married the eldest daughter of a landholding family living at Shilin (*Shilin* 士林).¹³⁹ In March 1950, his son was born. Around this time, once again, Ming-min was fascinated by French literature, this time the literature of law, and decided to take international air law as the specialty in his academic research. He read the related literature extensively and wrote diligently. "In the light of later developments in my career I suspect that I was stirred by some subjective fascination with planes, especially planes at war, after my own traumatic experiences at Nagasaki" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 77).

Also about in the meantime, under the auspices of Shih-liang Chien (*Qian Siliang* 錢思亮), president of National Taiwan University, and Meng-wu Sah (*Sa Mengwu* 薩孟

¹³⁹ If we read Ming-min's autobiography from a feminist perspective, we can find a very interesting point that his wife was almost completely out of sight. Even her name was not mentioned at all. Ming-min mentions only the date he got married (Ming-min Peng 1994, 75), and then in 1965, when he was put under house arrest, the intelligence agents' harassment against his wife (Ming-min Peng 1994, 183), and his wife's worry about his case (Ming-min Peng 1994, 201). As a biographee in a "male biography," of course, Ming-min's ignorance of his wife was by no means a special case, since we can also find similar trends in other "male biographies" (Hsiu-ling Lin 2000).

武), dean of the NTU's College of Law, Ming-min was awarded a scholarship from the Sino-American Cultural and Educational Foundation. In 1951, he went to study for his master's degree at the newly established Institute of International Air Law at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. Ming-min did very well at school. In his first year at McGill, he had three papers published "in four journals in Canada, France and Japan and they received international recognition" (Ming-min Peng 1984, 78-9).

In the second year, Ming-min started to work on his thesis, "a very technical study of the legal status of military aircraft in time of peace and war" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 85). In 1953, he completed his thesis in French. It was accepted, and he graduated magna cum laude with a master's degree in law. Then, in July of the same year, Ming-min went to France for further study, enrolling at the doctoral program at the University of Paris. "My course work went smoothly and so too did my dissertation, making it possible for me to finish nearly one year earlier than I had anticipated" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 88). After having been living in the Western world for three years, Ming-min met all requirements for the degree of *Docteur en Droit* and returned to Taiwan in the summer of 1954.

5.4.6 The Golden Period of Academic Career

After obtaining his doctoral degree and returning to be an associate professor at the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, Ming-min's stable and glorious days in his life had started. With his specialty in international law, he was widely recognized in the academia. In 1957, after three years as an associate professor, he was promoted to professor at the age of 34, becoming the youngest full professor in

the Taiwanese college history after the war. In the same year, Ming-min prepared a long textbook on international law (i.e., Ming-min Peng 1957), a volume of over 600 pages. According to his own description, “[this textbook] is still considered one of the best on the subject to be found in the Chinese language. Even after I was arrested, pirate editions still kept coming out” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 95). Besides, in 1958, Ming-min also published a book (Ming-min Peng 1984, 90) in French.¹⁴⁰ In August 1961, he was appointed chairperson of the Department of Political Science and director of the Graduate Institute of Political Science at National Taiwan University.¹⁴¹

Ming-min was fully supported by the university administration, but some colleagues started to attack him, and some people even raised questions in the Legislative Yuan

¹⁴⁰. Since I cannot read French at all, I am not able to provide detailed information about this book. Notably, however, there were quite few academic writings published by Ming-min in English. Except for a few articles with the nature of “political commentary” and this memoir, I have not found any other writings in English by Ming-min.

¹⁴¹. In his memoir, Ming-min does not mention that he was also appointed director of the Graduate Institute of Political Science. However, in the website of the Office of the President, Republic of China (Ming-min was appointed senior advisor to the President when Chen Shui-bian won the Presidency in 2000), Ming-min lists in his career “Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Political Science, Director of the Graduate Institute of Public Law (*gongfa yanjiusuo* 公法研究所), National Taiwan University” (Office of the President, Republic of China nd, b). Bo-xuan Chen (1996, 16) and Jiayan Liu (2002) also list “director of the Graduate Institute of Public Law” as Ming-min’s career experience.

However, currently there is no so-called “Graduate Institute of Public Law” at National Taiwan University. According to the website of the Department of Law, National Taiwan University, in 1955, the university established “Master’s Program of Law,” which included public law section and economics theory section. In the following year, the program was changed into three Graduate Institutes of, respectively, Law, Political Science, and Economics. In 1970, the Graduate Institute of Law was divided into three sections: basic law, public law, and civil and criminal law (National Taiwan University nd). Anyhow, obviously there was no “Graduate Institute of Public Law” in the “Graduate Institute of Law.” Also, according to website of the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, the Graduate Institute of Political Science is divided into three sections: political theory, international relations and public administration. Likewise, there is no such “Graduate Institute of Public Law.” Since the Graduate Institute of Political Science was established, the chairperson of the department has been also the director of the graduate program (Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University nd). Based on such information, the position that Ming-min held in 1961 should be chairperson of the Department of Political Science and director of the Graduate Institute of Political Science,” rather than what he says “director of the Graduate Institute of Public Law.”

regarding his positions. “The university president supported me in these embarrassing disputes, and Dean Sah took every opportunity to refute the critics, sometimes going so far as to declare boldly that the traditional Chinese university system could not have produced such a young scholar. Sometimes my advocates seemed to consider me a prodigy, and I now realize I was developing a degree of intellectual arrogance that cannot have pleased the older scholars on the *Taida* [National Taiwan University] staff” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 92; emphasis original).

In the international academia, Ming-min seemed also very active. In 1956, Dr. Henry Kissinger invited him to attend the annual international seminar at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. “It was refreshing to be in the Western world again and once more a member of an intellectual, cosmopolitan group. Some thirty or forty participants joined in this two-month session, a varied group that included a British parliamentarian, a judge from Ceylon, a German journalist, and an Indian writer. Of the three Japanese present, one was a woman lawyer and one a scientist” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 95-6).

In 1960, Ming-min was named one of Taipei’s delegates to the “Sino-American Conference on Intellectual Cooperation” to be held at the Far Eastern Institute of the University of Washington in Seattle. The KMT government attached great importance to the gathering. Dr. Shih Hu (*Hu Shi* 胡適)¹⁴² was made chief delegate, and there were about forty other academicians from Taipei. All were to travel on official passports, and Chiang Kai-shek invited the entire group to a farewell party at his Shilin

¹⁴². For Shih Hu’s brief introduction, refer to footnote on Section 5.4.7 of this chapter.

mansion. In the summer of the same year, Ming-min was invited again by Dr. Henry Kissinger to attend a conference in Tokyo at which he was the leading figure. “Again for two months we met together each day, and the atmosphere was decidedly unlike that I had known at Seattle. Here was a genuine attempt to examine major problems of the day and to exchange ideas on a wide variety of subjects” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 99).

With his outstanding academic performance, and with his experiences in international conference, gradually Ming-min had become a favorite of the administration, as if representing the academia and straddling into the politics. In 1960, he was appointed to a national research fellowship by the National Committee for Scientific Development, with a proposed study of “Technological Development and International Law.” “[It was] a subject of considerable international interest. The Formosan press gave my new appointment great publicity” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 101-2). Not long afterward, Ming-min was again handpicked by the KMT authorities to attend the second Yang Ming Shan Conference, which was aimed to discuss education and scientific development in Taiwan, becoming one of the promising young social elite on the island at that time.

In 1961, right after being made chairperson of the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, Ming-min was appointed advisor to the Chinese delegation to the United Nations. “The appointment could be explained, I thought, by the fact that the Taipei government was extremely nervous. The moratorium period for the China question had come to an end. Washington and Taipei decided that there must be a change of strategy since in the previous year support for the Nationalists had dropped to the lowest level in the annual vote on the question of seating Peking in the world

body. I was told that Taipei needed someone in New York who could really work and had a knowledge of international law, someone vigorous who could command international respect” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 107). “My participation in government affairs now moved to a new level. Press announcements of my new appointment meant interviews, photographs, and statements. The appointment was discussed publicly at great length. This was the first ever that a Taiwanese was given such a position. A courtesy call at the Foreign Ministry gave me opportunity to talk with Shen Chan-huang [Chan-huang Shen (*Shen Chanhuan* 沈昌煥)], the foreign minister”(Ming-min Peng 1994, 107).

Such a series of glories was brought to a climax on December 13, 1963. In an activity sponsored by the Taiwan Junior Chamber of Commerce, Ming-min was elected one of the “Ten Outstanding Young Men of Taiwan,” becoming a very famous person in Taiwan at that time.

5.4.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

If we use the racial/ethnic identity development model as an analytical tool, we can see that Ming-min’s national identity seemed to change to certain degree during this period. On one side, in the inception of this period, Ming-min remained in the “pre-encounter stage” (though the rulers of Taiwan were changed from Japan to the KMT and, consequently, Ming-min had to do some adjustment in his content of national identity in response to the change in the external environment). On the other side, roughly starting from the middle of this period, Ming-min’s national identity gradually entered the “encounter stage” and the “immersion-emersion stage,” setting the stage for

the juggernaut of his Taiwanese identity at next stage. In this section, let us discuss first his content of national identity during the “pre-encounter stage.”

On August 15, 1945, Japan accepted unconditional surrender and gave up its sovereignty over Taiwan. On December 25, the KMT government in Nanking took over Taiwan from Japan, making another regime change in the history of Taiwan. Most historical writings, either from official or unofficial perspective, describes that the Taiwanese were overjoyed at the “reunion with the motherland” at that time. As the discriminated second-class citizens under the Japanese colonial government, the Taiwanese’s expectations of a “beautiful future world” were not difficult to understand.

The reality that finally came, however, seemed significantly different from the expectations deep in the hearts of Taiwanese.¹⁴³ When the first “motherland” troops arrived in Taiwan, they looked so shabby and downcast that the Taiwanese cast a big doubt as to the future destiny of Taiwan. Later, Mainlanders swarmed into the island, and quickly they had all kinds of friction with the Taiwanese. In daily life, between the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese, there were differences and misunderstandings due to the gap in languages, customs and social mores. In addition, the Chinese soldiers’ rambunctious behaviors, as well as the receiving officers’ patronizing attitudes, also made the Mainlanders repugnant to the Taiwanese. As a result, the welcoming hearts of the Taiwanese toward the Nationalist government gradually cooled off. As hopes turned

¹⁴³. Hsiao-feng Li (1991, 196) attributes the “maladjustment” that the Taiwanese had in response to the new administration after the war to the “cognitive dissonance” they had toward the “motherland.” For the maladjustment the Taiwanese had with the new regime, Li illustrates with an example related to Mosei Lin --- the first Ph.D. in the history of Taiwan. In the year following the end of the war, his oldest son Tsung-yi Lin (*Lin Zongyi* 林宗義) came back from Japan after finishing studies there, and asked Mosei Lin, “Are there any hopes for the Taiwanese?” Mosei Lin sighed, “I am not so sure. The motherland in our imagination is actually different from the one in reality.” (Hsiao-feng Li 1991, 186).

into disappointments, and disappointments into desperations, the February 28 Incident broke out, and the suppression and massacres by the Nationalist forces followed.

To deal with the perfidious and changeable Taiwanese politics as well as the complicated and intriguing Taiwanese history, Rwei-ren Wu (1994, 7) was prompted to use the concept of “liminal (in-between) identity (*linjiexing rentong* 臨界性認同)” to describe the ambiguous and unstable identity possessed by the Taiwanese during this period. In such an unclear identity, although the “Taiwanese identity” had been formed already, the content of this identity was not fixed yet, since it was still swinging between the “Chinese identity” and “Japanese identity,” as well as between the “national identity” and “ethnic identity.” “It was exactly the ambiguity of Taiwanese identity that provided space for the various elite groups, in the early years after the war, to use political maneuvers to delineate their identities with precise definition” (Rwei-ren Wu 1994, 7).¹⁴⁴

According to this splendid paper by Rwei-ren Wu (1994), right after the war, with the establishment of educational and cultural institutions, the abolishment of the Japanese edition in newspapers and magazines, the instillation of China-centered ideology, the KMT authorities were desperate to hammer out Chinese identity for the Taiwanese. However, since many people were extremely disgruntled at the measures imposed by the new rulers, some rivaling identities different from the KMT-version Chinese identity started to sprout on the land of Taiwan. In the left wing, the Taiwanese Communists started to ponder going in cahoots with the Chinese Communist Party, the major

¹⁴⁴. With respect to research regarding national identity in the early years after the World War II in Taiwan, except for the unpublished conference paper by Rwei-ren Wu (1994), refer to the relatively popular book by Hsiao-feng Li (1993), the Ph.D. dissertation by Phillips (1998), and the book chapter by Phillips (1999) condensed from his dissertation.

opposition on Mainland China at that time, seeking another “left-wing China” beyond the KMT.¹⁴⁵ In the right wing, the propositions seeking for Taiwan’s complete separation from China, such as the notions of “trusteeship” and “independence,” also began to appear.¹⁴⁶ “Those two alternative ideologies, though still in their infancy, had set the stage for the future development” (Rwei-ren Wu 1994, 14).

Nevertheless, among the confounding identities --- the KMT’s right-wing Chinese identity, the Communists’ left-wing Chinese identity, and the Taiwanese identity, which one did Ming-min choose right after the end of the war? And to what extent did he accept the right-wing Chinese identity officially proposed by the KMT? Judging from Ming-min’s autobiography, we have reason to believe that, basically, he carried on the thought of liberalism from his previous stage, and adopted “low-salience attitudes” to handle his national identity. As a matter of fact, for those with low-salience attitudes in identity orientation, racial or national identity is not the focus of their concerns. Thus, conventionally, they tend to have a “slight inclination” toward the official version of mainstream identity (Cross 1995, 100). The following observations serve as the basis for such an inference.

(5.4.7.a) First, if we take a closer look at Ming-min’s life history during this period, especially the experiences right after World War II, *we are very unlikely to believe that he had much good impression of the KMT regime that ruled Taiwan at that time.* For

¹⁴⁵. With respect to the people and events related to “left-wing China” after the war, see Fang-ming Chen (1991a); Bo-zhou Lan (1991, 1993a, 2000b); Fang-sang Lu (1999a, 1999b); Taiwan Provincial Historical Documents Commission (1998b, 1998c, 1998d); Chang and Gao (1998); and Chang and Chen (2000).

¹⁴⁶. As for the historical data and research related to the TIM right after the war, see Ling-zhu Huang (1991); Shi-jie Li (1988); Taipei 228 Memorial Museum (1999); Rwei-ren Wu (1999a); Bo-yan Xu (1996); Yen-hsian Chang (1992); and Chang, Hu and Zeng (2000a, 2000b).

instance, when he came back to Taiwan from Japan in 1946, his first impression of the Chinese was not very positive at all. Furthermore, during the February 28 Incident in 1947, his father was arrested and almost killed at the Kaohsiung garrison headquarters.

(5.4.7.b) Second, more noticeably, *Ming-min apparently did not have much opportunity to be brainwashed by the KMT's school education.* In fact, except using political power to purge the potential antagonists, as an émigré regime, the KMT had been using ideology education --- especially Chinese nationalism spread forcefully on all campuses --- as a powerful weapon for this ideological apparatus to rule the island.

However, among the schools Ming-min had attended, the only one that involved the KMT's party-state education was National Taiwan University, at which he studied for two years. After that, both his master's and doctoral degrees were obtained from Western countries. Nonetheless, during the two years at NTU, the KMT's grip on Taiwan was hardly on the right track, and the so-called party-state education had not been extended into Taiwanese campuses at that time.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, in terms of school education Ming-min had received, we are not in a position to say that Ming-min was much influenced by Chinese nationalism.

(5.4.7.c) Third, in terms of the role identity Ming-min set for himself, *at this stage,*

¹⁴⁷. When mentioning about his two years experience of studying at National Taiwan University, Ming-min says, "We had completed the four-year credit requirements in two years' time. We had really done little more than polish up our Mandarin Chinese" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 72).

In addition, when discussing that Ming-min was not burdened with the Chinese complex, Chau-zhi Hong also expresses that one of the reasons was that Ming-min received very little Chinese education. "On the surface, Ming-min transferred from the Tokyo Imperial University to and graduated from National Taiwan University. In fact, National Taiwan University was formerly known as the Taihoku Imperial University with an emphasis on agriculture. In law and political science, both faculty and facilities were very weak. Mr. Peng actually only learned the 'Chinese language' at National Taiwan University" (Chau-zhi Hong 1994, 301).

he seemed to see himself as an educator/researcher doing academic work in the academia. Although political science, Ming-min's professional discipline, was always connected to the politics in reality, probably due to his disappointment at and fear of the KMT regime, he seemed to purposely choose international law, a course which somewhat had less connection with the politics in reality, as his major academic area.

(5.4.7.d) Fourth, nevertheless, if we take another perspective and use a more rigid standard to examine his work during this period, then we have to argue that, *to some degree, Ming-min must have tacitly accepted (or at least not rejected) the Chinese nationalism on which the KMT regime relied for her survival.* This is because all the jobs he had taken --- including associate professor, professor, director of the graduate program, and later advisor to the Chinese delegation to the United Nations, national research fellow of the National Committee for Scientific Development, and a representative at the Yang Ming Shan Conference --- were all elite positions reserved for the power core of the KMT apparatus.

Of course, his official job was mainly in the academic field and, strictly speaking, he was not an official of the government. However, at the time of authoritarian rule, to be a professor of political science, department chairperson and director of a graduate program, at least an implicit permission from the top was a must. If he did not identify himself with the propriety of the regime to some extent, then, on one hand, the government would not have given him those influential positions and, on the other hand, he was quite unlikely to fulfill the mission that came with the positions. After all, for any person --- especially an intellectual like Ming-min with so high self-esteem --- if he or she has to handle the work contradictory to his or her own belief in his or her everyday life, then the

burden in spirit would be too heavy to bear.

(5.4.7.e) Fifth, judging from the wording of his memoir, *Ming-min seemed to have nothing to do with the left-wing political thoughts*.¹⁴⁸ On one hand, this phenomenon had something to do with his background as a bourgeois.¹⁴⁹ During the final stage of the war, due to the influence of the situation at that time, and his deserting Japanese military service and moving to the countryside near Tokyo, for a short period of time, Ming-min had some difficulties in life. Other than these, born into a well-to-do family,¹⁵⁰ before his arrest in 1964, he had never endured any kind of hardship (of course, the loss of his left arm in an air bombing was an exception), nor did he ever experience any real life of the ordinary people.

On the other hand, this phenomenon also had something to do with his life style (of course, his life style was related to his upbringing). In some related writings, we can easily find descriptions about how meticulously he was about his outfit and appearance.¹⁵¹ It seems difficult for us to imagine that such a well-dressed professor

¹⁴⁸. It is interesting that the former Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui, who was born in the same year as Ming-min (1923), was immersed in left-wing thoughts when he was young. Even after the war, Lee again joined the underground organization of the Chinese Communist Party in Taiwan (Bo-zhou Lan 2000a).

¹⁴⁹. According to Ming-min's memoir, he was not only born in a wealthy family, they also had several maids and a groom. When his older sister got married, a relative of his even gave her a servant (Ming-min Peng 1994, 11). Besides, his oldest brother's wife also had a servant (Ming-min Peng 1984, 44).

¹⁵⁰. In fact, his wife was "the oldest daughter of a landholding family living at Shilin" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 75).

¹⁵¹. Hung-hsi Lee reflects that he took Ming-min's course of "international law" at National Taiwan University in 1957, and was deeply impressed by Ming-min. "First, he was very fastidious in his appearance and outfits, and he had the habit of being punctual" (Hung-hsi Lee 1994, 272). Chau-zhi Hong also mentions that while teaching at National Taiwan University, Ming-min always "dressed in impeccable suits, and cut a graceful figure" (Chau-zhi hong 1994, 298). Even when in exile overseas, Ming-min used to ask a friend's wife to repair his suits, saying "the sleeves are too long, and the legs of the trousers too wide" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 226-7).

would campaign for the well-being of the hardscrabble populace.

(5.4.7.f) Sixth, if we say that Ming-min did not have too much good feeling about the KMT regime, and he was not much influenced by the KMT's China-centered education, but he kept important academic and political positions under the KMT government, then, what would be his content of national identity, after all?

In my opinion, the “low-salience attitudes” developed from the thoughts of liberalism should be the best term to describe his national identity at this stage. In the memoir, though he did not specifically mention how he contacted with the liberalists at this stage, some of the most important liberalists, such as Shih Hu (1891-1962),¹⁵² Hai-kuan Yin (*Yin Haiguang* 殷海光, 1919-1969),¹⁵³ Cheng Fu (*Fu Zheng* 傅正, 1927-1991)¹⁵⁴ and Ao Li (*Li Ao* 李敖, 1935-),¹⁵⁵ were mentioned in this book, and

¹⁵². Shih Hu, who named and wrote the purpose of publishing for the magazine *The Free China Fortnightly* (*Ziyou Zhongguo* 自由中國)(Hsiao-feng Li 1987a, 57), was one of the most important liberalists in modern China. He was also the support provider during the second year Ming-min was studying for his master's degree in Canada. Before his death, Shih Hu did not tell Ming-min about it, and Ming-min did not know, either. It was after Shih Hu died that Shih-liang Chien, president of National Taiwan University, finally told Ming-min about it. After Ming-min heard of the news that Shih Hu had passed away, he (1994, 117) expresses, “I had lost the most understanding and unselfish friend and supporter.” For an introduction to Shih Hu's thoughts, refer to Yi-shen Chen (1991). For Shih Hu's thoughts of liberalism, refer to Zhong-dong Zhang (1990).

¹⁵³. Hai-kuan Yin, professor at the Department of Philosophy, National Taiwan University, was a writer for *The Free China Fortnightly* as well as one of the most important liberalists in Taiwan after the war. After Ming-min was arrested in 1964, the investigating agents suspected that Hai-kuan Yin was also involved, since Yin was a good friend of Ming-min's (Ming-min Peng 1994, 143). For an introduction to Yin's life and career, refer to Xin Tian (1996, 336-8). For Yin's thoughts of liberalism, refer to Zhong-dong Zhang (1990).

¹⁵⁴. Cheng Fu was a long-time contributor for *The Free China Fortnightly*, and became editor of the magazine in 1958. He was arrested in the case of Chen Lei in 1960, and was imprisoned for more than six years. During the years 1955-1957, Cheng Fu was studying at the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, and was a student of Ming-min's (Xin Tian 1996, 339). In Ming-min's memoir (1994, 100), he mentions that Fu used to visit him before his arrest in 1960. “According to Fu, Lei's journal was being subjected to increasing pressure by the Nationalist secret police. ‘Something may happen any day’” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 101).

Ming-min also had personal friendships with them. As a matter of fact, in the 1950s in Taiwan, since the KMT regime just retreated to Taiwan and the so-called “White Terror” was being fiercely carried out, almost all the left-wing thoughts were purged. As a result, a small league of liberalist intellectuals with *Free China Fortnightly* as their bastion became the only “dissidents” in the political arena at that time. Under such situation, it was quite natural that Ming-min would continue to lean toward liberalism in terms of his political ideology.

To conclude, Ming-min’s national identity during this period, which could be seen as taking “naïve liberalism” as the axis of his political belief, was quite similar to his previous stage. To some extent, it was again an identity of the so-called “low-salience attitudes” proposed by Cross. However, before the war, Ming-min essentially developed his national identity under the system of “Japanese identity” (though without deliberate emphasis on the importance of national identity, at least he was not against the Japanese identity). By this stage, however, the external environment had changed. Once the KMT replaced the Japanese colonial government as the ruler of Taiwan, Ming-min then developed his national identity under the system of “Chinese identity”

¹⁵⁵. Ao Li was the writing helmsman of *Literature Star* (*Wenxing* 文星), a key magazine in the thinking circles in the 1960s. He started to contribute to the magazine in 1961, until *Literature Star* was banned in 1965. In 1954, Ao Li spent one year studying at the Special Program of Law (it was later changed into the judicial section of the Department of Law) at National Taiwan University, and then he took the entrance examinations again and got into the Department of History of the same university, and graduated in 1959. However, while Ao Li was studying at National Taiwan University, it looked like that he did not know Ming-min (Hsiao-feng Li 1987a, 86-7; Rich nd).

The time that Li and Ming-min got to know each other should be after 1960. After Ming-min was arrested, the investigating agents suspected that Li was also involved, since Li was a good friend of Ming-min’s (Ming-min Peng 1994, 143). Besides, Ming-min (1984, 203) also mentioned that “[in midsummer 1967,] one day Ao Li told me in a haste that a military friend of his stationed offshore had been informed that an armed uprising was planned, and that there was written proof that I was involved.” Finally, in his *My 50 Years* edited by himself, Li also says that, in 1969, he “helped Ming-min out of righteousness” (Rich nd).

(similarly, he did not deliberately emphasize on the importance of national identity, but at least he did not act against this Chinese identity).

5.4.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

Anyhow, despite the fact that, during this period, Ming-min somehow identified himself with the KMT apparatus which he served, it was also *during this period that he experienced the so-called “encounter stage” and “immersion-emersion stage” in terms of his development of identity.* This was why he finally took the action of drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” at the following stage.

Based upon Cross’s (1995, 105) analysis, because the person’s ongoing identity will defend against identity change, the person has to experience some sort of “encounter” that has the effect of “catching the person off guard.” The encounter must work around the relevance of the person’s current identity and, at the same time, provide some hint of the path the person must follow in order to be resocialized and transformed. As for Ming-min’s development of identity at this stage, we seem unlikely to find a particular event to illustrate that he did experience the “encounter stage.” But, as he says in his memoir, during the years he taught at National Taiwan University, “[real] politics as such held no interest for me. I was concerned only with my own career and my writing” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 92). Nevertheless, affected by his interest in his academic area, he gradually sensed the importance of the issue of “Taiwan’s legal status.” He says:

Slowly I was compelled to recognize that *the immediate problems of Formosa’s insecure international position were quite as important as academic theories.* We were living in an era of complicated and confusing change in Formosa’s relations with continental China and with China’s friends and foes overseas.

Although for all students of international law Formosa's legal position was clearly one of first importance, it was soon apparent that I could not discuss the question freely in the classroom. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 92-3; emphasis added)

This recognition of the "problems of Formosa's insecure international position" seemed to be pivotal in Ming-min's transition from the "pre-encounter stage" to the "encounter stage." Though it was not a concrete and visible event, it functioned just like an event during the encounter stage, allowing an individual to cast doubt whether the previous identity or worldview was appropriate. As a matter of fact, Cross (1995, 105) points out, "[the encounter] may revolve around exposure to powerful cultural-historical information about the Black experience previously unknown to the person." In this regard, we may claim that pondering over Taiwan's international status was the starting point in Ming-min's identity transition.

When did Ming-min's reconsideration of Taiwan's international status take place, after all? According to the memoir, we are not in a position to find a specific time when Ming-min entered the "encounter stage" from the "pre-encounter stage." But, at least we can find some hint from his experience of attending the Tokyo Conference for International Affairs sponsored by Harvard University in 1960:

During the conference I made a speech in which I developed a new line of political thought. For the first time I noted publicly that the legal status of Formosa had not yet been settled by formal action,¹⁵⁶ and suggested that the

¹⁵⁶. In general, in the TIM-related discourse in the existing literature, such discourse was commonly referred to as the "thesis of Taiwan's unsettled legal status (*Taiwan falu diwei weidinglun* 台灣法律地位未定論)" (e.g., Jiashu Huang 1994, 189-200; Jen-chiech Huang 1993, 47-9; Yibin Jia 1993, 73-89; Jin-cai Liu 2001, 81-2).

Formosan people should have something to say about their future. It was a guarded statement, but the implications were clear. I was beginning to think about the real day-to-day problems of my own people and my homeland. Several scholars sought me out privately to raise the question of Formosa's status. I began to think in political terms and to come slowly down to earth from the realms of abstract theory and consideration of the past as merely a body of case histories. From time to time, Formosan residents in Tokyo came to see me, always with questions about the future. Sooner or later I would have to come to grips with the issue. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 99-100)¹⁵⁷

Subsequent to the “encounter stage,” Ming-min apparently entered the “immersion-emersion stage.” During the so-called immersion-emersion stage, having experienced the impact of the “encounter stage,” one would cast doubt about the appropriateness of the old identity and, in the meantime, start to look for any individual

The key argument of such discourse is as follows. In 1941, the government of the Republic of China unilaterally denounced all the treaties between China and Japan. The action did not have any international effect, since any international treaty or pact cannot be denounced by a signatory unilaterally. After 1949, even though the Chinese Communist Party established the People's Republic of China, and the KMT regime retreated from Nanking to Taiwan, in terms of international law, Taiwan was still the territory of Japan at that time. Later, in the “San Francisco Peace Treaty” of 1951 and the “Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty” of 1952, though Japan claimed to “abandon” its sovereignty over Taiwan and Pescadores, but it did not “surrender” or “return” Taiwan and Pescadores to the opposite signatory in the treaty. Therefore, legally, Taiwan had been separated from Japan, but the sovereignty did not belong to the Republic of China, nor did it belong to the People's Republic of China (Jin-cai Liu 2001, 82; Peng and Ng 1995, Chapter 5). The most systematic discourse regarding this argument is in *The Legal Status of Taiwan* collaborated by Ming-min Peng and Chiautong Ng (1995, originally published in Japanese in 1976).

¹⁵⁷. To what extent that Ming-min was affected by “outside factors” so as to have such puzzle? This is indeed a very interesting question. In my definition, the so-called “outside factors” do not refer to the international political environment related to Taiwan's international status, since Ming-min had such kind of consciousness certainly had something to do with the external environment. Rather, they refer to the “political/academic discourse” that was existent and related to the issue at that time.

For example, in the 1959 “Conlon Report” commissioned by the U.S. Congress, it was suggested that the People's Republic of China be given a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations, and Taiwan be established as “Republic of Taiwan” and be a member of the United Nations (Mei-ling Wang 1999, 148). In 1960, the first issue of *Taiwan Youth* was published by the “Taiwan Chinglian Associates” (the predecessor of the WUFI-Japan Headquarters) (Shu 2001a, 105). Ming-min was very likely to have read such publications.

or organization related to the new identity. As Cross (1995, 109) points out, “most converts will seek and find the social support of others by joining certain organizations and groups. The groups joined provide a counterculture to the identity being replaced (the “Negro” or non-Afrocentric identity) by entangling the person in membership requirements, symbolic dress codes, rites, rituals, obligations, and reward systems that nurture and reinforce the emerging ‘new’ (Black or Afrocentric) identity.”

Basically, in Taiwan at that time, Ming-min did not have much space to look for comrades in thought, and to explore the unknown Taiwanese identity together. Under the KMT’s tight rule and thought control, Ming-min was unable to publicly discuss issues related to Taiwan’s international status, the focal issue that prompted him to enter the “encounter stage.” In fact, at that time, he had been the center of attention among Taiwanese students and leaders in every field, and there was an overwhelming flood of invitations to speak. In each speech, Ming-min always “attempted to make clear the place of the China or Taiwan problem among many complex world questions” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 116). However, such public speeches evidently could not satisfy Ming-min’s search for the new identity in his heart. He says in his autobiography,

These public meetings were much less interesting than the discussions held in my own home and privately elsewhere about town. *Students came with their friends in ever-increasing numbers, and discussions of Formosa’s own future were often vivid and sometimes bitter.* (Ming-min Peng 1994, 116; emphasis added)

While I was attracting the attention of party and government functionaries after my return from abroad, I was steadily broadening my contacts far beyond the campus. It may be that I was becoming less of an arrogant

intellectual. Word seemed to spread that I was approachable, and that I welcomed anyone who wished to come around for our evening discussions. Our large house was often crowded with students from the university and from other schools in the region. Occasionally city councilors and local politicians came to join in the conversations. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 121)

By talking to his students and followers, Ming-min seemed to have found a refuge for his heart, and prepared to step onto his next journey of identity.

5.5 Drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” (1964-1970)

On Ming-min’s journey of identity, no other turning points were more dramatic than his behavior of drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation”¹⁵⁸ with his students Tsung-min Hsieh and Ting-chao Wei in 1964. As a matter of fact, in practical politics, the drafting of the declaration was extremely explosive, in that not only Ming-min was one of the Taiwanese elite the KMT deliberately wanted to cultivate, but also the incident happened right in the golden days of his academic career. Such a transition was indeed

¹⁵⁸. Though it was one of the most important documents in the history of the TIM, there were several editions in the existent literature regarding the formal name of this document. When the summary of the declaration, with the support from the United Formosans in America for Independence, first appeared in 1966 in the Western media --- *The New York Times* --- in the form of advertisement, the name of this document was listed as “Declaration of Formosans” (English name only) (Feng-chun Li et al. 1985, 41). Cohen and Teng (1990, 93) also list the name of this document as “Declaration of Formosans” (English name only).

However, in Ming-min’s English-edition autobiography, he listed the name of this document as “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 127). But in the Chinese edition of his autobiography, there were two versions of name in Chinese --- “A Declaration of Self-salvation for the Taiwanese People (*Taiwan Renmin Ziji Yu Yundong Xuanyan* 台灣人民自救運動宣言)” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 118, 119) and “A Declaration of Self-salvation for the Taiwanese (*Taiwanren Ziji Yu Yundong Xuanyan* 台灣人自救運動宣言)” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 129). In *Ming-min Peng’s View on Taiwan* published in 1994, the name of this document was changed back to “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” as listed in his English-edition autobiography (Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation 1994, 187-98). After reviewing all these names, “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” listed in the English-edition autobiography seems to be a more consistent usage. Therefore, for the name

very baffling.

5.5.1 Drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation”

Though Ming-min’s political future looked very promising at that time, he still felt that “it was embarrassing to continue to give the public impression that I was one of the Chiang’s men” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 122), and he thought it was no longer possible for him to be an independent observer. Here is how Ming-min described his thought at that time:

No one believed in the “reconquest” of continental China. Taipei’s claim that it represented the [M]ainland provinces was absurd. Chiang Kai-shek’s pronouncements concerning Sinkiang, Outer Mongolia and Tibet were ridiculous. So too were the attempts to keep alive some semblance of a claim upon Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands. We were not much concerned with all of these. Our interest lay in the unrealistic claims made on behalf of Formosa itself, that it represented China and the “Free World,” and that the island population gave undivided support to the recovery of China. There was no open talk of independence, but in discussing Nationalist China’s position in the United Nations, we felt that someday Chiang’s government would be voted out. The fundamental problem was reform and reorganization in order to create a government tailored to reality. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 121-2)

At this point, having his thoughts changed, Ming-min seemed not satisfied at sharing his views with his comrades and friends in the level of discussions. Instead, he was thinking about putting his thoughts into actions. “We often expressed regret that many more people could not share in our discussions. It seemed to us so reasonable and so

of the document, I decide to use “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” shown in his English-edition autobiography.

easy to make people see the absurdities and injustice of the situation” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 116). Finally, in the early months of 1964, “we decided to draw up a summary of our ideas and a statement of our position and problems, something that could be distributed not only to Formosans but to the continental Chinese. Hsieh volunteered to draft a statement and Wei agreed to help” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 127).

Tsung-min Hsieh (*Xie Congmin* 謝聰敏), born in 1934, graduated from Taichung First Middle School (*Taizhong Yizhong* 台中一中) and the Department of Law, National Taiwan University (Office of the President, Republic of China, nd, a; Fengshan Zhang 2002c). Hsieh was actually not a student of Ming-min’s; rather, he was a law student under the guidance of Chin-sui Liu (*Liu Qingrui* 劉慶瑞), Ming-min’s colleague and an expert in constitutional law. Recommended by Liu, “for two years, Hsieh had been coming to my house quite regularly to participate in discussions of Taiwan’s future” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 115). After graduating from National Taiwan University, “he went to the graduate school of political science at National Chengchi University, the only graduate program in political science at that time. There he made a very favorable impression upon the Chinese faculty who in turn had recommended him for employment as an instructor at the [Army] Military Academy (*Lujun Junguan Xuexiao* 陸軍軍官學校) in Fengshan (*Fengshan* 鳳山). But far from the capital and his stimulating friends, among very dull Nationalist Chinese military instructors, he soon became profoundly unhappy” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 115).

Therefore, Ming-min recommended Hsieh to Ching-chung Hsu (*Xu Qingzhong* 徐慶鐘), then deputy secretary general of the KMT, to be the editor of the Japanese

magazine *The Modern China* (*Jinri Zhi Zhongguo* 今日之中國),¹⁵⁹ which was financially supported by the KMT. Occasioned by the publishing of *Taiwan Youth* in April 1960 by the “Taiwan Chinglian Associates”¹⁶⁰ (the predecessor of the WUFI-Japan Headquarters), the KMT started this magazine in June 1963 to appease the “new type of TIM (*xinxing Taidu Yundong* 新型台獨運動)” in Japan (other than the old TIM groups led by Thomas W. I. Liao and Yung-han Chiu (*Qiu Yonghan* 邱永漢)), which was ever-growing and became quite popular among Taiwanese students studying in Japan” (Dai and Wang 2001, 64).

Ting-chao Wei, a Hakka born in 1936, studied at Chengkung High School (*Chenggong Gaozhong* 成功高中) and graduated from the Department of Law, National Taiwan University. He was a friend of Tsung-min Hsieh’s (Ting-chao Wei 1997, Author profile; Ming-min Peng 1984, 116). “[He was] a farmer’s son of brave and solid personality. He refused to take a job commensurate with his academic training until having worked in a coal mine for several months. Then, he became a research assistant at the prestigious Academia Sinica” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 116).

After they three had the plans to take actions, Hsieh first wrote about 100 pages of manuscript, which was “an exposition of the Rights of Man, beginning with the American Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 127).

After intense discussions and many revisions, with Wei’s help they prepared a new draft,

¹⁵⁹. In the memoir, Ming-min mistakenly lists the name of the magazine as *The Free China Monthly* (*Ziyou Zhongguo Yuekan* 自由中國月刊)(Ming-min Peng 1984, 115; 1994, 124). The correct name in English should be *The Modern China*.

¹⁶⁰. For the origin and changes of the magazine *Taiwan Youth*, refer to Shu (2001a, 105-10).

a text in good Chinese. They proposed to call their manifesto “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation (*Taiwan Ziji Yuandong Xuanyan* 台灣自救運動宣言).” “A brief preamble noted that the people of the island of Formosa wanted to be governed by neither the Nationalists nor the Communists, but by themselves, and that in self-interest and self-preservation the twelve million people must replace Chiang Kai-shek’s regime by a government freely elected and responsive to the public welfare” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 127).

In the text, the manifesto proclaimed, “‘One Taiwan, one China’ has long been a fact as solid as iron!” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 129) “In the past upward of ten years, Taiwan has been a de facto country” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 137). However, the KMT regime headed by Chiang Kai-shek is still using the bad check of “Mainland recovery” to “declare martial law, and put the twelve million people under military control” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 132). Therefore, they requested that the Taiwanese people “follow democratic process and have the head of state elected by popular vote” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 138). Right after they finished printing ten thousand copies of the manifesto, and prepared to distribute all over the island, thanks to the printer who blew the whistle, on the night of mid-autumn festival in 1964, all three of them were simultaneously arrested by authorities.

5.5.2 Court Martial and Surveillance

In April 1965, after more than six months’ interrogation and prosecution, they were accused of “using illegal measures attempting to overthrow the government.” Ming-min and Ting-chao Wei were each sentenced to eight years in prison, while Tsung-min Hsieh,

the writer of the manifesto, was sentenced to ten years. In November of the same year, bowing to the pressure of international public opinion, the KMT authorities gave Ming-min a grand amnesty, and so he was released from prison, while both Hsieh and Wei continued to do time.

Though Ming-min was given an amnesty, in fact he was put under “house arrest” by authorities. He describes how he was under house arrest in the autobiography: “Although I was now technically free to travel within the island without permission, it was at once evident that I would be under surveillance at all times. If I went out by taxi, a jeep followed; if we dined in a hotel or restaurant in town, agents took tables nearby and dined there, too. If I went by train to Kaohsiung to see my family, plainclothesmen were nearby” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 184).

In 1966, Ming-min’s case was transferred from the Garrison Headquarters of the Ministry of National Defense (*Guofangbu Jingbei Zongbu* 國防部警備總部) to the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice (*Fawubu Diaochaju* 法務部調查局). However, before his escape from Taiwan, the surveillance was never loosened up. According to Ming-min, “Surveillance agents were working three shifts around the clock. My wife was being followed more often and much more closely. . . . One [vendor’s shack] near our gate virtually became headquarters for the agents who were assigned to keep watch on me” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 206). “From time to time I was overcome by a feeling of desperation. It was not human to live like this, unemployed, and aware that each week the circle of friends with whom I could meet became more limited. I felt suffocated in such isolation, with the threat of arrest hanging over me from day to day and hour to hour” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 206-7). During this period, some of

Ming-min's friends were arrested, and foreigners who contacted him were followed, and even had their Taiwan entry visas cancelled.

5.5.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period: The Collapse of the Old Identity

By drafting "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation," Ming-min obviously stepped into another stage on his development of identity during this period. Having gone through the anxiety over the future of Taiwan during the "encounter stage," and having gone through the discussions with his students and comrades during the "immersion-emersion stage," "[w]e had become tired of talking only among friends who shared a common point of view, going over and over the same ground without moving toward a solution of the Formosa question" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 125). Thus, Ming-min finally decided to put into real action. The breakthrough action not only signified Ming-min's transformation on the level of "behavior," in fact, it also demonstrated that his "inner thought" was having a further transformation. If we borrow the term from racial/ethnic identity development theory, then we can say that Ming-min had entered into the "internalization stage" from the "immersion-emersion stage."

Having gone through anxieties and uncertainties, searching out information and like-minded people, one would slowly internalizes the new identity. The previous phases were a process of reconciling conflicts, erasing the old self, and solidifying the new self. By the "internalization stage," the new identity outwardly manifests as a natural part of the person's identity repertoire.

Judging from the wording and the content of the manifesto, what the manifesto signified was the materialization of Ming-min's "new identity." In the manifesto, Ming-min and two of his students pointed out that Taiwan's international status had been pending without a solution, and the key reason was because of the absurd fiction of "Taiwan represented the government of China" and "Recovery of the Mainland (*Fangong Dalu* 反攻大陸)" proposed by the KMT authorities. Based on the fiction, the KMT developed its official version of Chinese identity. However, in the long run, Ming-min found that this Chinese identity was filled with problems and traps.

(5.5.3.a) First, *in reality, "Recovery of the Mainland" was not even remotely possible.*¹⁶¹ "The military forces under Chiang Kai-shek's control are at most a defensive force, absolutely not an attack force. Their existence depends entirely upon the United States for supplies, and the goal of U.S. aid is to protect the United States' Pacific defense line. Therefore, the forces are unable to obtain attack weapons needed beyond defense"(Ming-min Peng 1984, 130).

(5.5.3.b) Second, then, why would the KMT regime tightly grasp the symbols of "Recovery of the Mainland" and the "Chinese nationalism" and not let go? *"It was because the slogans are the only measure for him [Chiang Kai-shek] to extend the regime and manipulate the people.* During the past fifteen years, he had been using this bad

¹⁶¹. In fact, the idea was not a new "discovery." As early as in 1957, Hai-kuan Yin already discussed about the issue of "Recovery of the Mainland" in an editorial series of "current issues" in *The Free China Fortnightly*, and he suggested that "Recovery of the Mainland" should be analyzed through the concept of probability. Based on the international situation and the conditions of modern wars, Yin concluded that the probability of "Recovery of the Mainland" was "not significant within foreseeable future." Therefore, he admonished that it would be inappropriate to have the expectation of immediate return to the Mainland. Instead, he proposed to "work conscientiously, persevere and make progress, and be anti-Communists in nature." The article was immediately attached by the KMT authorities as equivalent to "No hope of Return" and was castigated (Xin Tain 1996, 337).

check to declare martial law, and put more than ten million people under military control. The show of ‘Recovery of the Mainland’ he is directing is actually a gigantic hoax in the twentieth century” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 132; emphasis added).

(5.5.3.c) Finally, the KMT did not represent China, nor did it represent Taiwan. On one side, the KMT could not represent China. As a matter of fact, after the KMT was expelled out of China by the Chinese Communists, “Communist China has become an international power, making the [Chinese] nationalists proud after suffering from 100 years’ foreign dominance. They believe that this is something that the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime can never hold a candle to” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 131). “Obviously, the people on the Mainland have chosen another government” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 133).

On the other side, the KMT did not represent Taiwan, either. “Among the more than three thousand representatives of the National Assembly, only the upward of ten are representatives from Taiwan. In the 473-seat Legislative Yuan, only six of them are Taiwanese. Since their terms already ended twelve and fifteen years ago, respectively, they certainly do not represent the current Taiwanese. Not to mention that during the February 28 Incident, Chiang Kai-shek massacred twenty thousand elite Taiwanese (at that time, there were only six million people in Taiwan). Though the Taiwanese people have been tolerating, they have been Chiang Kai-shek’s ‘silent enemies’” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 134).

5.5.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.): The Construction of the New Identity

If we say that Ming-min had dissolved his old Chinese identity, then, in the manifesto, to some extent, his new identity --- Taiwanese identity --- had been constructed. Ming-min, Hsieh and Wei clearly pointed out that *the only way to solve the so-called “Taiwan issue” was to establish Taiwan as an independent country*. Here is what they said in the manifesto:

Can Taiwan be an independent country?

A country is only a tool to provide welfare for its people, and any people with common destiny and shared interests can constitute a country. During the past upward of ten years, Taiwan has become a de facto country. In terms of population, productivity and cultural level, Taiwan ranks in the thirties among the more than one hundred members of the United Nations. In fact, people in many smaller countries enjoy much more welfare and cultural benefits. The Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Uruguay of South America are good examples. We should face reality to cease imagining ourselves to be a big power, establishing a small but democratic and prosperous society. (Ming-min Peng 1984, 137)

To carry out the Taiwan-centered identity, they provided precisely three goals for the “Formosan self-salvation:”

- (1) We should affirm that “Recovery of the Mainland” is absolutely impossible. By consolidating the twelve million people regardless of their place of origin, we should bring about the overthrow of the Chiang regime and establish a new country and a new government.
- (2) We should rewrite the constitution, guarantee basic human rights and obtain true democracy by establishing an efficient administration responsible to the people.

- (3) We should participate in the U.N. as a new member, establish diplomatic relations with other countries, and strive together with them for world peace. (Ming-min Peng 1984, 138)

The new identity with Taiwan as its center of concern has some points that deserve our special attention.

(5.5.4.a) First, though a “new” identity, *the logic behind it was obviously related to Ming-min’s thoughts of liberalism in the past*. During his stages of Japanese identity and Chinese identity, Ming-min used the thought of liberalism to obtain the “low-salience attitudes” in terms of his national identity. Nevertheless, in this “post-encounter period,” his major concern had shifted. With the logic that “a country is only a tool to provide welfare for its people, and any people with common destiny and shared interests can constitute a country” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 137), Ming-min came to the conclusion that “Taiwan can be a country.”¹⁶²

(5.5.4.b) Second, the most important difference between the new identity and the old identity was not in the difference of “identity objects” (the “Japanese identity” and the “Chinese identity” in the past, and the “Taiwanese identity” now); rather, it was in the change of the “basic attitudes” regarding identity. Before this, Ming-min embraced the “low-salience attitudes” in terms of his national identity; by this stage, *Ming-min’s national identity became the type of “high race salience” as called by Cross and*

¹⁶² The seemingly intriguing argument can continue to trigger some interesting theoretical issues. After all, what is the relation between liberalism and nationalism? That there exists a tense relation between them in nature seems to be the consensus agreed by most scholars. But, can such tension be compromised? What kind of medium concept or system design should be used for this compromise? For publications exploring such issues from the angle of political philosophy, refer to Tamir (1993) and Kymlicka (1995, 2000). For writings discussing such issues in the American context, refer to Hollinger (1997). Finally,

Fhagen-Smith (2001, 252), which considers national identity as the center characteristic of self concept.

Such identity of high race salience was demonstrated by the ubiquitous revolutionary expressions in the manifesto. “We absolutely can not fantasize [the possibility] of ‘peaceful transfer of regime (*heping zhuan yi zhengquan* 和平轉移政權)’ and compromise” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 137). “As long as the corrupt and incompetent Chiang regime exists for one day, we are still far away from modernization. Therefore, there is absolutely no way to expect ‘gradual reform (*jianjin de gaige* 漸進的改革)’” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 138). “We offer the following propositions and insist on carrying them out, even after the last drop of blood is shed” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 138). “We should affirm that “Recovery of the Mainland” is absolutely impossible. [W]e should bring about the overthrow of the Chiang regime” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 138). “Let’s summon all those who decline to be ruled by the Communists as well as those who refuse to be destroyed by Chiang Kai-shek. Let’s struggle in solidarity, bring down the Chiang Kai-shek tyranny, and construct a country with freedom” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 140).

(5.5.4.c) Third, *the statement that “Taiwan can also become a country,” in fact, has a very strong implication of “idealism” or “voluntarism.”* His theoretical origin of this statement was the classic essay “What is a nation?” (*Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*) written

for research regarding such issues in the Taiwanese context, refer to Yi-hua Jiang (1998) and Rwei-ren Wu (1997).

by Ernest Renan in 1882.¹⁶³ Ming-min mentions in his memoir:

[M]odern nation-states are not formed on the basis of biological origin, culture, religion, or language, *but rather on a sense of common destiny and a belief in shared interests*. There are subjective feelings which rise out of a common history, and are not necessarily related to these objective criteria of biological origin, culture, religion, and language. In modern history, examples abound in which people of similar biological origins and religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds constitute separate nation-states because they lack these feelings, and examples also abound in which people of different origins and backgrounds constitute a single nation-state as a result of these feelings of commonalty. No state has the right to claim sovereignty over a territory based only on some biological, cultural, religious, or linguistic affinities with the inhabitants of the territory in disregard of the will of the people themselves. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 244; emphasis added)

To quote directly from Renan, “A nation’s existence is ... a daily plebiscite” (Renan 1994, 53).

(5.5.4.d) Fourth, following the logic of Renan, the manifesto demonstrated *a very strong notion of “self-determination”*¹⁶⁴ (Zhong-sheng Xu 1992, 80), even though Ming-min, Hsieh, and Wei did not mention in the text directly. Such proposition of “self-determination,” which was easier to be connected with the “democracy” the KMT ostensibly proposed in its official discourse, became very significant and influential in the subsequent development of theories relevant to Taiwan independence (especially inside the island).

¹⁶³. Ernest Renan (1823-92) was a French scholar, critic and religious philosopher. This famous essay has become a must quote for all students of nationalism (Snyder 1990, 344). The English version of the essay can be found in Renan (1990; 1994). Besides, we can also see an abridged version of this essay in Renan (1996). As for Chinese version, see Renan (1995).

¹⁶⁴. For the concept of “self-determination” as well as its development in history, refer to Bucheit (1978) and Cassese (1995).

(5.5.4.e) Fifth, if we deduce from Renan's theory that common destiny and shared interests are the core elements of a nation, then the "core criteria" of the Taiwanese identity developed by Ming-min become very obvious. *This new identity apparently used "the territory of Taiwan" as its core.* It was expressed in the short preface of the manifesto: "A steadfast movement is spreading rapidly in Taiwan. This is a self-salvation movement for the twelve million people on the island of Taiwan who decline to be ruled by the Communists as well as who refuse to be destroyed by Chiang Kai-shek" (Ming-min Peng 1984, 129).

Under such discourse that considered the "whole people living on the island of Taiwan" as the subject of identity, Ming-min's position toward "Mainlanders" was very clear. "By consolidating the twelve million people regardless of their place of origin, we should bring about the overthrow of the Chiang regime and establish a new country and a new government." (Ming-min Peng 1984, 138). In other words, although the Taiwanese were certainly the citizen of this new country, the Mainlanders were also the citizen of this new country, too.

(5.5.4.f) Sixth, using Cross's words, the identity constructed by Ming-min and his students in the manifesto seemed to be the one with "traditional nationalist" position, instead of the one with "vulgar nationalist" position. According to Cross (1995, 115), for those with vulgar nationalist position, they believe that Whites and Blacks are biogenetically different, in that Blacks have superior racial stock, while Whites are biogenetically inferior. However, for those with traditional nationalists, who *frame their nationalistic perspective with other than biogenetic constructs*, may focus on race and culture in ways that in some instances border on the obsessive.

5.6 Overseas Exile (1970-1992)

With the contact and help from his friends in several countries (including members of the WUFI), in January 1970, Ming-min escaped from Taiwan and arrived in Sweden, and was granted political asylum by Sweden. Meanwhile, he took temporary employment as a researcher at the Asian Section of the Stockholm Museum of Ethnography. Nine months later, traveling on papers issued in Sweden on behalf of a political refugee, Ming-min entered the United States, working first at the Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, and then at Wright State University in Ohio. Besides, with the support from the WUFI, Ming-min founded Formosan Studies, Inc. (*Taiwan Yanjiusuo* 台灣研究所) in 1971, and in 1972, he served as the second president of the WUFI, practically plunging into the TIM camp. Starting in 1978, he also served as director of the Taiwanese-American Society (*Taimai Xiehui* 台美協會), president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs, and director of the Asia Pacific Democratic Association (*Yatai Minzhu Xiehui* 亞太民主協會), making efforts for the overseas Taiwanese movement.

5.6.1 Escaping to Sweden

With the KMT surveillance agents working around the clock, Ming-min “felt suffocated” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 207), and so he made up his mind to escape from Taiwan. For the first stop, he chose Sweden, since Taiwan had no diplomatic relations with Sweden. First of all, Ming-min wrote a letter to Amnesty International in Stockholm, asking the representative there if his case could be put to the Swedish

government, and if he suddenly appeared at a Swedish port or airport without passport or visa, whether he could be granted political asylum. The letter was smuggled out of Taiwan by a friend of Ming-min's. In February 1969, he received from Amnesty International an affirmative answer. After almost one year's planning and preparation, with the help of Takayuki Munakata (*Zongxiang Longxing* 宗像隆幸),¹⁶⁵ a member of the central committee of the "United Youth Formosans for Independence" (the predecessor of the WUFI-Japan Headquarters), on January 3, 1970, Ming-min used Kenichi Abe's (*Abu Xianyi* 阿部賢一) Japanese passport and escaped from Taiwan by airplane, safely arriving in Stockholm at midnight, January 4.¹⁶⁶ In his memoir, Ming-min describes his feelings at the moment he left Taiwan:

As I went through the last barrier I signaled good-bye. I watched as the island slowly disappeared. For the first time in six years, I felt light in heart and spirit. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 213)

The last dim light of the island gradually faded behind me. I was almost to the high sea and beyond the reach of the Nationalist Chinese agents. In my whole life I had never felt such a sense of "real" freedom. This feeling of freedom was so overwhelming that it was physically almost unbearable. The fact that I risked my life to flee Formosa is itself a complete repudiation of the regime and all their propaganda aimed at discrediting me. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 1)

¹⁶⁵. Takayuki Munakata was hailed from a prestigious family in Kyushu (*Jiuzhou* 九州). Since he was born on September 9, the Chongyang Festival (*Chongyangjie* 重陽節) in the lunar calendar, after he became an editor of *Taiwan Youth*, Ioktek Ong (*Wang Yude* 王育德) gave him a Chinese name Chong-yang Song (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 64; Chong-yang Song 1996, Author Profile).

¹⁶⁶. In the memoir, Ming-min does not describe the details of his escape. For many years, it had been a very interesting topic for those concerned activists and researchers. The riddle had remained unsolved until Takayuki Munakata (Chinese name Chong-yang Song), who was involved in the event, published his book *The Backstage Story of the Taiwan Independence Movement: A Dream of Thirty-five Years*, we then had a better picture of the details of the whole event (see Chong-yang Song 1996, 143-87).

Amazingly, after Ming-min escaped from Taiwan, the KMT's intelligence authorities were still kept in the dark, and the agents were still making up Ming-min's whereabouts so that they could charge expenses for his surveillance. It was until three weeks later, when Ming-min cabled his family, and the cable office notified the KMT authorities, they finally found that Ming-min had escaped. His successful escape had stirred up a hornet's nest. The Taiwan Garrison Headquarters issued an arrest warrant all over the island, and Ming-min's wife, son, daughter and other family members were seized and interrogated. Many top officials of the KMT's Investigation Bureau lost their jobs. All of a sudden, the whole island was shrouded with a tense atmosphere.

Ming-min was invited to move into the home of one of the most distinguished Swedish scientists, Professor Carl Gustav Bernhard. "[He was] a member of the Nobel Committee and later president of the Swedish Royal Academy of Science. It was a big house, superbly located, commanding a sweeping view of the harbor below" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 216). Within a month formal action was taken by the Swedish government. Ming-min was granted political asylum. In the meantime, his friends at Amnesty International of Sweden helped him get a research position at the Asian Section of the Stockholm Museum of Ethnography. Though everything in Sweden was all very pleasant, deep in Ming-min's heart, there was another sound urging him to move to North America or Japan, where the Taiwanese movements were more prosperous. He writes:

Sweden is highly regarded as a welfare country, and the administration had been very concerned about my living and work. It would be very enticing to settle down and work in this beautiful country with exuberant goodwill. Nevertheless, the overseas Taiwanese, especially those living in North America and Japan, fervently urged me to find a way as soon as

possible and move to North America or Japan, since there were more Taiwanese in those places, and the Taiwanese movement had become more prosperous ever since I went abroad.

Undoubtedly, deep in my heart, there was a heavy sense of responsibility. I deeply felt that, for the future of Taiwan and Taiwanese, I really had the responsibility to do something. For most Taiwanese, the fact that I was living pleasantly in a faraway country like Sweden was indeed something inconceivable. (Ming-min Peng 1984, 237-8)

At last, Ming-min decided to move to the United States.

5.6.2 Formosan Studies, Inc. and the WUFI

If we extend our view horizon, we may find that 1970 was a pivotal year in the history of the TIM. On New Year's Day, Trong R. Chai, president of the WUFI, announced the formal establishment of the organization, showing a huge solidarity among the overseas Taiwanese. On January 23, the *New York Times* covered the story of Ming-min's escape from Taiwan (*New York Times* 1970). In April, at the invitation of Secretary of State William Rogers, Chiang Ching-kuo visited the United States and was met with protests and demonstrations from Taiwanese everywhere he went. On April 24, Peter Huang (*Huang Wenxiong* 黃文雄) attempted to assassinate Chiang when he was walking into the Plaza Hotel in New York City.¹⁶⁷ "The gunshot catapulted the TIM to a climax, making the incident the headline of many major newspapers. Gradually, the

¹⁶⁷ Peter Huang, a WUFI member, was then a doctoral student of sociology at Cornell University. In the existing literature, this incident is labeled as the "April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident." For the details of the incident, refer to Editorial Department (2000) and Ming-cheng Chen (1992, 139-50). For a personal profile about Peter Huang, refer to Chu Chen (1993a); Zheng-san Li (2000a); and Fengshan Zhang (2003).

TIM started to catch attention in many countries” (Zheng-san Li 2000a, 109-10).

Under such eventful circumstances, in September 1970, traveling on papers issued in Sweden on behalf of a political refugee, Ming-min reentered the United States as a researcher at the Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, on an exchange visa. “I had been invited to Michigan to write on any subjects I might choose, and I had proposed to prepare a study of the “Law and the Politics of ‘National Emergency’ in Formosa. I found the intellectual atmosphere stimulating, and my research project was soon expanded to cover the international legal history and status of Formosa during the last hundred years” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 235-6).

Due to Ming-min’s academic status and the tremendous impact that came with “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation,” naturally, the WUFI eagerly wanted to recruit him and even hoped him to lead the organization. However, since the United States government granted him a visa to enter on the condition that he “not engage in political activity,” in the face of WUFI members’ frequent visits and recruiting, Ming-min seemed very hesitant.¹⁶⁸ Finally, he proposed to establish “Formosan Studies, Inc.,”¹⁶⁹ since he believed that “using a neutral research institution, as opposed to a political organization, would be more persuasive in effecting influence upon public opinions in the United

¹⁶⁸. Ming-min’s memoir was published in 1972, basically covering until he came to the University of Michigan. Under such situation, if we want to continue to trace his life history, we have to rely on the memoirs or oral history written by others. The following descriptions related to “Formosan Studies, Inc.” and the “WUFI” were obtained primarily from Chong-yang Song (1996, 223-47); Shuang-bu Lin (2000b, 210-8); and Shuang-bu Lin (2000e, 171-85). However, in the life history of Samuel Chou and Grace Chou (i.e., Shuang-bu Lin 2000e, 171-85), Shuang-bu Lin mistakenly lists the time of “Formosan Studies, Inc.” (which Lin refers to as Foundation (*Jijinhui* 基金會)).

¹⁶⁹. The English name of “Formosan Studies, Inc.” was obtained from my telephone interview with Carry Hong (September 12, 1995). Hong interrupted his doctoral studies and went to work as a professional staff at “Formosan Studies, Inc.,” and so the source of information should be reliable. Chong-yang Song (1996, 229) lists the name of this institute as “Taiwan Institute,” which I believe is wrong.

States” (Chong-yang Song 1996, 229). In September 1971, Formosan Studies, Inc. was founded in Kearny, New Jersey, and Ming-min moved from Ann Arbor, Michigan, to New Jersey, starting to work as director of this research institute.

In January 1972, Ming-min was elected chairperson of the WUFI-World Headquarters. Though the “April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident (*siersi zi Jiang an* 四二四刺蔣案)” pushed the TIM to a high tide, faced with the thorny aftereffects, the whole WUFI was in serious disarray, and many members withdrew from the organization. Facing the turmoil within the organization, Ming-min did not take appropriate actions, not to mention that “as a ‘thinking-type intellectual (*sikaoxing zhishifengzi* 思考型知識分子),’ Ming-min was profoundly clumsy at administration and organization. Worse yet, he was haughtily lofty, obsessively confident, and he lacked political savvy” (Fengshan Zhang 2002a). Unable to handle the situations, after only half of a year on the chairpersonship, Ming-min resigned.¹⁷⁰

5.6.3 The Taiwanese-American Society and the FAPA

Afterward, it seemed that Ming-min first moved to Kansas,¹⁷¹ and about one year

¹⁷⁰. In 1992, in an interview with the *China Times* reporter Da-zhong Bu, Ming-min said, “In the first couple of years I came to the United States, for the Taiwanese at that time, there were no political organizations such as today’s Taiwanese Association and FAPA. Since the WUFI was the only organization at that time, and my activities as well as living were arranged by them, naturally, I approached them and joined them. At that time, when they got together, they sat up all night long and talked about revolution. Soon I realized that it was nothing but empty talk, since they even didn’t have a gun. I was not used to this kind of antagonism, and then aggravated by the bickering in personnel, I left” (Da-zhong Bu 1994, 39).

¹⁷¹. The time Ming-min moved to Kansas should be sometime in 1972, see Shuang-bu Lin (2000b, 217). Except from the fall of 1973 to early 1975 when he lived in Springfield, Ohio (close to Dayton where Wright State University is located), he had probably lived close to Manhattan, Kansas, until he moved to Oregon on the west coast in 1982. The time he moved to Oregon was revealed by Ming-min himself in an

later, he moved to Ohio and taught at Wright State University as a visiting professor of political science (1973-4).¹⁷² In 1975, Ming-min made circulating visits to Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston and Washington, D.C., attending the so-called “Taiwanese People Rallies (*Taiwanren minzhong dahui* 台灣人民眾大會)” and giving keynote speeches (Jiayan Liu 2002). In January 1979, the United States established diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China, and severed the formal relations with Taiwan. In the same year, Ming-min founded the organization “Taiwanese-American Society.”¹⁷³

interview with a reporter, see M. Meyer (1998, 124). The inference that he had been around Manhattan, Kansas, was based on the fact that the first issue of *The Letter on Taiwan*, which was published by the Taiwan-American Society founded by Ming-min, was published in May 1979, and the last (6th) in November 1982, while the issuing place of this publication had been always Manhattan, Kansas.

¹⁷². Wright State University is located in Dayton, Ohio. There were two things worth mentioning while Ming-min was in Dayton. On one hand, he entered into a partnership with friends and opened two Chinese take-out restaurants, both named “Panda” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000f, 114-6). On the other hand, at the end of 1974, Ming-min seemed to get involved in a serious sex scandal with a girl who was only 20 years old (Shuang-bu Lin 2000f, 122-4, 140-2; Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 306-7).

In Oriental political culture, frequently, politics seems to be connected with sex. It applies to those with power and those against the power as well. Judging from common sense, sex and identity should be closely related. However, as far as the literature I have searched, I am still not in a position to comment on the academic area of “sex and identity,” and so I can only raise the issue, yet without any comment.

Of course, the occurrence of such a scandal also reminds me of one thing. Using publications with autobiographical nature as the main source of research, to some degree, may have its limitations. On one side, most published biographies (especially those of famous politicians) tend to scrape only the surface of private life area (such as family life). However, for identity research using life history as its analytical tool, this part of data is actually very important. On the other side, most of such biographies usually mention only the “glorious achievements” of the biographees, and scamp other things with negative nature.

¹⁷³. The organization of the “Taiwanese-American Society” was rarely mentioned in related literature. Presently, the information I have found is limited to: (1) Its English name should be “Taiwanese-American Society” (see its publication *The Letter on Taiwan*). Xi Huang (1992, 68) lists its English name as Taiwanese-American Association. Kenjohn Wang (1999, 205) lists it as Taiwanese American Association. The U.S. Congress (U.S. Congress 1980; 1983b) lists it as Taiwanese American Society. All the latter three are wrong. (2) It was established in 1979 (Xi Huang 1992, 68) (Another source lists the time as 1978, see Cheng-feng Shih (2000b, 105)). (3) Between 1979 and 1982, the society published six issues of *The Letter on Taiwan*, serving as “Congressmen’s major reference for Taiwanese political situation” (Kenjohn Wang 1999, 205). (4) In response to the KMT’s repression during the Formosa Incident, the organization took part in the “Coalition for Taiwanese Nationhood (*Taiwan Jianguo Lianhe Zhenxian* 台灣建國聯合陣線)” which was established on December 15, 1979 (Xi Huang 1992, 68).

This seemed to be the first time for the Taiwanese in America to call themselves “Taiwanese American.”

In 1982, Ming-min moved to Oregon on the west coast (M. Meyer 1998, 124). In February of the same year, the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) was founded in Los Angeles, occasioned by factors inside and outside the island of Taiwan. On one hand, after the Formosa Incident broke out in Kaohsiung in 1979, the overseas Taiwanese formed a strong solidarity, fervently supporting the democratic movement in Taiwan, actively arranging rescue action in the international community, and eventually upgrading political consciousness among the overseas Taiwanese. On the other hand, since the number of Taiwanese immigrants in America was increasing rapidly, the Taiwanese in America lobbied the American authorities and, in 1981, they successfully regained the immigration quota of 20,000, which was lost after the severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and the United States. These two events galvanized the overseas Taiwanese’s love toward the democracy in their homeland, and prompted the birth of the FAPA, a grass-roots organization specialized in civil diplomacy.¹⁷⁴

Once the FAPA was established, Trong R. Chai served as its founding president, and Ming-min was invited to be honorary president (Trong R. Chai 1990, 85). In 1985, Ming-min was elected the third president of the FAPA. Under his supervision, the

However, notably, Ming-min appeared three times in the U.S. Congress hearing, testifying issues related to Taiwan. Among the three times as a witness, he appeared in his capacity as director of the “Taiwanese-American Society” two times (February 15, 1979, February 28, 1983)(U.S. Congress 1980; 1983b).

¹⁷⁴. For a description of the background of the FAPA, refer to Trong R. Chai (1990, 69-87) and Kenjohn Wang (1999, 303-8). As for more systematic research, refer to the master’s thesis by Mei-cheng Lin (1999), which is probably the best reference up to date.

organization became aggressively engaged in lobbying activities with the U.S. Congress, hoping to use the international pressure as a leverage to force the KMT authorities to lift martial law and realize democratization in Taiwan.

In September 1986, the Taiwanese opposition movement broke through the party ban, announcing the establishment of the “Democratic Progressive Party (*Minzhu Jinbudang* 民主進步黨).” In July 1987, under the pressure at home and abroad, the Taiwanese authorities announced the lift of martial law which had been enforced for nearly forty years. In December of the same year, Ming-min successfully won his second term as president of the FAPA. According to Kenjohn Wang, this was because “after Ming-min was elected to the presidency, with his personal prestige and unbiased wheeling, he significantly expanded the operation and finance of this organization, with the number of members increased by 250%, and the number of branches increased by 200%” (Kenjohn Wang 1999, 311). However, in 1989, during the re-election of the third central standing committee in the annual committee conference, none of the candidates supported by Ming-min was elected. Out of the blue, Ming-min announced his resignation as president. Sixteen staff members of FAPA followed suit and sent a shocking wave to this organization.

After his resignation, in February 1990, Ming-min, along with Rui-ming Wei (*Wei Ruiming* 魏瑞明), Jia-xing Ye (*Ye Jiaxing* 葉加興), Yao-dong Hong (*Hong Yaodong* 洪耀東), Maysing Yang (*Yang Huang Meixing* 楊黃美幸) and Tsung-min Hsieh, founded the “Asia Pacific Democratic Association,” and issued a statement that the association “supports Lee Teng-hui for next President of the Republic of China, and trusts any candidate Lee picks for Vice-President” (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 21-2; Fengahan Zhang

2002a, Taiwanese-American Foundation 2003).

5.6.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Here is a basic question: once the developmental process of identity has reached the “internalization stage,” then, will there be any more significant changes? To put it another way, in our long life line, wouldn’t we make any revisions to this “new identity?”

The answer is, of course, positive. According to the accumulated recent evidence from research relevant to development psychology and adult socialization, human development does not stop, and even during the adult stage, we are still undergoing all kinds of development and changes (e.g., Dannefer 1984; Ichilov 1990; Sapiro 1994; Sigel 1989; Sigel and Hoskin 1977). In this regard, the paper titled “Cycles of Psychological Nigrescence” by Thomas Parham (1989) is especially insightful. In this paper, he argues that during the life course with normal development, a Black would repeatedly get in and out of different stages in development of racial identity, a process he calls “recycling” in the Nigrescence process. In other words, in a lifetime, even if one has reached the “internalization stage” in racial identity, one would still encounter various racial/cultural experiences, big or small, positive or negative, and, to some extent, partially challenge one’s existing Black identity.

Normally, due to the lack of satisfactory answers or explanations in the face of such unexpected experience, one has to seriously ponder the meaning of the experience and look for feasible solutions. Afterward, the newly learned insight would be absorbed, adding back to the existing Black identity. The final product of the process is by no means a new identity (which only happens when one first experiences a racial

development process). Instead, it is a revised or reprocessed identity. Parham's insight allows us to continue to analyze the developmental process of Ming-min's national identity during this stage.

(5.6.4.a) First, after going through the "internalization stage," Ming-min had accomplished his "Taiwanese identity," and basically it would not change much from then on. Following the viewpoint of Parham (1989), of course, he was likely to continue to experience the "recycling" process in identity, repeating the "encounter stage," "immersion-emersion stage," and "internalization stage," etc., and making proper revision to the existing Taiwanese identity he had embraced. However, it had been quite unlikely for him to make "rudimental" changes. In other words, after he changed from being a Japanese to being a Chinese, and then from being a Chinese to being a Taiwanese, it had been quite impossible for him to make a comeback in identity, changing back to being a Japanese or a Chinese.

(5.6.4.b) Second, similar to the Ming-min's thinking of the previous period (with "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation" as its signature text), while he was in exile, he still used Renan's conception of nationalism as his key viewpoint in his consideration of issues relevant to his national identity. For example, in 1982, he wrote a paper, "The Establishment of Taiwanese Nationalism,"¹⁷⁵ in *Taiwan Independence Quarterly* (*Taidu*

¹⁷⁵. This paper was one that worth discussion among the limited number of writings Ming-min had during this period. In fact, if we use "scholar" as a criterion to examine the quality and quantity of his publications, he would not be a very qualified scholar (at least during his exile period). He had very few publications, and in academic publications, he probably only had the book *The Legal Status of Taiwan*, which he collaborated with Chiautong Ng and was published in Japanese in 1976 (Peng and Ng 1976; for Chinese edition, see Peng and Ng 1995), and the paper "Idea and Agenda of Taiwan's Political Institution in the Future," which was in *Anthology of Taiwan Problem: Current Status and Future of Taiwan* edited by Fu-mei Chang (Ming-min Peng 1988). His popular political commentaries were also quite few. Except for his autobiography, the rest I know were only the 1982 paper 'The Establishment of Taiwanese

Jikan 台獨季刊), which was published by the WUFI. In the paper, he again emphasizes that the elements that constitute a nation are not the objective conditions such as biological origin, language, and culture. Instead, it is the subjective sense of common destiny that forms a nation. Here is what he says:

The modern independent nation is not formed and developed on the basis of the same biological origin, or the same culture and language, but rather on a strong and profound sense of common destiny. Without such sense, even with the same background in biological origin, culture, language and religion, it is still impossible to form a separate nation. On the contrary, as long as there is a sense of common destiny, a separate nation still can be formed regardless the differences in biological origin, culture, language and religion. Such sense of common destiny is not formed by slogans, doctrines, deceptions, forces, threats, and persecutions. Instead, it is gradually germinated and developed in the long process of a common history, which is filled with extreme hardships and shared struggles. The sense of common destiny that commonly exists in Taiwanese society is a crystallization of four hundred years' process. This common destiny is the foundation of "Taiwanese nationalism" as well as the key to the Taiwanese people's solidarity, independence and freedom. It cannot be denied by any outside forces at all. The fact has shown that, between the Taiwanese people and the KMT, between the Taiwanese people and the Chinese Communist Party, and between the Taiwanese people and the Chinese people, such consciousness of common destiny does not exist. (Ming-min Peng 1982, 58)

More notably, during this exile period, Ming-min seemed to further forge his identity theory, gradually developing a dichotomy of his so-called "racial/cultural identity

Nationalism" (Ming-min Peng 1982) and the 1983 paper "President Reagan and Taiwan" (Ming-min Peng 1983).

Fang-ming Chen also had a similar observation, "Ming-min's writings were quite limited. His thoughts had essentially been presented in his autobiography *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of Ming-min Peng*" (Fang-ming Chen 1998g, 5). However, we have to consider that he was in exile and, in comparison with other "normal" scholars, his working conditions were relatively insufficient.

vs. national identity” under the guidance of Renan’s nationalism. To Ming-min, in terms of race/culture, the Taiwanese may belong to the Han Chinese or the Han culture circle, but the Taiwanese can still establish their own nation, in that “racial/cultural identity” and “national identity” are not necessarily one-to-one related. Thus, Ming-min says:

The Taiwanese people’s biological origin and cultural system are important in the field of human culture, but they are not important in terms of economy and politics. In discussing Taiwan’s politics and economy, questions such as where the Taiwanese ancestors came from hundreds of years ago, and in nature what system Taiwanese culture belongs to, are ignorable. (Ming-min Peng 1982, 58)

(5.6.4.c) Third, this point is related to his role identity as well as occupational identity. After stepping into this stage, Ming-min got involved with several overseas TIM organizations, and he always held important position in each of the organizations. Nevertheless, deep in his heart, he did not necessarily identify himself with these organizations in real earnest.¹⁷⁶ On the contrary, Ming-min had always considered

¹⁷⁶. For example, on the website of the Office of the President, Republic of China, Ming-min lists his experiences as follows:

Professor, Chairperson, Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University

Director, Graduate Institute of Public Law, National Taiwan University

Advisor to the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations

Coauthored “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” with Tsung-min Hsieh and Ting-chao Wei in 1964

Senior Research Fellow, Center for Chinese Studies, and Visiting Professor, College of Law, University of Michigan

Visiting Professor, Wright State University, Ohio

President, Formosan Association for Public Affairs

himself an “academician,”¹⁷⁷ though objectively after he quit his visiting professorship at Wright State University in 1974, he had cut off any formal employment relationship with any school or research institution.

From certain perspective, such role identity y might be in line with his life history. When Ming-min was still in Taiwan, he was deliberately promoted by the administration, as if “representing the academia and straddling into the politics” (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 16). However, he obviously still positioned himself as an academician. Though his action to draft “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” in 1964 seemed to be a paroxysm at the behavior level, if we evaluate the event in a more impassive way, then it was nothing but three intellectuals trying to express their viewpoints about the situations

Representing Democratic Progressive Party in the first direct Presidential election

President, Nation-building Union of Taiwan

Senior Advisor to the President, Office of the President (Office of the President, Republic of China nd, b)

In his more than 20 years’ exile, he lists only three positions, two of them belonging to the academia (though each lasted only one year, and in fact they were of visiting nature), and the other one belonging to the Taiwanese movement (i.e., president of the FAPA).

¹⁷⁷. The evidence that Ming-min considered himself an “academician” is almost everywhere. According to his memoir, when he went to apply for a visa at the U.S. embassy in Sweden, he observed that “my field has been the study of political science and public law. My life has been devoted to research and teaching. I considered that my professional duties included making known my views on current affairs. I believed this was within the legitimate boundary of my academic work if I went to the United States. Professional comment on political matters would not constitute political activity in my view” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 241).

Besides, in interviews on different occasions, he was very consistent in this respect. “I am a scholar, and teaching and research are my professional areas and they are also down my alley” (Da-zhong Bu 1994, 31). “I do not consider myself a politician. In the past, I have long concerned about the politics in Taiwan, but basically such concern was still based on my intellectual position. If I have the chance to make a choice, I think it is still more appropriate for me to be a scholar” (Cang-po Cai 1994, 49). “I have been teaching at college all the time. While I was in the United States, I taught, too. I am very interested in teaching” (Xing-qiu Chen 1994, 64).

at that time.¹⁷⁸ Such behavior was supposed to be within the protection of “freedom of speech.” However, the oppression from the authorities forced Ming-min into exile overseas, and made him a TIM leader against the government.

5.6.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

Basically, the three observations in the previous section were about what Ming-min kept without change at this stage. In this section, we shall discuss Ming-min’s revisions to his national identity at this stage.

(5.6.5.a) First of all, in the upward of twenty years Ming-min was in exile, the international environment had changed dramatically. On one hand, since the Republic of China was expelled from the United Nations in 1971, and its original seat in the United Nations was replaced by the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan continued to suffer diplomatic setbacks one after another. By the time the United States established diplomatic relations with China and severed its relations with Taiwan in January 1979, Taiwan had become a de facto “international orphan.”

On the other hand, in 1979, in the name of the “Standing Committee of National People’s Congress (*Quanguo Renda Changweihui* 全國人大常委會),” China issued “A Letter to Our Fellow Countrymen in Taiwan (*gao Taiwan tongbao shu* 告台灣同胞

¹⁷⁸. In an interview with a reporter, while mentioning his motive to draft “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation,” Ming-min had the following statement: “..... After pondering the issues of Taiwan for several years, I found that the myths of ‘representing China’ and ‘Recovery of the Mainland’ were not to the advantage of the Taiwanese, since the Nationalist government was not interested in constructing Taiwan at all. Whenever I thought about this, I felt as though there was a fishbone stuck in my throat, and I found it against my conscience to accept the situation. It was somewhat like a physician with conscience would never say, ever if under pressure, that the heart is located at where the kidney is” (Da-zhong Bu 1994, 38).

書),”¹⁷⁹ starting to reinforce its united warfare against Taiwan. In the letter, China did not mention “liberating Taiwan” anymore; instead, it earnestly advocated direct navigation and direct mail so as to allow the “fellow countrymen” on both sides to contact directly, exchange messages, visit relatives and friends, travel and tour, learn from each other in academia, culture, sports and technology. In short, China had become an issue that Ming-min had to handle in the construction of his Taiwanese identity.

In the face of such a new international situation, as compared to the previous stage, against the China under the Chinese regime across the Taiwan Strait, Ming-min seemed to start to issue negative notion stronger than those in the manifesto in the 1960s. Using two of his writings (i.e., Ming-min Peng 1982, 1988) as the objects of analysis, we may compare the difference in identity between the previous stage and the current stage. In the manifesto, Ming-min did mention the Chinese Communist Party several times, clearly pointing out that the Taiwan Self-salvation was to find “a third road” beyond the KMT and the CCP. Nevertheless, in the manifesto he also mentioned that “Communist China has become an international power, making the [Chinese] nationalists proud after suffering from 100 years’ foreign dominance” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 131). In other words, in the manifesto in the 1960s, the most important “other” or “enemy” was the KMT regime headed by Chiang Kai-shek, not the CCP.

However, in his exile, Ming-min had started to pay attention to the CCP’s ambition to annex Taiwan. Thus, we can find some negative expressions related to China or the CCP. For example, Ming-min says that “between the Taiwanese people and the

¹⁷⁹. For the original documentation, see Li-min Guo (1992, 328-31).

CCP, and between the Taiwanese people and the Chinese people, such consciousness of common destiny does not exist” (Ming-min Peng 1982, 58). Take another example, “no any foreign forces should use similar biological origins, linguistic and cultural backgrounds as excuses, attempting to annex or encroach upon the Taiwanese people’s political independence and territorial integrity” (Ming-min Peng 1982, 58). From the following excerpt from “Idea and Agenda of Taiwan’s Political Institution in the Future,” we can clearly sense Ming-min’s attempt to “separate” from China in terms of his national identity:

Among the twenty million Taiwanese people, most of them are the descendants of Han origin, and eighty percent of their ancestors emigrated from China to Taiwan during the several hundred years before the 19th century. Now the question is: What was their purpose to emigrate from China to Taiwan? Was it to expand Chinese territory or extend Chinese sovereignty? Absolutely not. On the contrary, most of the ancestors of the Taiwanese people were impoverished farmers or fishermen. They gave up everything and ignored the imperial edicts that forbade emigration, risking their lives, crossing the Strait. They landed on Taiwan simply because they wanted to escape their poor and miserable life in China. They cultivated a new world, led a new life, and taught their offspring to take control of their own destiny and create a new era. In other words, they abandoned China and took risk coming to Taiwan, since they did not like to be ruled by China. The characteristics that they “escaped China,” and they “did not like to be ruled by China” were actually the historical foundation for the existence and development of the Taiwanese people. (Ming-min Peng 1988, 330)

(5.6.5.b) Second, in the more than twenty years Ming-min was in exile, in addition to the changes in international politics, the political situations in Taiwan also had considerable changes. Among other things, the most notable was Taiwan's democratization starting in mid 1980s: the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party in 1986, the lifting of martial law in 1987, Lee Teng-hui's succeeding to the Presidency, the student movement in March 1990, the National Affairs Conference that was convened subsequently, and the abolition of Article 100 of Criminal Law, etc. Under such eventful circumstances, though Ming-min was still embracing a staunch Taiwanese identity, with respect to the specific ways to carry out this identity, he seemed to have made some revisions in his thinking. On the eve before going back to Taiwan in 1992, Ming-min had the following dialogue with a reporter from the *China Times*:

Q. In the past more than twenty years, you have experienced drastic changes in your thoughts. Could you elaborate?

A: I enshrine rationalism and the spirit of humanity, and therefore I follow objective realities. In the meantime, I should be responsible for the destiny of Taiwanese people. Since the KMT has made very impressive progress in democratization, currently I am in favor of peaceful reforms. I want to replace "revolution" with "self-determination," "Taiwan independence" with "entity (*shiti* 實體)," "national consciousness (*minzu yishi* 民族意識)" with "citizen consciousness (*guomin yishi* 國民意識)" regardless of place of origin, and "fictitious sovereignty (*xugo zhuquan* 虛構主權)" with "citizen sovereignty (*guomin zhuquan* 國民主權)." (Da-zhong Bu 1994, 34)

Among the changes he listed, replacing "revolution" with "self-determination" seems to be the most important index. In fact, among the various Taiwan independence organizations he had joined, the "FAPA" seemed to be his favorite. This is quite understandable. As some critics point out, in the overseas Taiwan independence

organizations, Ming-min had been a moderate activist, and what he emphasized was to materialize “Taiwan independence” through “national self-determination (*minzu zijue* 民族自決)” within the system (Fengshan Zhang 2002a). Ming-min used to express clearly in 1987: “I think as long as we have all-out parliamentary re-elections, then it does not matter what the name of the country and the national flag would be. I do not care anything about them at all.” As early as in 1989, Ming-min already promoted the idea to urge Lee Teng-hui to visit the United States, with a view to bring Taiwan “back to the international community.” For this matter, the *Commons Daily* (*Minzhong Ribao* 民眾日報) points out that “Lee Teng-hui and Ming-min Peng appear divided outwardly but united at heart” (quoted from Fengshan Zhang 2002a).

(5.6.5.c) Third, after obtaining his U.S. citizenship,¹⁸⁰ Ming-min revised his Taiwanese identity, and developed the notion of “Taiwanese American.” In 1979, when he was organizing the “Taiwanese-American Society” and then served as its director, the concept of “Taiwanese American” should have been roughly established. In 1986, when Ming-min testified at the House of Representatives hearing regarding the implementing situations of the “Taiwan Relations Law,” in his capacity as president of the FAPA, he claimed that he was “a U.S. citizen born in Taiwan, Japan (*chusheng yu Riben Taiwan de Meiji gongmin* 出生於日本台灣的美籍公民)” (Chau-zhi Hong 1994, 301; U.S. Congress 1987).

¹⁸⁰ I am not sure of the exact time Ming-min obtained his U.S. citizenship, but it is certain that he used to have U.S. citizenship according to related documentation. For example, when he was running for nomination as the Presidential candidate in the DPP primaries, his opponents suspected that he had multiple citizenships. Later, I-jen Chiou (*Qiu Yiren* 邱義仁), then secretary general of the DPP, in a report to the central standing committee, testified that “Ming-min only had U.S. citizenship which he had renounced, and he had never had Swedish or Canadian citizenship” (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 26).

In fact, from today's perspective, it is very reasonable and beyond any doubt to use "Taiwanese American" to refer to the Taiwanese who have been naturalized as U.S. citizens. However, in the 1970s in the United States, when the whole TIM was centered on "fighting for democracy and independence for the Taiwanese on the inland," the coinage of such a concept was indeed of special meaning of the time. Certainly, the concept and Ming-min's on-going proposition that "racial/cultural identity is not equivalent to national identity" are consistent.

To put it another way, though in race/culture, I am a Taiwanese, but in politics/law, I am an American with U.S. citizenship. Though the above statement may be a fact in law, in real life, anyone who has experienced the "legal fact," obviously, has to undergo an identity struggle deep in heart (in other words, one has to go through the "encounter stage," the "immersion-emersion stage," and the "internalization stage"), and then one should be able to put the revised identity back to the framework of original identity. Ming-min was no exception. Unfortunately, we apparently do not have sufficient data to discuss the process of "identity recycling" in which Ming-min became a "Taiwanese American."

5.7 The Period during Taiwan's Democratization (1992-)

In the advent of Taiwan's democratization, in November 1992, Ming-min finally ended his exile life of 22 years, returning back to his homeland. In 1994, he set up the "Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation," by which *Ming-min Peng's View on Taiwan* was published (i.e., Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation 1994). One year later, Ming-min joined the DPP, went through the DPP primaries and

became the DPP's Presidential candidate in 1996. Defeated in the Presidential election, Ming-min castigated that the DPP had "given up the ideal of Taiwan independence," and in turn formed the "Nation-building Union of Taiwan (*Jianguo Hui* 建國會)" with his supporters. After Chen Sui-bian won the 2000 Presidential election, at Chen's invitation, Ming-min has been serving as a paid senior advisor to the Office of the President to date.

5.7.1 Returning to Taiwan

1990 was a pivotal year in Taiwan's political history. Inside the island, it was the year when the mainstream faction (*zhuliu pai* 主流派) and the non-mainstream faction (*fei zhuliu pai* 非主流派) of the KMT were locked in a fiercest struggle. At that same time, Ming-min was facing the question whether to return to Taiwan.

The National Affairs Conference in June 1990 provided the best opportunity for Ming-min to return to Taiwan. Recommended by Hong-mao Tian (*Tian Hongmao* 田弘茂), a preparatory committee member of the conference, Ming-min was surprisingly on the list of participants. Reluctant to revoke Ming-min's arrest warrant before he came back to Taiwan, the High Prosecution Department insisted that Ming-min be interrogated as a formal procedure at Chiang Kai-shek Airport, and then the warrant would be cancelled. Ming-min could not accept such a formality, nor could he admit that he was a "criminal," and thus in the end he did not attend the National Affairs Conference (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 22).

The second opportunity for him to come back to Taiwan arrived when the "Taiwan Protection Committee (*Baowei Taiwan Weiyuanhui* 保衛台灣委員會)" sponsored the

“Civil Conference on Constitutional Rule (*Minjian Xianzheng Huiyi* 民間憲政會議).”

The so-called “Taiwan Protection Committee” was formed by the participants affiliated with the opposition movement in the National Affairs Conference, with purposes to oppose the life-long members of the National Assembly to amend the constitution, to promote popular presidential elections, and to oppose China to annex Taiwan. The conference was scheduled to be held in May 1991, and Lee Teng-hui and Ming-min would be speakers on the agenda. However, again it was still the problem with the arrest warrant that Ming-min eventually did not come back. Instead, he provide a written statement in support of the conference (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 22-3).

Under Lee Teng-hui’s administration, however, Taiwan seemed to march toward democratization step by step. In June 1991, the High Prosecution Department formally revoked Ming-min’s arrest warrant on the grounds that the “statute of to prosecute Ming-min has expired.” In 1992, the Taiwanese authorities amended Article 100 of Criminal Law, allowing full protection of freedom of speech to cover the proposition of Taiwan independence. At the end of 1992, on the eve of Taiwan’s second Legislator election, Ming-min felt that the opportunity for him to return to Taiwan had matured, and so on November 1, he returned to Taiwan from the United States via Hong Kong. At that time, the DPP revered him as a “political prophet” and sponsored two hundred cars to welcome him at the airport. Thus, Ming-min finally was able to come back to Taiwan with dignity after 22 years’ exile (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 23; Fengshan Zhang 2002a).

5.7.2 Presidential Candidate and the Nation-building Union of Taiwan

Upon his returning back to Taiwan, Ming-min delivered his first speech at the

College of Law, National Taiwan University, his first wish after the return. In the speech titled “How Shall We March into the Twenty-first Century” to a capacity audience, Ming-min extended his ideals in “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation,” mixed with some of his overseas experiences. In the days that followed, he went non-stop visiting his friends and relatives, and played a significant role in the Legislator election at the end of 1994. In the election, the DPP won 51 seats, a remarkable success for the party (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 23-4).

In March 1994, Ming-min established the “Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation,” with Yung-hsing Chen (*Chen Yongxing* 陳永興), a member of the National Assembly, as its chief executive, and the list of standing directors and directors included political, business and academic dignitaries such as Hung-hsi Lee (*Li Hongxi* 李鴻禧), Kuan-min Koo (*Gu Kuanmin* 辜寬敏), Zhi-cheng Gao (*Gao Zhicheng* 高志誠), Chen Sui-bian, Ting-chao Wei and Tsung-min Hsieh. Through the foundation, Ming-min was able to organize the “Taiwan International Tribune (*Taiwan Guoji Luntan* 台灣國際論壇),” advocating concepts such as “Taiwan’s consciousness of subjectivity (*Taiwan zhuti yishi* 台灣主體意識)” and “Taiwan’s community of destiny (*Taiwan mingyun gongtongti* 台灣命運共同體)” (Bo-xuan Chen 1996, 23-4; Jiayan Liu 2002).

When the KMT authorities made it a policy to have President elected by popular vote, Ming-min started to prepare to enter the race. In February 1995, Ming-min joined the DPP, and on March 20, he announced his intention to run for the first President with popular vote. In the meantime, Hsin-liang Hsu, Yi-hsiung Lin (*Lin Yixiong* 林義雄) and Ching Yu (You Qing 尤清) also threw their hats in the ring. After the two-stage

DPP primaries (including staff members vote, party members vote and the general public vote), Ming-min stood out and became the DPP's Presidential candidate in the 1996 Presidential election. However, due to the strong Lee Teng-hui complex among the Taiwanese, Ming-min had only 21% of the votes, a huge frustration to the DPP since it was founded. Though Ming-min was defeated by Lee Teng-hui in the Presidential election, as a "master of Taiwan independence," "his position as the spiritual leader in the opposition camp was never diminished" (Xin-fang Li 1996).

After the election, some DPP members considered that the radical proposition of Taiwan independence was one of the key factors contributing to the defeat, and so they started to expedite the so-called "transformation" project.¹⁸¹ Unsatisfied at the DPP's "abandonment of the ideals of Taiwan independence," in April 1996, Ming-min left the DPP and formed the "Nation-building Union of Taiwan," serving as its president, and declaring that "Taiwan should establish itself as a nation." The core members of the "Nation-building Union of Taiwan," such as Shan-tien Lin (*Lin Shantian* 林山田), Tsung-min Hsieh, Yung-chih Lee (*Li Yongzhi* 李永熾) and Ching-jen Cheng (*Zheng Qinren* 鄭欽仁), later became the leaders of the "Taiwan Independence Party (*Jianguodang* 建國黨)."

Those persons joined Ming-min in planning a series of activities to promote the idea

¹⁸¹ Most researchers consider that the DPP's so-called "transformation" started in 1995, and then-chairperson Ming-teh Shih (*Shi Mingde* 施明德) was the protagonist who orchestrated such a transformation project. On September 15 of the year, Shih proclaimed during his U.S. visit; "If the DPP becomes the ruling party, there is no need to and we will not declare Taiwan independence." Once the statement was out, a debate regarding the transformation of Taiwan independence discourse was triggered within the DPP (Jin-cai Liu 2001, 86). For more detailed research regarding the DPP's transformation, refer to Jeng-liang Kuo (1998); Jun-deh Wu (2001); and Xin-yi Ye (2001).

of Taiwan subjectivity. For example, in August 1997, they initiated the “Republic of Taiwan Movement (*Taiwan Gongheguo Yungdong* 台灣共和國運動),” attempting to “take a series of concrete activities such as rectifying the name of Taiwan, abolishing the Republic of China as the name of the nation, promoting one China and one Taiwan policy, and using the Republic of Taiwan as the name of the nation to join the United Nations, and gradually moving toward the establishment of the Republic of Taiwan.” In June 1998, the “Nation-building Union of Taiwan,” along with more than 20 TIM organizations, sponsored a large-scale demonstration to “show concerns over the Clinton-Jiang Zemin meeting as well as their determination to protect Taiwan and build a nation.” In the demonstration, the participants yelled slogans such as “Long live Taiwan independence!” “Taiwan, China: one side, one country (*Taiwan Zhongguo, yibian yiguo* 台灣、中國，一邊一國)!” and “Protect Taiwan, build a nation (*bao Tai jianguo* 保台建國)!” In April 1999, the “Nation-building Union of Taiwan” issued a statement in response to the “Hunger Strike for the Inclusion of Plebiscite into the Constitution (*jueshi gongto ruxian yundong* 絕食公投入憲活動),” demanding that the Legislative Yuan pass Plebiscite Law unconditionally. In 2001, when the “Taiwan Solidarity Union (*Taiwan Tuanjie Lianmeng* 台灣團結聯盟)” led by Lee Teng-hui was formed, Ming-min expressed that he “identify himself with the four major policies of the Taiwan Solidarity Union,” and showed up with Lee Teng-hui, stumping for the Legislature candidates of the Taiwan Solidarity Union” (Fengshan Zhang 2002a).

Since Chen Sui-bian won the Presidency in May 2000, Ming-min has been appointed “senior advisor to the Office of the President” three times, and he has been one of a few who have been provided with offices in the Office of the President. On May 20,

during the transfer of administration, Fei Tang (*Tang Fei* 唐飛) was appointed premier. In the subsequent cabinet shuffles of the DPP administration, the position of premier was transferred from Fei Tang to Chun-hsiung Chang (*Zhang Junxiong* 張俊雄), and then from Chun-hsiung Chang to Shyi-kun Yu (*You Xikun* 游錫堃). In the three changeovers of the premier position, Ming-min was appointed by Chen Sui-bian as monitor, making him “an important witness of democratic development in the history of Taiwan” (Dajiyuan 2002).

5.7.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

When Ming-min returned to Taiwan, he was almost seventy years old. Facing a place he had left for 22 years, a homeland notwithstanding, he was still compelled to learn again. Moreover, after martial law was lifted, Taiwan has been rapidly changing in politics, economy, society and even culture (Taiwan Studies Promotion Committee of Academia Sinica 2001), resulting in ubiquitous and strong impacts upon every person living on this island. In the discussion in this section, I shall again use the concept of “recycling” in identity development, as proposed by Parham (1989), to analyze Ming-min’s development of national identity at this stage.

(5.7.3.a) First of all, at this stage, the image played by China, an “other” in Ming-min’s identity construction, was increasingly developing toward the negative side, and the frequency it was mentioned by him seemed to be more and more. We surely have found this tendency at Ming-min’s precious stage. At the current stage, however, not only was such tendency extended, but its visibility also surpassed other facets, becoming the most important reference in Ming-min’s construction his Taiwanese

identity. Let's take a look at the following quote:

The Taiwanese people have been incessantly subject to China's military threats, a situation which U.S. President Clinton said that he "can not just watch and keep hands off," since "Taiwan is on the verge of destruction from the threats simply because of its historical legacy." The U.S. Congress has agreed to give China equal trading status, and China is eager to join the World Trade Organization. If China wants to live up to its reputation as a civilized nation, then it has to thoroughly renounce the barbaric, feudal, rouge and backward concepts and behaviors in its internal affairs and foreign affairs, and learn about democracy, freedom and rule of law. In particular, with respect to Taiwan, China must understand that accepting "self-determination by people" is the only way to peacefully coexist with the Taiwanese people. (Ming-min Peng 2000b)

China is the only country in the world that openly claims if Taiwan does not accept its demands, then it will resort to military power. Meanwhile, it has deployed several hundred missiles on the opposite side across from Taiwan. With an annual increase by more than 50, the total number will exceed one thousand pretty soon, all of which aimed at Taiwan. China is using a war with supreme quantity to threaten Taiwan, and is openly advocating "using business to force politics," hoping to bring Taiwan to its knees. Therefore, if we want to discuss the relationship between Taiwan and China, we have to clarify how to deal with the missiles first, and then we may talk about the rest. (Ming-min Peng 2002)

As a matter of fact, the fact that Ming-min had so negative viewpoints against China was not surprising at all. To some degree, Ming-min only faithfully reflected the changing trend of the relations between Taiwan and China since the 1990s. On one hand, with respect to Taiwan's internal political development, before martial law was lifted, the KMT authoritarian regime headed by Mainlanders was the object that the opposition movement fought against. After Lee Teng-hui succeeded as President, however, the KMT had been indigenized, and the "other" that threatened the welfare of

the Taiwanese people had been replaced by the Chinese Communist Party across the Strait, which vowed “not to abandon the use of military forces toward Taiwan” (Shu 1998; Kuang-chun Li 2001).

On the other hand, with respect to the internal situation in China, the 1990s was an era that saw a new surging wave of Chinese nationalism (Shu 2001b; Yongnian Zheng 2001). In this context, the impact of Taiwan issue on Chinese nationalism was, according to Jianmin Zhou (2001, 405), a Chinese scholar: “it reinforces, rather than weakens, the Chinese people’s sense of national identity; it reinforces, rather than weakens, the determination of the Chinese people to construct itself into a nation with strong power.” Under such situation, though the extent of mutual trade between Taiwan and China was ever-increasing, politically, there seemed no tendency of real improvement regarding the tense relations.

(5.7.3.b) Second, Ming-min’s view regarding China followed the trend at the previous stage and, interestingly, his view regarding the way to carry out Taiwanese identity in practice also followed the trend at the previous stage, with more and more flexibility. Among other themes, “Taiwan has been a de facto independent nation” seemed to be the most important theme in terms of his thought at this stage:

Forgive me for using what I reiterated in the previous Presidential election: “What should Taiwan use as the name of the nation (whether it is the Republic of China, the Republic of Taiwan, or Mountain Country, or even Chiang Ching-kuo) is of secondary importance. We should proclaim that the sovereignty of Taiwan is limited to the area effectively controlled by the current government. Based on this reality, we can start to write a new constitution, making Taiwan an independent entity worthy of the name in the

international community (.....). As for the name of the country, it could be determined in the process of making the constitution. (Ming-min Peng 1999)

From 1949 until now, Taiwan always has precise people and territory. As for its government, no matter whether it is good or bad, the power exercised by this government within its territory is characterized by monopoly, independence and completeness, and thus it already has the fact of “independence.” (Ming-min Peng 2000a)

I suggest that Taiwan should use “de facto Taiwan independence (shishi shang de Taidu 事實上的台獨)” as a foundation. We should also reestablish its legal and political systems; national policies; education and culture; and value consciousness as soon as possible. Based upon this foundation, we can turn de facto Taiwan independence into de jure Taiwan independence, actively seeking an independent country’s legal status at home and abroad, and building Taiwanese people’s own country worthy of the name. (Ming-min Peng 2000a)

5.8 Conclusion

Finally, let’s briefly review the developmental process of Ming-min’s national identity. First of all, he was born at Tachia, Taichung, in 1923 under Japanese rule. On one hand, since he received the education carried out on the colony by the Japanese Empire, Ming-min was inevitably influenced by this hegemony, and believed that he was a Japanese. On the other hand, however, he also deeply perceived in his daily life the systematic discrimination imposed by the Japanese colonial regime on the colonized islanders. Meanwhile, he was also thoroughly imbued with the strong Han national identity from his father, and hence he was aware of the fact that he was a Taiwanese. Under such situation, Ming-min developed the so-called “social stigma attitudes” in terms of his national identity, as noted by Cross in his analysis of the “pre-encounter stage.” In other words, though Ming-min understood the fact that he was a Taiwanese,

in his heart, this “fact” brought him nothing but endless sense of being discriminated. Accordingly, what he fervently wanted was to be a “real” Japanese.

In 1939, when Ming-min was sixteen, he went to study in Japan, marching into another stage in his identity development. It was at this stage that Ming-min formally entered into the period of “identity vs. identity confusion” as called by Erickson, starting to explore his identity. However, it seemed that he never spent his time and energy to handle his own racial/ethnic/national identity. Instead, while studying at the Third Higher School, he plunged into the atmosphere of “naïve liberalism,” and developed a sort of steadfast anti-militarism, becoming the only Taiwanese youth who did not “volunteer to serve in the military,” and losing his left arm while seeking a refuge in the countryside. Through the logic of liberalism, Ming-min seemed to develop the “low-salience attitudes” as called by Cross in his analysis of the “pre-encounter stage.” In other words, he did not consider that racial/ethnic identity had any superiority in his identity construction. On the contrary, he put value in other more “eternal” areas (such as philosophy or literature thinking).

In 1945, Japan was defeated. In January 1946, Ming-min, 23, returned to Taiwan and entered the National Taiwan University, the original Taihoku Imperial University which was renamed after the World War II. Later, he served as a teaching assistant, and after obtaining an opportunity to go abroad for further study, he went to the Institute of International Air Law, McGill University, Canada, and earned his master’s degree in law. Then, after earning his doctorate from the University of Paris, he returned to teach at the Department of Political Science at his alma mater, launching a golden period of his academic career. At this stage, though legally Ming-min had changed from being a

Japanese to being a Chinese, through the thoughts of liberalism, the legal fact seemed not to prevent him from keeping his “low-salience attitudes” developed at his previous stage.

Nevertheless, around 1960, he suddenly sensed the importance of the issue of “Taiwan’s legal status,” and in his identity development, Ming-min gradually shook off the “low-salience attitudes” at the “re-encounter stage” and entered the “encounter stage.” Later, Ming-min entered the “immersion-emersion stage” of identity development, starting to look for comrades sharing the same thought.

In 1964, at the age of 41, Ming-min, as well as two of his students, was arrested by the authorities for drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation,” and entered the “internalization stage” on his journey of identity. In this manifesto, we can see that Ming-min had abandoned his Chinese identity at the “re-encounter stage” and accomplished the construction of his new identity, Taiwanese identity. However, the price Ming-min paid for this new identity was very steep. He was sentenced to eight years in prison on account of “sedition.” Though under international pressure, the authorities later granted him amnesty, he was put under house arrest, with all-out 24-hour surveillance from the investigation agents.

In 1970, with liaison help provided from his international friends, Ming-min, who was 47, miraculously escaped from Taiwan, and was granted political asylum by the Sweden government. Nine months later, Ming-min went to the United States. Except for two years in which he taught and did research in colleges, Ming-min spent most of his time among various TIM organizations, serving important positions with Formosan Studies, Inc., WUFI, Taiwanese-American Society, FAPA, and Asia Pacific Democratic Association. It was at this stage that Ming-min started to enter the stage of “identity

recycling” as called by Parham, during which he made appropriate revisions to the already fixed Taiwanese identity, in response to the changes in the external environment.

This “recycling” took place in three facets. First, China seemed to become Ming-min’s major negative reference in his construction of identity. Second, in response to the democratization starting in mid 1980s, Ming-min also modified the measures to carry out his Taiwanese identity, changing from the more radical “revolutionary rhetoric” to the more moderate “self-determination rhetoric.” Third, after obtaining his U.S. citizenship, Ming-min also further processed his Taiwanese identity, and constructed the concept of “Taiwanese American.”

In 1991, the Taiwanese authorities revoked the arrest warrant against Ming-min. One year later, at 69, Ming-min finally returned to his homeland which he had been away from for 22 years. In 1996, Ming-min represented the DPP in the first direct Presidential election in the history of Taiwan. At this stage of identity development, Ming-min was still continuing his ongoing “identity recycling” process. On one hand, China/the Chinese Communist Party, which continued to “ferment” with negative meanings in his identity construction, seemingly becoming his primary “enemy” in his Taiwanese identity. On the other hand, while Taiwan continued to democratize, the way Ming-min carried out his Taiwanese identity seemed to continue to soften, and he even claimed that “keeping Taiwan’s status quo is equivalent to Taiwan independence.”

Chapter Six

Case Study (2): The Process of National Identity Formation of Mu-sheng Wu

[During the February 28 Incident of 1947,] I saw the senior students moving out Type 38 rifles from the warehouse and putting them on the playground. No one in the school opposed what they were doing. Though still a young student, I also agreed with their action. Facing a government totally devoid of conscience and respect for law, what would be the rights of the ordinary people?

--- Mu-sheng Wu, *The Footprint of A Brave Duck: My Memory*

6.1 Introduction

Mu-sheng Wu is probably not one of the most representative TIM leaders in the United States, but he is absolutely a subject that deserves the TIM researcher's attention. There are many reasons to support such a statement. *First of all*, he is a diligent writer, though his "real" profession is chemical engineering. Among Taiwanese American, while excluding those professional writers such as Fang-ming Chen or Juan Huang (*Huang Juan* 黃娟)¹⁸², Mu-sheng is probably the one with the most published works,

¹⁸². Juan Huang (1945-), a writer, originally named Rui-juan Huang (*Huang Ruijuan* 黃瑞娟), born in Hsinchu City (*Xinzhu Shi* 新竹市), graduated from Taipei Women's Normal College (*Taipei Nuzi Shizhuan* 台北女子師專). She used to teach, and started to engage in creative writing in 1961. After she moved to the United States in 1968, her writings decreased dramatically. In 1983, she picked up her pen again, and drew the attention in the literature field (Ya-xun Cai 2001, 311). Juan Huang was probably the most important pure literary writer among the Taiwanese Americans, and was called as the "flag bearer of the Taiwanese-American literature (*Taimei Wenxun qishou* 台美文學旗手)" by Ya-xun Cai (2001, 311).

The main works of Juan Huang included long fictions *A Girl from Aishagang* (1968), *Relatives from Hometown* (1991a), *Split Marriage* (1994), *The World of Hong-hong* (1998a); and short stories *The Cloud*

surpassing even those with social science or humanities backgrounds (excluding their academic papers). Up to date, he has published five books (see Mu-sheng Wu 1993, 1994a, 1996, 1997, 2000), including his autobiography *The Footprint of A Brave Duck: My Memory* published in 2000.

Furthermore, among all the published autobiographies written by Taiwanese within and without Taiwan, if the scope is limited to within the island, then I would consider Cao-de Xu's (Xu Caode 許曹德) *Memoirs of Cao-de Xu: The Life History of a Taiwanese* (1990) the most representative work. In the book, Cao-de Xu vividly describes the process that a Taiwanese, who grew up receiving the KMT education system, shifted from being a Chinese to being a Taiwanese in terms of his nationally identity.

However, if the scope is limited to without Taiwan, then I would say that Mu-sheng's autobiography is probably the most representative work. Unlike Xu-de Cao's autobiography, Mu-sheng's autobiography did not have any deliberate emphasis on his change in national identity. Nevertheless, as a vocational school graduate with an impoverished origin, Mu-sheng hit the books and got into National Taiwan University, and eventually went across the ocean to obtain his doctoral degree. He then joined the TIM camp and, meanwhile, was forbidden to go home for 26 years after being put on the blacklist by the KMT. His bumpy yet dramatic life was certainly the best material for research on the overseas Taiwanese in pursuit of Taiwanese identity. As noted in the profile on the backcover of the book, "This is a life story about a Taiwanese" (Mu-sheng

of Mountainside (1991a), *Woman from Another Shore* (1996), *The Talkless Marriage* (1998b), etc. As for critiques on Juan-Huang, refer to Ya-xun Cai (2001, 309-24) and Yi-fu Lin (2002).

Wu 2000, backcover).

In the following discussion, I shall use Mu-sheng's life history as the main axis and divide the developmental process of his national identity into four stages: (1) the childhood period (1933-1945); (2) the period under the KMT rule (1945-1963); (3) the initial period while study and work in the United States (1963-1986); and (4) the post-WUFI period (1986-).

6.2 The Childhood Period (1933-1945)

Mu-sheng Wu, a Hoklo, was born at Small Harbor (*Xiaogang* 小港), Kaohsiung County, in 1933,¹⁸³ when Taiwan was still a Japanese colony. He was the third child among the seven siblings¹⁸⁴ with an older brother, an older sister and four younger brothers. Born during the Japanese occupation period, Mu-sheng received Japanese education for more than five years, until the end of World War II when Japan was defeated. For the important events in Mu-sheng's life history, refer to Table 6.1.

(Table 6.1 about here)

6.2.1 Family Background

Mu-sheng's grandfather was a hard-working farmer, and his father the oldest and

¹⁸³. According to the records in his household registration book, however, the time was 1934. "Based on the official records, I was born on January 5, 1934. As a matter of fact, this was not my birthday, since my birth was reported late. I realized the mistake only after I grew up, when I found that my cousin Lengzi (*Lengzi* 冷仔) had the voting right earlier than I did. My mother told me that 40 days after my birth was the lunar New Year's Day. Until now, I still haven't figured out the date in the solar calendar, since I do not care about birthday" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 11).

¹⁸⁴. Due to poverty and the low level of health care at that time, in addition to the seven children, "in the forming process of this big family, there were two boys and one girl who died very young" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 11).

Table 6.1
Major Events in the Life of Mu-sheng Wu

Year	Event
I. The Childhood Period (1933-1945)	
1933	Wu was born into a poor family at Small Harbor, Kaohsiung County. His father worked as a low-level-staff at the irrigation cooperative. Since it was a very low position, his father's meager salary was not enough to support the family at all.
1940	Wu started studying at Daliao Elementary School. Though with excellent academic performance, he was discriminated by teacher at school due to his poor family background.
1941	December: Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and raised the curtain of World War II.
1944	Wu transferred to Niaosong Elementary School because his father was re-assigned working location by his company.
II. The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1963)	
1945	The KMT took over Taiwan after the end of World War II.
1946	Wu transferred to Small Harbor Elementary School and began to receive the Chinese education designed by the KMT. July: Wu passed the examination and got into the junior section of Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School.
1947	February: The "February 28 Incident" broke out. Wu witnessed that the senior students of his school moved out Type 38 rifles from the warehouse and were ready to "fight." "Though still a young student, I also agreed with their action. Facing a government totally devoid of conscience and respect for law, what would be the rights of the ordinary people?"
1949	Wu passed the examination to get into the junior section of Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School. At the junior section of this school, he had the real experience with Mainlanders for the first time.
1951	Wu decided to take the college entrance examination.
1952	Wu failed to pass the college entrance examination.
1953	Wu passed the entrance examination to get into the Department of Chemical Engineering, National Taiwan University.
1954	The KMT's intelligence system began to extend into campuses, including NTU where Wu studied.

Table 6.1 (Cont.)

1957	Wu was elected resident advisor of Dormitory No. 10 at NTU. Wu graduated from college and began to serve in the military.
1958	Wu was acquainted with future wife and fell in love.
1959	March: After being discharged from the air force, Wu engaged to future wife. April: Wu started working for Taiwan Sugar Company and reported for duty at Small Harbor Sugar Plant. He transferred to Kaohsiung By-products Processing Factory several months voluntarily later.
1960	Wu got married.
1961	Wu's son was born.
1962	Wu made a decision to go abroad to study because staying with the company would deprive him of his promising career opportunities due to his two fatal obstacles --- "I was Taiwanese and I was not a member of the KMT."
III. The Initial Period during Study and Work in the United States (1963-1986)	
1963	September: Wu went to the University of Mississippi for further study alone, leaving his wife and son behind in Taiwan.
1964	February: Wu's eldest daughter was born in Taiwan. Summer: Wu stopped by Ann Arbor where the University of Michigan is located on his way to do summer job in New York. Right there, he read alternative information about Taiwanese history and realized that "a lot of knowledge in my brain should be corrected and adjusted." September: Ming-min Peng was arrested in Taipei.
1965	January: Wu went to Texas for a job interview and reconnected with George T. Chang, his college roommate who was one class lower than him at NTU. Chang showed him a letter-to-the-editor written by Chang and other friends accusing the KMT of being unjust regime that had committed crimes in Taiwan. Wu was deeply touched by this article. June: Wu earned Master's degree and went to report for duty at Geigy Chemical in Alabama, starting his first formal job in the United States. He also donated money to the TIM for the first time.
1966	January: Wu's wife and children came from Taiwan to reunify with him in the United States. December: Wu changed his job to work for Mobil Chemical located in New Jersey.
1967	Wu started participating in the Taiwanese political activities around New York City.

Table 6.1 (Cont.)

1968	Introduced by George T. Chang, Wu formally joined the UFAL. April: Wu took part in a demonstration in Washington DC for the first time in his life to protest the Wen-ying Liu Incident. May: Wu's second daughter was born. September: Wu decided to come back to school for his Ph.D. degree. This time his destination was the University of Texas at Austin.
1970	March: Wu founded the Taiwanese Association in Austin and received a certified letter with return receipt from the KMT's Consul General stationed in Houston within a week. The letter asked him to dissolve the association right away and be a campus spy for them. April: The "April 24 Incident" of the Chiang assassination occurred in New York City. Wu went to ask every Taiwanese in Austin for donation for the cause, while being overwhelmed with resentment and regret mixed with respect toward this Incident.
1972	Wu obtained his Ph.D. after four years' study. Wu started working for a manufacturing factory of artificial diamonds owned by General Electric, which is located in Worthington, the suburbs of Columbus, Ohio. Within a half of year, Wu was given a manager's award and was inducted into the "Inventors' Hall of Fame" at the company headquarters due to his professional achievement. Wu was elected one of the founding members of the board of directors of the Taiwanese Association in Columbus.
1974	Wu was granted U.S. citizenship. Wu was elected the president of the Taiwanese Association of America.
1975	Chiang Kai-shek died.
1976	Wu wrote and published two essays concerning the construction plan for six nuclear reactors in Taiwan proposed by Taiwan Power Company.
1978	Wu left General Electric and went to Rhode Island to take charge of the chemical engineering department of a new research and development center owned by Geigy Chemical, his former company.
1979	December: The "Formosa Incident" broke out in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. The phones from Wu's comrades and friends rang off the hook. "I could only utter one sigh after another, feeling powerless both mentally and physically."
1980	Wu's father-in-law organized a visiting group, nine people in all, to visit his family because he, as a blacklisted person, was unable to go back to Taiwan.
1981	July: The "Wen-cheng Chen Incident" broke out. Again Wu railed at the KMT: "The KMT was lawless and godless, haughtily arrogant and barbarous."

Table 6.1 (Cont.)

1984	October: Henry Liu, a Taiwanese writer and a naturalized U.S. citizen, was assassinated in the United States by the Taiwan gangsters sent by the KMT.
IV. The Post-WUFI Period (1986-)	
1986	The WUFI required all the members to reregister their membership. Decided not to renew his WUFI membership.
1987	Wu went back to the South because his worksite was moved to Alabama, the first place where he worked right after obtaining his Master's degree 20 years ago.
1987	His company decided to set up a factory in Taiwan and assigned him to take charge of the whole project. However, he applied for a visa to Taiwan at the KMT's Office in Atlanta and was rejected.
1989	Wu was issued a single entry visa to Taiwan by the reason that his mother was seriously ill.
1990	Wu applied for early retirement and marched toward the "fourth movement" of his life.
1991	January: Wu left Alabama and moved to Houston, Texas. Wu suddenly realized that "Perhaps I am only a Taiwanese American and no longer a Taiwanese" after several trips back to Taiwan.
1993	Wu's first book <i>The Fourth Movement</i> was published.
1998	Wu left Huston and moved to North California.
2000	Wu's autobiography <i>The Footprint of A Brave Duck: My Memory</i> was finished and published.

Source: Made by author

much-spoiled son of the family. "Being in a farming family, my father had never worked in the field, not even pouring water in the rice paddies. His parents indulged him, and they did not want him to be a farmer. They wanted him to study instead" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 12). His father graduated from Fengshan Public School (*Fengshan Gongxuexiao* 鳳山公學校), and had Chinese education for two years at a family school. Consequently, his Japanese and Chinese levels were beyond the reach of

the ordinary contemporaries. However, “While he had the opportunity to get rich, he was not in a vein to make a fortune. On the contrary, he found a refuge in drinking and his life was nothing but drinking. He led a life of debauchery, and gradually became alcoholic. As a result of his behavior, his younger siblings became wretch with no place to stay at all” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 12).

Around the time Mu-sheng was born, his father used to be a baojia (*baokia* 保甲) secretary.¹⁸⁵ Later, he also worked at a sugar plant for a short time. “It was said that before serving as a baojia secretary, he used to have a small business and opened a store. However, he did not show much interest in business and did not run the store well. Any business went through him fell apart. After I grew older, he worked at the irrigation cooperative at Daliaozhuang (*Daliaozhuang* 大寮庄), Kaohsiung. Since it was a very low position, the meager salary was not enough to support the family and, as exacerbated by his drinking problems, we had experienced occasions with nothing to cook for meals during my childhood” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 12). During the Japanese colonial period, his father used to be the leader of a youth corps and an adult corps. After the war, he served as a village master, “but he was not interested in public affairs, and he did not like to talk about politics, either” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 13).

¹⁸⁵ The so-called “baojia system” was a system to “entail citizens to mutually monitor” that the Japanese rulers inherited from the Qing dynasty. During the Qing Dynasty, every ten households formed a *pai* (*pai* 牌), and every ten *pais* formed a *jia* (*jia* 甲), which was headed by a head of *jia* (*jiazhang* 甲長), and ten *jias* formed a *bao* (*bao* 保), which was headed by a *bao* leader (*baozheng* 保正). Under the baojia system, to keep from robbers and thieves, and to maintain local security, if a household violated the law, the whole ten households were compromised, and if a household harbored bandits, the other nine households were also be punished. In 1898, the Japanese colonial authorities promulgated the “Baojia Regulations (*Baojia Tiaoli* 保甲條例),” continued to follow suit, “to keep local peace with collateral responsibilities” (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 11). For further study regarding the “baojia system” during the Japanese occupation period, refer to Hui-yu Ts’ai doctoral dissertation at Columbia University (1990).

Mu-sheng's mother was born the first child at a farming family at Chikan (*Chikan* 赤崁), Kaohsiung. Unfortunately, she was born with "adverse destiny (*niming* 逆命)." According to a fortune teller, she was destined to be a jinx to her mother: the more uncomfoting her destiny was, the more prosperous her mother's would be. Thus, she was sent to a Huang family to be brought up as a maid and a future daughter-in-law, taking care of buffaloes and family chores (Mu-sheng Wu 1993, 119). After growing up, she was sent to Small Harbor to be a maid. Through this opportunity, she got a chance to know "my father who was still single at that time, and after a romance, they got married" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 17).

Mu-sheng's mother was illiterate, but she firmly believed in the importance of school education. "Even under the situation that we had trouble to put food on the table, she exhausted everything she could, and saved every penny she had, allowing all of her sons to attend school. It was indeed her spirit that sustained me to finish my studies" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 17). Due to her contact on the job, Mu-sheng's mother knew how to speak Japanese.

Poverty seemed to be the major concern during Mu-sheng's childhood. "When I was born, my family fortune had hit rock bottom. We had no real estate, and the Wu's ancestral house did not exit anymore. We became houseless people" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 11). "Right after I was born, we moved out of Small Harbor and began to wander around. We moved to Fengshan, then Daliao (*Daliao* 大寮), and then Niaosong (*Niaosong* 鳥松), and then back to Small Harbor. In all, we moved eleven times and virtually we led a life just like migrating birds" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 12). "During my childhood, my existence seemed superfluous. Beyond misfortune, there was only

shamefulness. Even only a suggestion of such reflection would sink me into the depths of sorrow” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 25). In his memoir, Mu-sheng mentioned many stories about his poor childhood, two of which are quoted below:

Soon after we moved to the house owned by a sailor, my sister who was two years my junior died. She and her death hardly made any impression in my memory. The only thing I remember was that one morning when I woke up, I found something in the corner on the floor was covered with a piece of straw mat. I did not know why, but all my life I had never asked my parents the cause of my sister’s death. Probably I did not want to prompt my parents’ sad memories, or perhaps it was a taboo I was scared to mention. According to my older brother, my sister died of a contagious disease that caused high temperatures. A relative of mine said that the death of my sister expelled the misfortune out from my family. In fact, after she passed away, my family fortune did not turn around; the only change was that the number of mouths on the dining table was one fewer than before. Facing death for the first time, I was so innocent (or heartless). (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 25)

Perhaps I had too many congenital shortcomings, neither did I look cute, so I hardly had any playmates during my childhood. One morning, I was jumping on the bed, using the cotton quilt as a hurdle, jumping from one side to the other. After several rounds, I met with an accident. Unable to bridle my force of thrust, I vehemently hit my face against the wooden rear window and, all of a sudden, I was bleeding profusely with a one-inch cut on my lower lip. I was supposed to see a doctor to dress the wound, but at that time, and in that family, seeking the help from a doctor was something way too luxurious. No one in my family came across the idea to bring me to see a doctor after I was injured. In fact, I did not apply any medication at all, not to mention the idea going to see a doctor. When the bleeding stopped, I wiped off the blood on my face, and found there was a small ditch on the lip. In the days that followed, whenever I ate, frequently rice grains would slip into the ditch, and it became very painful to get them out. Gradually, new flesh grew up, not only filling up the ditch, but also outgrowing it. *The extra flesh almost affected my whole life psychologically, since it always connected from my lip instantly to my brain.* It was probably until I obtained my Ph.D.

degree that I finally walked out of my body, no to be bothered in my mind again. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 30; emphasis added)

6.2.2 Daliao and Niaosong Elementary Schools during the Japanese Rule

Period

In 1940, Mu-sheng entered Daliao Elementary School (*Daliao Guomin Xuexiao* 大寮國民學校). “There were probably twelve classes, one for boys and one for girls in each year. There was no kindergarten, nor were there any advanced classes. The school was located to the north of my home. It took me about 20 minutes to walk. Along the way, except for a police station and a park, there were dormitories for the employees at Xinxing Sugar Manufacturing Company (*Xinxing Zhitang Huishe* 新興製糖會社)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 33).

Mu-sheng’s first grade teacher was Bunee Nakae (*Zhongjing Wenzhi* 中井文枝), “a young, beautiful and nice Japanese woman whose husband also taught at the same school, probably the sixth grade. *Before entering school, I did not speak any Japanese.* Though both my parents could speak Japanese, at home we all spoke Hoklo. Bunee Nakae did not speak Hoklo. I did not remember how we communicated, but in my memory, there was not any trace of difficulty resulting from language” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 33; emphasis added).

Mu-sheng liked the Japanese teacher very much. However, after teaching him for one year, Mrs. Nakae left and was replaced by a Taiwanese teacher named Mr. Fujita (*Tengtian* 藤田). Though Mr. Fujita was a Taiwanese, he was very rigorous, and he seemed to look down upon Mu-sheng who was from a poor family. “He was my teacher

for almost three years, a nightmare in my life” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 34). Mu-sheng did learn many things under Mr. Fujita’s teaching, but the way he treated students left Mu-sheng an inferiority complex for a long time in his life. For example:

[I] was often punished to kneel in the corridor for a long time. What I resented was the insult in my little soul, not the physical pain. During recess, many students surrounded me, hurting my soul again and again, but Mr. Fujita did not care at all. In my mind, he was demonstrating his paramount authority, rather than doing the sacred work of education. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 35)

I figured that I was the best student in my class. Every time when there was a campus-wide “Principal’s Examination (*xiaozhang shiwen* 校長試問),” my name was always on the honor list. I did as well in my own class. However, I was always ranked the third in the class. The first place always went to Qiu-long Li (*Li Qiulong* 李秋龍), son of the sugar company chemist Ge Li (*Li Ge* 李格), and the second place was Ming-qing Huang (*Huang Mingqing* 黃銘清), son of the counsel Yun-bei Huang (*Huang Yunbei* 黃允北). Though I was not satisfied with Qiu-long Li’s position, I could accept it grudgingly. Ming-qing Huang’s performance was only mediocre, but was ranked the second. At that time, every one knew that Mr. Yun-bei Huang was a good friend of Mr. Fujita’s, and all of us (including me) considered the connection was why Ming-qing Huang was ranked high. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 35-6)

No matter how his teacher disliked him, Mu-sheng’s academic performance had always been excellent. According to his own analysis, it probably had something to do with his super memory. “When I was little, I had a very strong memory, almost to the extent of ‘photo memory (*zhaoxiang jiyi* 照相記憶).’ Thanks to the super memory, except for mathematics, I relied heavily on memorizing for all other courses, but I did not pay attention to the special meanings in the context. The super memory helped me big

time. When my classmates were agonizing to memorize the ‘multiplication table,’ the ‘order of education (*jiaoyu leyu* 教育勒語),’ etc., I simply breezed through. Until today, I still can recite those meaningless stuff like the ‘order of education,’ ‘Emperor Meiji’s analects (*Mingzhi Tianhuang yuzhi* 明治天皇御制)’ and the ‘War Declaration Notice (*Xuanzhan Bugao* 宣戰布告)’ of the Greater East Asia War (*Dadongya Zhanzheng* 大東亞戰爭)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 37).

On December 8, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and raised the curtain of World War II. “On that day, Mr. Fujita was agitated and went out to see airplanes whenever he heard of airplanes roaring overhead. Taiwan followed Japan into the wartime. People were told to dig ditches and wear turbans. Women were required to wear lantern pants, and men national attire and leggings. At school, we frequently had air-raid drills. When we heard of the air-raid warning (one long siren signal), we ran out of the school gate and hid in the dry ditches along the road. We waited until we heard of the air-raid alarm (ten short signals) and the all clear signal (one long signal), and then walked back to classrooms from the ditches” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 40).

As the war deepened, all the necessities of life became more and more scarce. As a result, the government started to control food and necessities. “The order of priority was first the Japanese, followed by the Taiwanese who changed names, and then the ordinary Taiwanese. Since my family did not change names, we were classified as the third-class citizens” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 41). Besides, Mu-sheng’s daily life was

entangled with the war and the “Kominka Movement”¹⁸⁶ propagated by the authorities. “The teachers at our school frequently made ‘house visits,’ and whether a ‘kamidana [Shinto altar]’ was set up in a home was often the focus of such visits. Since we did not have one, my mother was often upbraided by the teachers, and she had to respond perfunctorily that she would get one next time, and by next time she would do the same. During the Japanese occupation period, we had never had any kamidana. We were struggling for our daily necessities, how could we afford a kamidana” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 41-2)?

Besides, during this period, Mu-sheng’s family still led a hungry life with intermittent meals, of which a life passage was described by Mu-sheng in the following quote:

After school at noon, under the scorching sun, I walked home lackadaisically in bare feet. Because I was very hungry, I used a cloth wrapper (*baofujin* 包袱巾)¹⁸⁷ that was used to bundle books (books were bundled in a cloth wrapper as a school bag at that time) to tie around my abdomen tightly.

Upon seeing my awkward appearance, my mother, who had been waiting for me, was unable to fight back tears. A moment later, she said, “Taiwan would not starve any people.” Then, we went to the white sugar cane field in the front hill, which belonged to the sugar company, to steal sugar canes. While we were chewing sugar canes surreptitiously, we heard of hissing sounds from the leaves and sensed that the company patrolman was approaching. Shocked off guard, we discarded everything and rushed out. We emerged from the other side of the sugar cane field, only to find a sheer silence behind us. There was no sight of any patrolman at all. Then, all of

¹⁸⁶. For a brief description of the “Kominka Movement,” refer to Section 5.2.5 of Ming-min Peng’s case study (Chapter Five) as well as Section 6.2.4 of this chapter.

¹⁸⁷. Mu-sheng miswrote the phrase as “*baofuzhong* (包袱中)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 43).

a sudden, I found that on my mother's face, except for the scared expression, there were lines cut by the sugar cane leaves dotted with blood
(Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 43-4)

In the spring of 1944, Mu-sheng's father was transferred by his company, so the family moved again. The destination this time was Niasong (*Niaosong* 鳥松), which was famous for Great Pond Lake (*Dabi Hu* 大埤湖). "On the occasion of moving, as children, we did not have any say rationally, neither emotionally. There was neither unwillingness nor willingness; there was neither joy nor sorrow. To us, moving was an indispensable part of life, just like birth, aging, sickness and death" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 45). Due to the moving, Mu-sheng transferred to Niasong Elementary School (*Niaosong Guomin Xuexiao* 鳥松國民學校).

In early August, 1945, "the American forces raised the curtain of atomic 'civilization (*wenming* 文明)' in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On 15 August, the 'good news was broadcast (*yuyin fansong* 玉音放送),' and Japan finally surrendered. The end of the war did not bring me any joy or sorrow; it was only a milestone in history" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 52). The Japanese left, and the Chinese came.

6.2.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

While seeing the year Mu-sheng got into elementary school as a watershed, we can further divide his content of national identity before he was twelve into two stages: the stage with no consciousness during his childhood (1933-1940) and the stage with Japanese identity after he entered elementary school (1940-1945). In this section, I shall discuss his content of national identity during childhood, and in the section that follows, I

shall then discuss the content after entering elementary school.

Before entering Daliao Elementary School in 1940, Mu-sheng seemed to stay in *a stage without apparent consciousness in terms of his national identity*. I shall explain the matter in the following three points.

(6.2.3.a) First, according to Mu-sheng's own description, the first story in his memory happened when he was four. They moved from Fengshan to Banana Foot (*Qongjiaojiao* 芎蕉腳), where they rented a concrete house with a spare lot in the backyard. "We planted corn in the spare lot. Though we did not have green thumbs, we took care of the plants diligently, and they grew up very fast with lush green leaves and strong roots and stalks. Going to see the corn field became the most important thing in my daily agenda, and I had never been 'absent' for a single day. My first thing in the morning was always going to the corn field" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 22). Unfortunately, when the field was full of corn ears, the landlord took back the lot, and also wanted the Wu family to move out, since he wanted to use the lot to construct a building as a physician's office.

Therefore, Mu-sheng's family moved to another house about one hundred meters from the original site. From the new house, they could still see the corn field. "When I saw the workers chopping down the corn stalks with corn ears one by one, my heart was broken. The scene left an indelible wound in my little heart, and created the first memory in my life" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 22). This was a memory when Mu-sheng was four. "The memory in my mind later developed into my distrust toward rich people --- They could eradicate the substance that sustained our life when they wanted to make more money" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 22). In this regard, Mu-sheng did not remember

things that happened before he was four. The first thing he still remembered, of which the theme was “*the rich people vs. the poor people*,” was not directly involved with national identity or ethnic identity, since the so-called “rich people,” like Mu-sheng himself, were also Taiwanese.¹⁸⁸

(6.2.3.b) My second observation is relevant to the *language* Mu-sheng used at that time. “Before entering elementary school, except for my mother tongue, I did not learn any other languages” (Mu-sheng Wu, 1994a, 189). If we acknowledge that language and identity are interrelated, then for Mu-sheng, who spoke Hoklo, it was unlikely for him to develop any Japanese identity before he entered school.

(6.2.3.c) The last but probably the most important clue was that, before Mu-sheng entered school, not only did he never learned Japanese, he virtually had *no chance to meet any Japanese*. “Though my parents knew Japanese, they used only Hoklo in their conversation, and I never had any opportunity to be with Japanese” (Mu-sheng Wu 1994a, 189). Under such circumstances, just like the Asian Americans who live in predominantly Asian or mixed neighborhoods with more opportunities to contact with Asian culture, as described by Kim (1981), Mu-sheng tended to identify with his own ethnic group, since he almost had no opportunity to contact with the outside world at all. Rather, family and relatives were his major source of socialization during this stage.

¹⁸⁸. In fact, in his memoir, such descriptions of “poverty” and “starvation” are too numerous to mention, especially during his childhood period. In the postscript to the memoir, Mu-sheng’s wife Wen-zhi Hong says that in the beginning, she was opposed to Mu-sheng’s idea to publish his memoir, because “except for ‘poverty,’ his life was uneventful, and there were not many vicissitudes, not worth writing” (Wen-zhi Hong 2000, 450).

6.2.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

From 1940, the time Mu-sheng entered Daliao Elementary School, to 1945, the time the KMT took over Taiwan, Mu-sheng received Japanese education for more than five years. He not only started to learn Japanese, he also “discovered” the fact that he was Japanese to some extent. In his memoir, Mu-sheng did not particularly mention the content of his national identity during this period, but he did use a lot of pages describing the tidbits of school life during the wartime (World War II started when Mu-sheng was a second-grader in elementary school). From the descriptions, albeit not so captivating, I can infer that, just like most of the Taiwanese receiving Japanese education at that time, through the formal education system at school, he more or less began to possess the *Japanese identity imposed by the Japanese colonial government*. The following observations regarding the matter deserve our further attention.

(6.2.4.a) First of all, from a relatively macro perspective, though the period Mu-sheng attended elementary school was the last five years of the Japanese colonial rule, it was the time the Japanese colonial government promoted the “Kominka Movement” in full swing. Though most researchers considered the “Marco Polo Bridge Incident (*Lugouqiao Shijian* 盧溝橋事件)” of 1937 as the starting point of the “Kominka Movement” in Taiwan (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 102; Chou 1996, 164),¹⁸⁹ the two key elements of the “Kominka Movement” --- the “Name Change Movement” and the

¹⁸⁹. There are different opinions regarding the beginning time of the “Kominka Movement.” One perspective is that the “Kominka Movement” started in September 1936, since at that time Seizo Kobayashi (*Xiaolin Jicao* 小林躋造) replaced Kenzo Nakagawa (*Zhongchuan Jiazang* 中川健藏) as the 17th governor-general of Taiwan, and once he was in office, he proposed “Kominka,” “Industrialization” and “Southbound” as his platform to rule Taiwan. Another perspective considers April 1937 as the beginning of the “Kominka Movement,” since at that time, the Taiwan Government General started to prohibit the Chinese columns in newspapers (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 102; Chou 1996, 164).

“Volunteer Soldier System (*Zhiyuanbing Zhidu* 志願兵制度)”¹⁹⁰ --- did take place during the period while Mu-sheng was studying in his elementary school.

To be more specific, in his memoir, Mu-sheng mentioned many measures used by the education system to strengthen students’ Japanese identity. “During the war time, except for running for shelter whenever the air-raid siren wailed, students had to bid farewell to soldiers, pay homage to the faraway Imperial Palace at the morning rally, say prayers at lunch time to the soldiers at the front, prepare temple offerings at extracurricular hours, and write letters to comfort the soldiers sent to the front. In addition, I also took care of a *kamidana* (*shenpeng* 神棚).¹⁹¹ At that time, instead of portraits, there was a *kamidana* in each classroom. I was in charge of the one in my classroom. Every morning when I got to school, I had to climb a banyan tree to pluck branches, one long and the other short, to replace those put there the day before. Since I climbed up and down the tree every day, until today, I still have a very fresh impression of the tree and its branches” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 49). Besides,

At the inception, the Japanese forces went smoothly. Soon after the war started, they occupied Hong Kong, and in February [1942], they took Singapore, pushing onward with overwhelming momentum. Whenever they

¹⁹⁰. Before Japan launched the Sino-Japanese War, as colonized people, the Taiwanese and the Koreans did not have the obligation to serve in the military. After the “Marco Polo Bridge Incident” broke out in 1937, the Japanese colonial government proclaimed the “Army Special Soldier Order (*Lujun Tebie Zhiyuanbing Ling* 陸軍特別志願兵令)” in Korea in 1938, starting to apply the so-called “Volunteer Soldier System (*Zhiyuanbing Zhidu* 志願兵制度).” In Taiwan, the “Army Special Volunteer Soldier System (*Lujun Tebie Zhiyuanbing Zhidu* 陸軍特別志願兵制度)” which was similar to that in Korea, went into effect in 1942. Nevertheless, since the fall of 1937, the colonial authorities in Taiwan already started to draft civilians to do sundry work in the military. With the escalation and expansion of the Sino-Japanese War, Taiwanese were conscripted as translators, and after training, they were assigned to translate Fukienese, Cantonese and Mandarin (Wan-yao Chou 1996, 183-5).

¹⁹¹. *Kamikana*, a Japanese term, means Shinto altar.

conquered a place, we held flags, gathered at a rally and then marched to celebrate. I remember when Singapore was overcome, every student was given a rubber ball. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 41)

(6.2.4.b) Furthermore, from a relatively micro perspective, to a seven-year-old child who was previously in a “status without apparent consciousness” in terms of national identity, when faced with the colonial government’s systematic project aimed to reshape national identity of Taiwanese, Mu-sheng was not inclined to have much power to resist the reality. Take language for example. Before entering school, Mu-sheng spoke Hoklo at home but nothing in Japanese at all. But, once starting his formal education, he learned Japanese at school (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 33). As a matter of fact, Japanese was the instrumental language for all courses, and if students did not know Japanese, it was impossible for them to learn in other courses. If we take into consideration the connection between language and identity, then the “official language” Mu-sheng had just learned was, obviously, the most important tool when he started to learn and accept the “official identity” imposed by the government.

In addition, the national identity introduced at school was also instilled into Mu-sheng’s daily life, becoming an important criterion for him to judge other fellow students. For example, at that time, Mu-sheng, like his contemporary Taiwanese, had some kind of discrimination against the people from China. He described a little story happened in his daily life:

At that time, something happened and it bothered me a lot. There was a student named You-fu Chen (*Chen You-fu* 陳有福) who was one year my senior. Since he came from China, we all called him China Fu (*Zhina Fu* 支那福). *Due to the influence of the malicious Japanese propaganda against “China,” most students looked down upon him, and I was no*

exception. I did not know why, but he ran into trouble with my older brother, who was a student at Fengshanxi Elementary School (*Fengshangxi Guomin Xuexiao* 鳳山西國民學校), and my bother beat him up. Every time China Fu was beaten up, he came to school to visit upon me, and once he even beat me until I surrendered. I was so timid that I did not strike back, and I did not report to the teacher either. Every time I saw him, or just thought of him, I was frightened. When my brother knew that I had surrendered to “China Fu,” he was so angry, and he said, Chinamen (*Zhinaren* 支那人) were the weakest in the world, and it was a family shame that I even surrendered to the weakest. He wanted me to promise him, from then on, not to surrender to anybody. He said there would be no way to surrender even at the cost of my life. I promised him. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 42; emphasis added)

(6.2.4.c) However, the “Japanese identity” imposed by the colonial government seemed not to work perfectly. On one hand, Mu-sheng clearly understood his status as a Taiwanese, and that the Taiwanese under the Japanese rule were the “discriminated second-class citizens of Japan.” On the other hand, the Wu family had been poor, and due to the influence of the war, the fecund family even had difficulty to put food on the table. Under such circumstances, it was even a luxury to talk about national identity which had nothing to do with the basic necessities of life. Here are some quotes in this regard:

Day in, day out, we were having more and more chances holding the Japanese sun flags, singing military songs, aligning along the road, seeing off the war-bound soldiers with red ribbons inscribed with “forever military destiny (*Wuyun Changjiou* 武運長久).” Before the war, the Japanese considered the Taiwanese ineligible to be Japanese soldiers. However, in 1942, they started to accept the “volunteer Taiwanese soldiers (*Taiwan Zhiyuanbing* 台灣志願兵),” and then the Taiwanese started to get the red “conscription orders.” Eventually, the Japanese were forced to adopt the conscription system. As the war escalated, the destiny of the Taiwanese plummeted. *We all had in our mind that all the Taiwanese soldiers drafted*

were to be sent to Southeast Asia, a man-eating place. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 47-8; emphasis added)

As the war deepened, the scarcity of supplies became worse and worse, and the government started to control food and necessities. The order of priority was first the Japanese, followed by the Taiwanese who changed names, and then the ordinary Taiwanese. Since my family did *not change names*, we were classified as the third-class citizens. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 41; emphasis added)¹⁹²

The teachers at our school frequently made “house visits,” and whether a “kamidana” was set up in a home was often the focus of such visits. Since we did not have one, my mother was often upbraided by the teachers and she had to respond perfunctorily that she would get one next time, and by next time she would do the same. During the Japanese occupation period, we had never had any kamidana. *We were struggling for our daily necessities, how could we afford a kamidana?* (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 41-2; emphasis added)

(6.2.4.d) To sum up, as a child at his early teenage, Mu-sheng did not have the ability to oppose the “Japanese identity” instilled by the colonial government and, imperceptibly, he accomplished the “official” national identity that “I am Japanese.” However, while accomplishing the Japanese identity, he seemed not to forget his own “Taiwanese status,” nor did he ever “stigmatize” his Taiwanese status.

One reference point regarding the matter was Mu-sheng’s poor family background. We can simply compare Mu-sheng’s national identity at this stage with that of Ming-min

¹⁹². In other anthologies of prose beyond his memoir, Mu-sheng also mentions this story. Interestingly, however, Mu-sheng explains his father’s decision to “keep the original names” as follows: “During the war time, many Taiwanese ‘change names,’ but my family did not follow suit, and my name remained Mu-sheng Wu. This did not demonstrate that my family had an intense national consciousness. It was simply because my father was too lazy. He was lazy that he even reported my birth late, a fact that was

Peng during his childhood and adolescence period. Unlike Mu-sheng, who entered public schools with all of his classmates being Taiwanese, Peng studied at elementary schools exclusively designed for the Japanese, and all of his teachers and classmates were Japanese. Under that situation, though Peng performed excellently, he was very sensitive about his difference in ethnicity with his classmates, and eventually he developed the “social stigma type” of national identity --- knowing that he was different from his Japanese classmates, and feeling embarrassed and uncomfortable for the difference. However, in Mu-sheng’s case, he absolutely had no so-called “Japanese classmates” to compare with (all of his classmates were Taiwanese), and he also had something more important in his daily life --- struggling between filling his stomach and going hungry --- to worry about. Under such circumstances, different from Ming-min Peng, Mu-sheng did not show any antipathy against his “Taiwanese status.”

6.3 The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1963)

Starting from 1945, the year that Mu-sheng switched his citizenship from Japan to Republic of China, until he went to the United States to study for his master’s degree in 1963, Mu-sheng lived in Taiwan under the KMT rule for 18 years. During this period, Mu-sheng witnessed the “February 28 Incident” in 1947, finished the junior and senior sections at Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School (*Gaoxiong Gongye Zhiye Xuexiao* 高雄工業職業學校), and after two trials, he finally got into the Department of Chemical Engineering, National Taiwan University. After being discharged from his military

later confirmed when my younger cousin got her voting right earlier than I did” (Mu-sheng Wu 1994a, 328).

service, he served as a chemical engineer at Taiwan Sugar Company (*Taiwan Tangye Gongsì* 台灣糖業公司) for more than four years.

6.3.1 Shifting from Japanese to Chinese

In 1945, World War II ended, and the Taiwanese switched their citizenship from Japan to Republic of China. To the Taiwanese who had been the second-class citizens under the colonial rule for 50 years, the new “motherland” seemed to be their hope to regain their basic dignity. “*My father began to teach us Chinese*, starting from the *Three-Character Classic (Sanzijing 三字經)*. Though the school was still closed, I started to learn to sing the ‘National anthem,’ and ‘.....six million jubilant people, welcoming with food and drink (*liubaiwanmin tongkuaile, hujiang danshi biaohuanying* 六百萬民同快樂，壺漿簞食表歡迎).....’ to welcome the receiving personnel from the motherland. Once in a while, I also heard some Taiwanese saying, ‘It’s so nice being Taiwanese. You can stay with your father and get fed from him, and you can also stay with your mother and get fed from her.’ And some others said, ‘If Japan won, the Taiwanese will be the first-class citizens; if Japan lost, the Taiwanese will still be the first-class citizens.’ It looked like the destiny of the Taiwanese was really good” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 53; emphasis added).

However, the reality seemed to be a far cry from the imaginations and expectations. “After the receiving personnel and the army came, I began to hear like this, ‘Before the newcomers arrived, we did not know how precious the old ones were (*xinde weilai, buzhi jiude hao baoxi* 新的未來，不知舊的好寶惜)’” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 53). “A few days later, *I first saw the Chinese soldiers in Fengshan and was really disappointed,*

because I had seen the Japanese soldiers in the past. The Chinese troops were not in good formation, and their steps were not in unison. Scruffy in appearance, they each seemed to walk to different drumbeats, wearing light brownish green and coarse uniforms, untidy leggings and straw shoes. As if they were not shabby enough, they even carried pots and woks with a pole on their shoulders, and umbrellas as extras” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 53; emphasis added).

Besides, commodity prices fluctuated tumultuously, and paper money turned into rubbish.¹⁹³ “In the market, a bunch was supposed to have ten pieces of one-hundred-dollar note, but usually had only eight or nine instead. The money receivers did not care about the number, since getting one more or fewer piece of rubbish paper did not matter at all. For major transactions such as selling and buying a buffalo, people had to stuff paper money in a flour bag, or a cloth bag. The speed of inflation had come to an astonishing point, as if numerous money printers were running continuously day and night. My father’s irrigation cooperative no longer paid salary monthly on time, and once my father got his salary, the money was not enough to buy anything. As a result, *my family life became even much harder than that during the wartime*. Fortunately, we had a big vegetable garden in the backyard, and we gleaned the leftover from the harvest as our side dishes. There were several farmers living

¹⁹³. Since the Nationalists took over Taiwan, Taiwan had experienced inflation unequaled before and after. In October 1945, the rice price was 3.6 dollars per 0.6 kilogram, in February 1946, the price increased to 16.8 dollars, and in January 1947, it reached 80 dollars. In 15 months, the price increased more than 22 times. In November 1945, Yi Chen, then Taiwan Governor, established the “Taiwan Trading Bureau (*Taiwan Maoyiju* 台灣貿易局),” ignoring the opposition from the Taiwanese people. And in December 1945, he announced that the “Monopoly Bureau (*Zhuanmai ju* 專賣局),” which had been notorious during the Japanese occupation period, would continue to exist. The Trading Bureau oversaw the takeover of Japanese properties, and monopolized all the foreign trade. The Monopoly Bureau monopolized camphor, tobacco, wine, matches, and the supply of measuring instruments. The two bureaus became the major sources of malfeasance, corruption and plunder (Frank Hsiao 1992, 90).

nearby. They often gave us a helping hand, particularly during the harvest period. We ended up being the first-class citizens painstakingly, and were recovered sorrowfully” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 53-4; emphasis added).

Soon after the war, Mu-sheng’s father was transferred to Small Harbor for another position, so the family had to move once again, returning to Mu-sheng’s birthplace Small Harbor. After moving back to Small Harbor, Mu-sheng transferred to Small Harbor Elementary School (*Xiaogang Guomin Xuexiao* 小港國民學校). Though the teachers there did not have sufficient background,¹⁹⁴ with a strong memory, Mu-sheng learned quickly and, in a couple of months, he regained his excellent performance. “My Chinese was taught by Mr. Qi Li (*Li Qi* 李乞), starting from ‘A person has two hands, and there are five fingers in each hand (*ren you liangshou, yi shou wuzhi* 人有二手，一手五指)’ We memorized what we were taught, but did not care about the meanings. Mr. Li also taught history, and his history class started with the myth of Pangu (*Pangu* 盤古) who created the world. Now I certainly thought it was nonsense, but at that time, I juxtaposed the story with Goddess Amaterasu (*Rizhao Dashen* 日照大神)¹⁹⁵ in Japanese history, and I read it with great relish. Since I was the best student in Mr. Li’s class, he adored me. Until today, I still remember vividly his kind smiles. Under the circumstances, I made very good progress in Chinese, thanks largely to Mr.

¹⁹⁴. Among all the teachers at that time, “Mr. Zeng (*Zeng xiansheng* 曾先生) had the highest education. He graduated from Kaohsiung Business and Technical Special School (*Gaoxiong Shanggong Zhuanxiu* 高雄商工專修)(equivalent to junior middle school). Judging from the qualification of teachers, the teaching from teachers to students was tantamount to blind people leading blind people” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 58).

¹⁹⁵. Mu-sheng miswrote the name of this goddess as “*Dazhao Dashen* (大照大神)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 58).

Li's ongoing encouragement" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 58).

In July 1946, Mu-sheng graduated from Small Harbor Elementary School and got into the junior section of "Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School." At that time, "there were seven middle schools in Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung First Middle School (*Gaoxiong Diyi Zhongxue* 高雄第一中學), Kaohsiung Second Middle School (*Gaoxiong Dier Zhongxue* 高雄第二中學), Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School, Kaohsiung Business Vocational School (*Gaoxiong Shangzhi* 高雄商職), Kaohsiung Aquaculture Vocational School (*Gaoxiong Shuizhi* 高雄水職) (just established), Kaohsiung Girls' Middle School (*Gaoxiong Nuzhong* 高雄女中) and Shude Girls' Middle School (*Shude Nuzhong* 叔德女中)(only junior section). Except for Shude that was municipal school, all the rest were provincial schools. Among those schools, I chose Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School, probably having something to do with the fact that my home was next to a sugar plant and a paper factory, and close to Small Harbor and South Japan Industrial District (*Nanriben Gongyequ* 南日本工業區).¹⁹⁶ In view of my family background and my ignorance, the reason was absolutely nothing as noble as to 'save the world.' As a child, I was a follower, not a leader. Not ambitious, I had never cut any cheery tree, nor had I ever had the experience of being hit in the nose by an apple" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 61).

While studying at Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School, Mu-sheng encountered with Chinese teachers for the first time. However, Mu-sheng did not have any high

¹⁹⁶. In other writings beyond his memoir, Mu-sheng also mentioned why he chose to enter a industrial vocational school: "When I was a child, I saw an engineer had a stable family life, and that affected my whole life" (Mu-sheng Wu 1993, 29).

praises for them. “Most of the teachers were Taiwanese, some were Chinese, and quite a few were Japanese (my class teacher was a Japanese). Most of the Taiwanese teachers were middle school, normal school or junior college graduates. *The teachers from China were even worse*, and they used languages other than Hoklo. The one taught us Chinese came from Fuzhou (*Fuzhou* 福州), and his so-called Mandarin seemed to be the Fuzhou language (*Fuzhouhua* 福州話). Strangely, sometimes we understood his so-called Mandarin, though all of us were Taiwanese and none of us knew Mandarin. Our English teacher was by no means any better than our Chinese teacher. The English he taught us was at best Japanese English, in which every alphabet was distinctly pronounced” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 64; emphasis added).

6.3.2 The February 28 Incident in 1947

In the period of regime transition from the old one to the new one, the world outside school was even more troublesome. In particular, the conflicts between the soldiers and the local people seemed endless. “Since Yi Chen was appointed as the Governor, the Taiwanese people had appeared to live in dark days. The abnormal society, pensive people, inflation, and unemployed youths reminded people that something ominous was going to happen. In the streets, the ‘beggar soldiers (*qishibing* 乞食兵)’ swaggering everywhere scared away women and children” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 64). Mu-sheng gave two events that he himself experienced in person:

When I was walking in the street in front of my home with my little brother in my arms, I was struck from behind by a Chinese soldier riding on a bicycle. I had to face my bruises, my brother’s crying and the soldier’s severe swearing. The soldier’s “Chinese curses (*Zhongguo ma* 中國罵)”

concerned me. Though I was unable to comprehend what he was swearing, I sensed that he wanted me to compensate for his damaged bicycle. I took a look at the bicycle and found the problem was with the handle bar. After I adjusted the handle bar, he rode away, still grumbling with his “national curses (*guoma* 國罵).” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 64)

One day, Mr. Pan of the Chinese drugstore across the street was angrily using three-word curses (*sanzijing* 三字經) against a Chinese soldier, who had just returned herd medicine [he bought earlier]. Of course, Mr. Pan did not dare to vent until the soldier had left. Since the herd medicine based on the soldier’s prescription could not be reused, it had to be discarded as trash. In front of the soldier, Mr. Pan did not have the guts to say anything, since the soldier had a gun. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 65)

It was in this background that the February 28 Incident, a shocking event in the history of Taiwan, broke out. Mu-sheng was thirteen, only in his first year in middle school. He had personally experienced the incident, and the following was what happened one day in early March of 1947:

The campus was steeped in a fighting atmosphere, not the same as usual. It was determined that all the students from the second year up (including the second year) be mobilized. I was in my first year, and was “excused.” I saw Mr. Yi-jian Lin (*Lin Yijian* 林宜鍵), a Hakka physics teacher from Meinong (*Meinong* 美濃), Pingtung (*Pingdong* 屏東), making an arousing speech in Japanese on the platform, “..... Principal Liao is the captain, and I am the vice-captain” I saw the senior students moving out Type 38 rifles from the warehouse and putting them on the playground. No one in the school opposed what they were doing. *Though still a young student, I also agreed with their action.* Facing a government totally devoid of conscience and respect for law, what would be the rights of the ordinary people? They had the rights to revolution, but what the kind Taiwanese requested was only a mild reform. Even so, 50 years later, the consequential tribulations they suffered still haven’t been completely rendered into history. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 65; emphasis added)

In the incident, Mu-sheng had an elementary school classmate whose father, on behalf of the Kaohsiung citizens, went to Shoushan (*Shoushan* 壽山) to argue with Meng-chi Peng and was killed. A man from his Small Harbor neighborhood was also killed in Kaohsiung City by a Chinese soldier. In addition, the whole school was undergoing a dramatic change:

After the incident, I went to school and found everything was different. Principal Liao was still imprisoned. We needed five students to guarantee each other in thoughts (*sixiang lianbao* 思想聯保), and two residents of Kaohsiung City to guarantee our thoughts (*sixiang baozheng* 思想保證). The Taiwanese had been fastened with heavy cangues and locks. Later, Principal Liao appeared on campus, walking with difficulty, as it was said, a result of having been bound with an iron rope [while being kept in prison]. What a pity. Principal Liao had been on the job for only a few months, what he got was a plight in prison, simply because he was the elite among the Taiwanese.

Soon afterwards, the gang of Shandong (*Shandong Bang* 山東幫) came to take over the school. All the positions of principal, director of studies, director of students and director of general affairs were all taken by the people from Shandong.

The school invited a commentator to deliver a speech. He said resolutely that the February 28 Incident was launched by the Communists. According to him, in Chinese, the words “February 28 (*er erba* 二二八)” could be combined to form as the “Com (*gong* 共)” in Communists and hence the conclusion. How ridiculous it was. Not only was his way of disintegrating the word structure ridiculous, even the February 28 was also named by the KMT. In fact, it took place on February 27. If the February 28 Incident was really instigated by the Communists, as argued by the KMT,

then the KMT was in effect the Communist Party.¹⁹⁷

After the incident, the Taiwanese were silenced and no longer opened their mouths. Without a guarantee in thoughts, we were not allowed to register [at school]. This regulation almost became my nightmare, since we did not have any relatives in Kaohsiung City. For several times, finding guarantors and raising the money to register almost forced me to think about quitting school. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 66-7)

6.3.3 Life in Middle and High Schools

While studying at the junior section of Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School, Mu-sheng liked to read novels whenever he had spare time. “Because we lived close to the sugar plant, and most of my friends were children of the plant employees, checking out books from the sugar plant library was very convenient. The library was located on the bank of the Company Creek (*Huishe Xizi* 會社溪仔) next to the sugar plant. I frequented the library and checked out books. I found I was very interested in novels, and I read a lot, mostly in either Chinese or Japanese, such as *All Men Are Brothers* (*Shuihuzhuang* 水滸傳), *Pilgrims to the West* (*Xiyouji* 西遊記), *The History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi* 三國誌), *The Northward Expedition of Tong Luo* (*Luotong Saobei* 羅通掃北), *The Eastward Expedition of Rengui Xue* (*Xue Rengui Zhengdong* 薛仁貴征東), *A Complete Romance of the Tang Dynasty* (*Shuotang Quanzhuan* 說唐全傳), *Oliver Twist*, *Les Misérables*, etc. Anyway, I read everything that I could possibly borrow. At

¹⁹⁷. Before martial law was lifted in Taiwan in 1987, the “February 28 Incident” had been a sensitive taboo. Most people would not dare to talk about it, and most scholars related to the field would not dare to study it, either. Under such circumstances, according to the persistent official propaganda, the incident was instigated and launched by the Chinese Communists. For KMT’s official explanations regarding the “February 28 Incident,” refer to those works summarized in Lai, Myers and Wei (1991, 4-5).

that time, my comprehension levels in both Japanese and Chinese were not good enough, and my reading efficiency was really low. Mostly, I only knew partially of what I read, and I frequently had to figure out the content of the story by half guessing. Though my guessing did not come out right all the time, my fervent desire to read never diminished” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 71).

By this time, the financial situation of Mu-sheng’s family did not improve at all. They were still very poor, and sometimes they even did not have anything to cook. “Often time we were worried about how to put food on the table, yet we still managed to survive. Fortunately, life was continuous and resilient. Otherwise, we might have died many times. When we ran out of rice or sweet potatoes, we went to the field to pick up thorny amaranths (*Cixingzi* 刺杏仔), bird amaranths (*Niaoxingzi* 鳥杏仔), other wild greens or sweet potato leaves to cook. The worst situation was to steal sugar canes (also called white sugar canes) in the plantation field. My mother always said that Taiwan would not starve any people” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 72).

In early July, 1949, Mu-sheng graduated from the junior section of Kaohsiung Technical School. “After graduation, I did not have a strong intention to continue to study, primarily because my parents completely did not express any opinions, and I did not know whether my family financial situations would allow me to further study. If I decided to discontinue my study and to make money as a temporary laborer, my parents would not oppose, but I was reluctant to do so. Facing this situation, I did some preparation, but not in real earnest, even after I registered for the examinations, since a registration did not mean taking the examinations. Time finally solved my problem. Under the situation that my parents did not say anything against my continuous studies, I

entered the high school section, though I was not satisfied with what I did in the examinations” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 75).

In high school, Mu-sheng for the first time had the real experience with Mainlanders. “Among the new classmates, five of them were ‘Mainlanders.’ This was the first time I had ‘Mainlander’ classmates around. We got along with each other and we never had any quarrels, *but we did not spend much time together*” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 76; emphasis added).

Following his reading habit during junior section years, Mu-sheng still loved to read novels. “I crammed only before examinations. During my extracurricular hours or on holidays, as long as I did not do farm chores or participate in sports and games, I devoted myself to reading novels, mostly translated editions. I liked French and Russian writers’ works better. Later, due to thoughts control, many books were banned [by the KMT government]. I did not read banned books, because I was a mellow model student under the KMT’s education. *I did not have any courage to rebel, though I had some dissatisfaction buried deep in my heart*” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77; emphasis added).

This was the early period of the 1950s, a time when the KMT was having a stand-off with the Communist Party, and the so-called “White Terror (*Baise Kongbu* 白色恐怖)” was permeating in every corner in Taiwan.¹⁹⁸ “At that time, political persecution happened all the time, either far away, or close to home. Our chemistry teacher, Mr. Yin (*Yin laoshi* 尹老師), was a young ‘Mainlander,’ probably just graduated from college.

¹⁹⁸. For related research regarding the White Terror in Taiwan during the 50s, refer to Bo-zhou Lan (1993b); Fang-sang Lu (1999a, 1999b); Ming-hsiong Shih (1998); Taiwan Provincial Historical Documents Commission (1998a); Yi-jun Ye (2000); and Xun-hui Zeng (2000).

Knowledgeable and good at basketball, he was well respected and loved by students. One day, without due cause, he disappeared. After a long period of time, he came back with crippling feet. He was no longer able to run in the basketball yard, and sometimes I found him shooting the hoops by himself. Furthermore, it was also said that Ming-ying Chen (*Chen Mingying* 陳明英), an older student who used to beat us up during my first year in middle school, along with Zhen-cheng Yang (*Yang Zhencheng* 楊振成)(also from Small Harbor), surrendered themselves to the public security authorities and were luckily vindicated. Also compromised in the same case was Mr. Xie (*Xie laoshi* 謝老師), a physical education teacher and a prominent figure in the volleyball field. There was another student named Chen whose father was imprisoned, simply because he ‘knowingly failed to report the Communist agents to the authorities and was held responsible for the same crime (*zhifei bubao yudie tongzui* 知匪不報與匪同罪),’ a practice at the time that terrified everyone. Deep in my mind, I thought rather than these patriotic young people, *those officials who created the environment that pushed them to the Communist side in thoughts were to be condemned*” (Mu-sheng Mu-sheng 2000, 77; emphasis added).

At school, the faculty quality at the senior section was obviously much better. Meanwhile, Mu-sheng had two good teachers who influenced his whole life. “There were two teachers that I must mention: my Chinese teacher Ms. Yi-ting Mao (*Mao Yiting* 毛儀庭) and my analytical chemistry teacher Ms. Shu-xiu Wang (*Wang Shuxie* 王淑秀), who used to be our department director. Due to Ms. Mao’s encouragement, I devoted much time to Chinese literature and made remarkable progress. Ms. Wang was really a

model teacher. She taught with enthusiasm and always spared some time to talk with students even though she was busy. She encouraged me to take the college entrance examinations. Once I went to see her at her home at Xinxing District (*Xinxing Qu* 新興區), discussing about going to college and the problem of money. She said, ‘There are two kinds of poverty: extreme poverty and slight poverty. Extreme poverty means your family relies on you for support, and slight poverty means your family can not support you financially, but you do not need to help your family, either.’ She continued, ‘You can go to college if your family is in slight poverty, but you can’t if your family is in extreme poverty.’ Her words enhanced my determination to go to college. When I got married after graduating from college, she was the only guest who made a congratulatory speech at my wedding” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 78-9).

At the end of 1951, Mu-sheng suddenly decided to take the college entrance examinations, and the time for him to prepare for was shorter than eight months. “All my life I have been sticking to several principles, one of them being ‘You either don’t do it at all, or do it to its fullest.’ Now that I decided to take the college entrance examinations, I had to do some preparation, not to mention that as a vocational school student, to get into the narrow college gate, I had to bone up several times harder to compete with the regular school students. Therefore, I set up a rule for myself to sleep at twelve midnight and get up at five, sleeping five hours a day until I passed the examinations” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 82). At any rate, in the summer, Mu-sheng took the entrance examinations of Tainan College of Engineering (*Tainan Gongxueyuan* 台南工學院) and National Taiwan University, but he failed in both.

After having failed in the entrance examinations, how should Mu-sheng whose

family was poor do? “Some of my relatives suggested that I go to work as a temporary laborer at the sugar plant, and they mentioned some successful elders who started as temporary employees to encourage me. For my parents, mum was the word; they did not express any opinions at all. I wondered that they wanted me to work and help the family, since my younger brother was attending Kaohsiung Middle School then. However, I insisted that ‘You either don’t do it, or do it to its fullest.’ I wanted to take the college entrance examinations one more time. Since I wanted to go to college, so I went to see Ms. Shu-xiu Wang again. She reiterated that slight poverty should not prevent me from getting into a college, and again I was greatly encouraged by her” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 84).

In the summer of 1953, Mu-sheng took the entrance examinations one more time, and this time he succeeded and got into the Department of Chemical Engineering¹⁹⁹ at National Taiwan University --- the only comprehensive university²⁰⁰ in Taiwan at that time.

6.3.4 National Taiwan University

After Mu-sheng passed the examination and got into the Department of Chemical

¹⁹⁹. It was indeed very difficult for vocational school graduates to get into a college, as Mu-sheng (1993, 30) himself describes the event as follows: “Finally, I got into the Department of Chemical Engineering at National Taiwan University, an accomplishment with no predecessors and no successors at Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School.” He did not exaggerate; it was truly very difficult.

²⁰⁰. Except for National Taiwan University, there were only three other independent colleges in Taiwan at that time, which were: Tainan College of Engineering [now National Chengkung University (*Guoli Chenggong Daxue* 國立成功大學)], Taichung College of Agriculture (*Taizhong Nongxueyuan* 台中農學院)[now National Chunghsin University (*Guoli Zhongxing Daxue* 國立中興大學)], and Taipei Normal College (*Taibei Shifan Xueyuan* 台北師範學院)[now National Taiwan Normal University (*Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue* 國立台灣師範大學)](Mu-sheng Wu 1994, 34).

Engineering at National Taiwan University, “my father changed a lot. He no longer went on the binge. In fact, he had awakened from alcoholism and said many responsible words, something I had never heard of before. He was very proud and was living in the congratulations from the villagers. Except that I was going to study at Taihoku Imperial University (*Taipei Dida* 台北帝大)²⁰¹ (at that time the villagers were still calling National Taiwan University this way), my younger brother was also attending Kaohsiung Middle School” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 89).

Overall, National Taiwan University was a romantic university steeped in freedom. “President Ssu-nien Fu (*Fu Sinian* 傅斯年) just passed away, and it was Su-liang Chien’s (*Qian Siliang* 錢思亮) first year as president. At that time, the people in Taipei simply called this school the University (*Daxue* 大學), instead of National Taiwan University. To a hillbilly like me, National Taiwan University was indeed very huge. The palm trees on the expanse campus, the azaleas, the Fu Bell (*Fuzhong* 傅鐘), the Fu Garden (*Fuyuan* 傅園), the office building, Halls No. 1 & 2 and Hall of College of Literatures were so grandiose that I was completely satisfied and transfixed. Everything was new, and everything was hopeful. I felt so lucky to be able to live and study in this environment for four years. Without any doubt, I was going to change my disposition and character in this beautiful environment” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 94).

During Mu-sheng’s first semester at NTU, one of his classmates went to the United States to study. “It was said that, to facilitate Cheng Chen’s (*Chen Cheng* 陳誠) son,

²⁰¹. The predecessor of National Taiwan University was “Taihoku Imperial University” which was established by the Japanese colonial government in 1928 (Wen-xing Wu 1994, 94-6). Though after the KMT took over Taiwan, the name had changed, many people still used the old name to call the university.

Li-an Chen (*Chen Luan* 陳履安), to go to study in the United States, the KMT government changed the policy of studying abroad for two years, and 1953 was the first year. Before that, high school graduates were not allowed to go abroad” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 98). Mu-sheng’s comment on this event was: “The KMT was really lawless and godless (*wufa-wutian* 無法無天)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 98)!

Starting in 1954, the KMT’s intelligence system began to extend into campuses. “To control thoughts at that time, the military officers in charge of political propaganda (*zhenggong rennyuan* 政工人員) started to get involved in school education. Then the dormitory management policy was changed, and dormitory proctors were replaced by military instructors (*jiaoguan* 教官). The students were not friendly toward the new military instructors, and they had posters like “Military instructors get out (*jiaoguan gunchuqu* 叫棺滾出去)”²⁰² pasted in the restrooms, but their protest did not last long. Probably also in this year, all the college students in Taipei City were assembled in the playground of the Armed Forces (*Sanjun Qiuchang* 三軍球場). While presided over by Chiang Kai-shek, all of them were forced to join the China Youth Corps (*Qiuguotuan* 救國團).²⁰³ Meanwhile, colleges started to offer military training courses and, as a result,

²⁰². “Jiaoguan (叫棺),” homophone of “military instructor (*jiaoguan* 教官),” means “calling the casket” literally.

²⁰³. The whole name of the “China Youth Corps” was the “China Youth Anti-Communists and National-Salvation Corps (*Zhongguo Qingnian Fangong Jiuguotuan* 中國青年反共救國團).” After retreating to Taiwan, the ranking officials of the KMT thought that one of the reasons that they failed in Mainland China was that they could not control the young students, as Chiang Ching-kuo said, “Our youths were disarmed spiritually, and our youth organizations were disintegrated.” Thus, in April 1950, the KMT government established the “Chinese Youth Anti-Aggression League (*Zhongguo Qingnian Fangong Kanger Lianhehui* 中國青年反共抗俄聯合會),” and started to train staff in Beitou (*Beitou* 北投). In October 1952, the China Youth Corps was formally established, with Chiang Kai-shek as president and

colleges were no longer the places purely for academic research and the pursuit of knowledge. The romantic atmosphere on campuses and dormitories gradually diminished, replaced by thought control and military control, and the intelligence system formally entered college campuses” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 101).

Through Mu-sheng’s four years at NTU, he did not show much interest in politics. In the only one “political” event, though he played an important role in it, he did not participate in this event intentionally. It happened in Mu-sheng’s senior year when the dormitory was holding an election for resident advisor (*sushe zongganshi* 宿舍總幹事). Unbeknownst to him, one of Mu-sheng’s roommates nominated him when he was not there:

One day, having been busy preparing for an experiment related to my graduation thesis, I came back to the dormitory after seven o’clock, only to be congratulated by my roommates that I was elected resident advisor. I was totally befuddled. It turned out that one of my roommates had nominated me as a candidate for resident advisor of Dormitory No. 10, and I got elected with the most votes. In the past, the one with the most votes naturally won the position and the right to form a cabinet. However, the situation this year was totally different, since the political branch (*zhengzhi danwei* 政治單位) intended to extend its power to dormitories. The KMT secretly nominated Liu, a student who had been booting out by the Air Force Academy (*Kongjun Guanxiao* 空軍官校) and was assigned to study at National

Chiang Ching-kuo as director. Chiang Ching-kuo continued to serve as director for 23 years until 1972, when he handed the position over to Huan Li (*Li Huan* 李喚). In July, 1953, the Executive Yuan announced: “All students in and above high school should receive military training at school, and the Ministry of National Defense will establish China Youth Corps to carry out school military training.” Starting in July 1960, the military training job was reassigned to the Military Training Department, the Ministry of Education, and all the military instructors became affiliated with the Ministry of Education. As a result, the KMT fulfilled its control of the student system in Taiwan (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 120; Wakabayashi 1994, 120).

For more detailed research regarding the China Youth Corps, refer to Nai-teh Wu (1987, 125-75) and Brindley (1999).

Taiwan University, as a candidate for resident advisor. Because they desperately wanted to win, they campaigned compulsively hard for him. When they found their candidate was defeated ignominiously, they were exasperated and thought someone must be against them deliberately. On that night, those candidates with higher votes were called to the military instructor's room, and he intended to change the rule of game, asking us to form a cabinet and elect one as resident advisor. Of course, I opposed his behavior of changing the rule of game after the election. Later, my roommates were simply outrageous, and other students in the dormitory were also irritated. Some of my roommates even went to argue with the military instructor, yet to no avail. I myself also went to see him again. *What we were arguing was a matter of right or wrong, not a matter of resident advisor. Frankly speaking, not only was I not interested in being a resident advisor, the position was actually repugnant to me.* He then repeatedly told me that he graduated from the Department of Law at Zhaoyang University (*Zhaoyang Daxue* 朝陽大學), and he tried to make a point that “no Zhaoyang, no law (*meiyou Zhaoyang jiu meiyou falu* 沒有朝陽就沒有法律).” Having just taken the Higher and Junior Civil Service Examinations, I did read the constitution and some laws. I told him there were written laws and unwritten laws, and unwritten laws were consuetudinary laws. Ever since the dormitory opened, resident advisor had always been the one with the most votes in the election, and he had the right to form a cabinet. We argued back and forth for quite a while. Though contending vociferously, we tried very hard to control our emotions. Finally, we reached an agreement: I assumed the position of resident advisor, while other candidates with high votes became my cabinet members. Honestly, the election should be invalid, since I did not run for the position at all. It was only a prank played by one of my roommates. However, I did not protest at the critical point, for fear that my roommate might be punished. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 120-1; emphasis added)

In general, Mu-sheng led a happy college life during the four years. “My college life was the most unforgettable in my life. It was four years without knowing the taste of sorrow, without any worry and care in the world, and it was free, romantic, idyllic,

with friendship uncompromised by interests, and with youth that I enjoyed with abandon. Its biggest shortcoming was that ‘there was no social conscience (*shehui liangxin* 社會良心),’ which made me feel so regretful. The society seemed so far away and beyond touch. When Yu-shu Kao (*Gao Yushu* 高玉樹) ran for mayor of Taipei City, we used to chant and wave flags for him, but that was a rare and independent occasion. Looking back, I did have a bountiful life during the four years, yet with a suggestion of regrets” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 126-7).

6.3.5 Air Force Reserve Officer

In the summer of 1957, right after graduating from college, Mu-sheng was enlisted to fulfill his military obligation. “I was assigned to the Air Force, with basic training held at the Air Force Preparatory School (*Kongjun Zhunbei Xuexiao* 空軍預備學校) located at East Harbor (*Donggang* 東港), originally the East Harbor Airport (*Donggang Jichang* 東港機場) during the Japanese occupation period” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 133). After three months’ basic training, Mu-sheng was assigned to the Air Force Academy to receive professional training as a photography officer. “The reserve officers in our class had education backgrounds in physics, chemistry and chemical engineering. In addition to the more than ten reserve officers, there were four Navy officers joining us. The main courses of our training were: photography, developing, drying, enlargement, photo-reading and map-reading” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 136).

In April 1958, Mu-sheng reported for duty in Taoyuan (*Taoyuan* 桃園). “I was assigned to the Photo Center of the Sixth Air Force Group (*Kongjun Diliu Dadui* 空軍第

六大隊)。 Our mission was to read the photos taken from air over Mainland China, and then, based on the nature of mission, dispatched them to various places, mainly the Air Force Headquarters (*Kongjun Zongbu* 空軍總部), the Cooperated Operation Center (*Lianhe Zuozhan Zhongxin* 聯合作戰中心) and U.S. Thirteenth Air Group (*Meijun Dishisan Hangkongdui* 美軍第十三航空隊)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 137). The workload was easy, and Mu-sheng had a lot of extra time. So, “I developed activities beyond the Air Force Base, teaching high school chemistry at the nearby Dayuang Middle School (*Dayuan Zhongxue* 大園中學), and tutoring in Taoyuang and Taipei” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 138). During the period, Mu-sheng started to correspond with his future wife --- Wen-zhi Hong (*Hong Wenzhi* 洪文治), and gradually fell in love with her.

Generally, this was a peaceful and happy period of days, during which Mu-sheng got along with his military comrades. “During the period I served as a reserve officer in Taoyuan, my days were joyful and full of colors. If I said I lived in paradise, it was absolutely no exaggeration. I had a girlfriend, and I also made many friends in the military, including the photo boss (*zhaoxiangzhang* 照相長), Qi-xian Wang (*Wang Qixian* 王錡銑), Sergeant Hua-shun Li (*Li Huashun* 李華順) who delivered the photo [for our center], and conscript Ji-cai You (*You Jicai* 游技財) who invited me to stay over at his home in Taoyuan. Hua-shun Li was a career soldier and, like Qi-xian Wang, a wonderful gentleman. Both of them were single in Taiwan. Unfortunately, after my discharge from military, I lost contact with them” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 139).

6.3.6 The Days at Taiwan Sugar Company

Mu-sheng was discharged from his military service in March 1959, and soon after that, he was engaged to Wen-zhi Hong. Less than one month after his engagement, Mu-sheng started to work for Taiwan Sugar Company. He first trained at the Tanzi Training Center (*Tanzi Xunliansuo* 潭子訓練所) in Taichung, and then reported for duty at Small Harbor Sugar Plant (*Xiaogang Tangchang* 小港糖廠), becoming a formal employee of Taiwan Sugar Company. However, for the first formal job after graduation, Mu-sheng seemed not to have too much prospect. According to him:

At this moment, I was supposed to be full of joy, since the sugar plant was a company I had longed for since I was a little boy. The plant was fraught with many of my childhood imaginations, and I used to stroll along its perimeter, not able to get inside the gate. What circumscribed within the gate were stability, nice pay, excellent benefits, and a nice today with a more promising tomorrow. Like an orphan looking at a family in the distance where everything is taken care of by the parents, I could not help but sigh.

However, at this moment, I was full of grudge but had no way to vent, and my heart was filled with reluctance. My childhood affection toward the sugar plant no longer existed. I had grown up, and I had different view of value. At that time, I had great expectations about myself. I wanted to do something in the field of chemical engineering, with a sort of passion possessed by a young man who newly graduated from college. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 141)

Mu-sheng was very unsatisfied with the outdated chemical engineering process and the old machine at Small Harbor Sugar Plant, so he voluntarily applied to be transferred to “Kaohsiung By-products Processing Factory (*Gaoxiong Fuchanpin Jiagongchang* 高雄副產品加工廠)” which was under construction. “Not too long, I received an order to

transfer. I was so happy to be able to switch from a moribund old plant to an energetic, young and vibrant preparatory site. I like the preparatory site, not because of the manufacturing process or machine at the artificial plastic board plant (*renzao sujiaban gongchang* 人造塑膠板工廠), but because of the excitement to make things happen out of nothing, and the opportunity to construct a new factory out of a barren field with a group of young people. I was really so cheerful” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 143-4).

After being transferred to the preparatory site of Kaohsiung By-products Processing Factory, Wu-sheng happened to listen to the radio and know the news with great impact. “Then, I heard from the radio that China was developing atomic bombs, and *I was certain that the KMT’s hope to recover the Mainland had been reduced to a pipe dream*, though the slogans of ‘Anti-Communists’ and ‘Kill Mao and Zhu’ were still ubiquitous. That was the summer of 1959. The news that China was developing atomic bombs was indeed a significant impact on me, and I still remember how shocking it was when I heard of it at the guest house” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 145; emphasis added).

In February 1960, Mu-sheng and Wen-zhi Hong tied the knot. In December of the following year, their son Qiao-bin (*Qiaobin* 喬彬) was born. “The baby had jaundice, and had hair all over his body, a colloquial sign of ox reincarnation. I was extremely happy that the baby had no defects and both the mother and the baby were doing fine. Thus, on December 28, I became a father. While excited, I also felt the concomitant responsibility” (Mu-sheng Mu-sheng 2000, 174).

No long after his son’s birth, the construction project of Kaohsiung By-products Processing Factory was accomplished, and the factory was put into operation. “I started to work on my shift, and everything became routine, no more excitement, no more

stimuli. I thought about the future: if I continued to do the current work, the future was a mere extension of the present. Life should not be solely for survival, and I should not put a sign of rest in my life at this point. Everyone should cultivate his or her ability to its fullest. Otherwise, wouldn't it be a waste of talent bestowed on by God and one's parents" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 176)? Besides, staying with Taiwan Sugar Company, in Mu-sheng's situation, would not only deprive him of his promising career opportunities based on his chemical engineering expertise, it also provided two hurdles in terms of his promotion:

The road of "promotion" was already bumpy enough. Worse yet, I had two more fatal obstacles: *I was Taiwanese and I was not a member of the KMT*. I could not change the former (even if it was changeable, I would not change either, since my grassroots sense died hard). For the latter, I was simply too proud to mingle with the bad influences.

To say that I was Taiwanese and I was not a member of the KMT, and that they were two fatal obstacles in my promotion, was absolutely not groundless. At that time, at Taiwan Sugar Company, there were quite few Taiwanese who had a position of section chief or higher. For example, at Kaohsiung By-products Processing Factory, only Wen-rui Li (*Li Wenrui* 李文瑞), an old gentleman responsible for purchasing, belonged to this category. Except for Li, all those Taiwanese with higher positions were members of the KMT. At Kaohsiung By-products, there was an engineer named Wen-ying Liang (*Liang Wenying* 梁文穎), who graduated from the Department of Mechanical Engineering, National Taiwan University, and probably four or five years my senior. At that time, he was still a very low-ranking engineer, while his "Mainlander" classmates were already section chiefs or directors. Once, "they (*tamen* 他們)" tried to persuade him to join the KMT for the sake of easier promotion. "They" also gave him the information package and application forms, asking him to write a report after reading the speeches of top KMT leaders. A few days later, he returned to "them" the package and all the data intact. He had decided not to be considered for promotion.

Take another case. Guang-chao Zheng (*Zheng Guangchao* 鄭光超) and I got into Kaohsiung By-products at the same time. Since he was a mechanical engineering graduate from a three-year college, while I graduated from a four-year university and had also passed the Higher Civil Service Examination already, I was two grades higher than he was in the beginning. However, after three evaluations, he was already my equal. My boss told me that I was not supposed to get A's for two years in a row, but Zheng, who was also under his supervision, was not restricted by the rule. I admitted that I was not a super engineer, neither was Zheng. I thought that if we were replaced by any two other mechanical and chemical engineers, Kaohsiung By-products would keep running, and the quality of its products would not become inferior, and the production volume would not be reduced as a result, either. *The only difference between Zheng and me was that he was a KMT member and a "Mainlander."* (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 153-4; emphasis added)

However, other than continuing to stay at Kaohsiung By-products, did Mu-sheng, who already had a wife and a child, have other choices? After thorough consideration, Mu-sheng made a decision to go abroad to study:

While I was flummoxed at the crossroads of life, a very unusual but pragmatic idea crossed my mind. The idea was so constructive that it reinvigorated my heart, telling me not to circumscribe myself. There are intentions that are initially considered infeasible. But in reality, they can be carried out with only a little more difficulty. The feeling of difficulty in mind often aggravates the difficulty in real action tens of thousands of times. The road of ideals is already narrow enough. Still, we frequently make much ado about nothing, moving a big rock to block it. Thus, I encouraged myself that human effort can achieve anything, and I also used my precedent of successfully taking the college entrance examinations to reinforce my self-confidence. Before taking the college entrance examinations, if I had known it was so difficult for a vocational school graduate, I must have given up.

To go abroad to study or not to go abroad to study, the final decision became

much easier gradually. Judging from my character and background, if I chose the latter, eventually I would be afflicted with a long-term depression, and my life would become very dismal. The case of my forerunner Wen-ying Liang mirrored what I would be. Thus, I made up my mind to go abroad to study. Step by step, I would overcome every difficulty along my way and then continue to move forward. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 154-5)

In June 1962, not long after Mu-sheng started to prepare to go abroad to study, he was hit by the unfortunate news --- his son Qiao-bin had contracted polio. “Qiao-bin’s disease caused me to give up the idea of going abroad to study, since I thought he would need more love from me as a compensation for his defects, and his psychological construction also needed my help. My wife had opinions to the contrary. She thought the disease was occasioned by my decision to go abroad, and thus I should carry out the plan with an even more powerful will, not to mention that Qiao-bin’s rehabilitation and therapy would be better taken care of in the United States, where the medical technology was on the cutting edge. I was persuaded by my wife” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 180).

In September 1963, Mu-sheng bade his wife and son good-bye, and was alone on his way to study abroad, with his destination being the University of Mississippi in the United States.

6.3.7 A Description of National Identity during the Period

In this section, I shall first describe Mu-sheng’s content of national identity during this period, and then, in the section that follows, I shall try to discover the reasons that he embraced this kind of national identity. In other words, different from the “description” in this section, the next section will focus on “explanation.”

In 1945, the KMT took over Taiwan from the defeated Japanese, an event that also

marked the start of the days Mu-sheng was under the KMT rule. However, in terms of national identity, except for the initial period the KMT just took over Taiwan, during which Mu-sheng had a short-term Chinese identity, he seemed to have a strong Taiwanese identity all the time. He used to describe the development of his national identity as follows:

At any time, the Taiwan complex (*Taiwan jie* 台灣結) and the China complex (*Zhongguo jie* 中國結) seemed never to cause problems in any part of my body. *It looked like that I had been entwined with the Taiwan complex ever since I was born*, thought right after the war, I did seriously learned to sing songs to welcome the Nationalist army to station in Taiwan. Perhaps after the February 28 Incident, my thoughts had undergone significant changes. (Mu-sheng Wu 1993, 133; emphasis added)

In my memory, ever since the February 28 Incident, my thoughts of Taiwan independence had never been modified or changed. (Mu-sheng Mu-sheng 2000, 210)

Therefore, in Mu-sheng's life history, basically, there was no such a clear axis pointing to the change from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity. He seemed to realize that, when he saw the February 28 Incident in person in his first year at middle school, he already had Taiwanese identity. I shall use the term "naïve Taiwanese consciousness" to summarize Mu-sheng's content of national identity during this period. Essentially, Mu-sheng's "naïve Taiwanese consciousness" was composed of the following three elements: the "anti-KMT consciousness" as a political identity, the "Taiwanese consciousness" as an ethnic identity, and the consciousness to "keep politics at a distance" in behavior. I shall elucidate as follows.

(6.3.7.a) In terms of political identity, Mu-sheng had a compelling "*anti-KMT*

consciousness” during this period. In the autobiography, we can handily find his words of extreme dissatisfaction with the KMT government. Though we are under the impression that he used the “self when he was writing the autobiography” to reflect on the “self in the past,” and as a TIM supporter or even an activist, he certainly had strong dissatisfaction with the KMT regime when writing the autobiography. Since he used this perspective to describe what happened in the past, it is very easy to let the readers (or even the author himself) construe that “Mu-sheng in the past had always had the anti-KMT thoughts.” However, since description of such anti-KMT consciousness was ubiquitous in the autobiography, I believe, when Mu-sheng was studying and working in Taiwan, he definitely had extreme disgust at the “Mainlander” government already.

When he was in the junior section of the middle school, the February 28 Incident broke out. After witnessing the way his middle school teacher mobilized students to “fight” with the KMT government, Wu-sheng has the following comments in his autobiography:

I saw the senior students moving out Type 38 rifles from the warehouse and putting them on the playground. No one in the school opposed what they were doing. Though still a young student, I also agreed with their action. *Facing a government totally devoid of conscience and respect for law, what would be the rights of the ordinary people?* They had the rights to revolution, but what the kind Taiwanese requested was only a mild reform. Even so, 50 years later, the consequential tribulations they suffered still haven’t been completely rendered into history. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 65; emphasis added)

When he was in senior high school, Mu-sheng personally experienced the “White Terror” in the 1950s. Some of his classmates, teachers and the father of a classmate were arrested in cases related to “Communist agents.” Towards the events, he thought,

“Deep in my mind, I thought rather than these patriotic young people, those officials who created the environment that pushed them to the Communist side in thoughts were to be condemned” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77).

In 1953, when Mu-sheng was in his college freshman year, one of his classmates went to study in the United States. To facilitate Cheng Chen’s son Li-an Chen to go to the United States to study, the KMT government had just changed the policy for studying abroad for two years, allowing high school graduates to go abroad for further study. For this, Mu-sheng has the following comment: “The KMT was really lawless and godless” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 98)! One year later, to facilitate a full control in thoughts by the KMT, the military officers in charge of political propaganda started to get involved in the school education system. Meanwhile, as a result of policy change in dormitory administration, dormitory proctors were replaced by military instructors. For this, Mu-sheng makes the comment as follows: “[C]olleges were no longer the places purely for academic research and the pursuit of knowledge. The romantic atmosphere on campuses and dormitories gradually diminished, replaced by thought control and military control, and the intelligence system formally entered college campuses” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 101).

When Mu-sheng was working at Taiwan Sugar Company, in terms of his colleagues in the personnel department who were responsible for personnel arrangement and thought control, he comments them in the following way:

Except for those who worked at the personnel department, I was pretty satisfied with the colleagues I worked with at Kaohsiung By-products. The reason that I did not like the personnel department was: other than doing personnel administration work, they also handled security in thought control. *Those who handled security in thought control were commonly regarded as*

evil, dirty and treacherous, and only certain type of people would do such things. In general, they were low in character, not knowledgeable, and they liked to cut corners. The people at the personnel office of Kaohsiung By-products were no exceptions or even worse, frequently showing their pretense, and sometimes even acting surreptitiously with abominable expressions. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 145; emphasis added)

(6.3.7.b) Moreover, to some degree, Mu-sheng also embraced a very strong “*Taiwanese consciousness*” during this period. He was not hostile to Mainlanders.²⁰⁴ However, he did deliberately acknowledge his own status of being Taiwanese, and he also clearly realized the inequality between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. For example, the principal of Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School was originally Taiwanese, but during the February 28 Incident, the Taiwanese principal was arrested, then “the gang of Shandong came to take over the school. All the positions of principal, director of studies, director of students and director of general affairs were all taken by the people from Shandong” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 66).

Let’s take another example. When he mentioned about the possibility of “promotion” at Taiwan Sugar Company, Mu-sheng clearly pointed out that he had two fatal obstacles. On the one hand, he was Taiwanese. For this, “I could not change (even if it was changeable, I would not change either, since my grassroots sense died hard)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 153). On the other hand, he was not a member of the KMT. “I

²⁰⁴. For evidence to support the statement that Mu-sheng was not deliberately hostile to Mainlanders, we can find several examples in his autobiography. First, in senior high school, he had five Mainlander classmates, which was his first experience to be with Mainlanders. “We got along with each other and we never had any quarrels” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 76). Second, when Mu-sheng discusses about the “White Terror” during the 1950s, he mentions particularly about Mr. Yin --- a teacher well respected by students but was persecuted politically by the government --- who was also a Mainlander (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77). Last, when he served in the military, he was very happy working with his Air Force comrades, though most of them were Mainlanders (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 139).

was simply too proud to mingle with the bad influences” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 153).

Basically, the reason that he later decided to go abroad for further study, to some extent, was because he realized the fact that he was a “discriminated Taiwanese.” When he received his first letter from home after going abroad, he sighed:

It was only a short aerogramme, but it took me almost one hour to finish reading, along with streaming hot tears and a broken heart, of course. *This was the sorrow of being Taiwanese*, and also a price I had to pay for the purpose of my future. Because I did not want to join the KMT and I was Taiwanese, and I was unwilling to become a second Wen-ying Liang the engineer, I had to desert my wife and my son. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 199; emphasis added)

(6.3.7.c) Third, psychologically, Mu-sheng was extremely dissatisfied with the KMT regime, and he had a Taiwanese consciousness to some extent. However, just like most Taiwanese under the KMT rule, at the “behavioral level,” he consciously took *measures to keep politics at a distance*. As he says in his autobiography, “I did not read banned books, because I was a mellow model student under the KMT’s education. I did not have any courage to rebel, though I had some dissatisfaction buried deep in my heart” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77). For example, though Mu-sheng had some teachers and classmates in high school who were arrested during the period of “White Terror,” none of his family or immediate relatives were arrested or got into trouble because of problems in thoughts. For this matter, he has the following comments:

..... It looked like “disease of political indifference (*zhengzhi lengganzheng* 政治冷感症)” or “timidity (*jingsi* 驚死)” ran in our blood. In fact, most Taiwanese were just like us. Not only did they think those prisoners of consciousness made much ado about nothing, they even automatically and anxiously stayed away from those people. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77)

Take another example. Mu-sheng had been enjoying writing all the time. He liked to write something like “diary” or “notes” for his own reading. But, in the year he graduated from college, he burned all of them. “I was afraid that they might cause me unbearable trouble. My diary was written for myself. I could only write something that actually happened, and something I actually felt. In those days, writing diary was by no means a smart thing” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 112-3).

6.3.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

In the following discussion, I shall try to answer the question why Mu-sheng could surpass the official identity imposed by the KMT and develop his “naïve Taiwanese consciousness.” I shall explain as follows:

(6.3.8.a) First, to Mu-sheng, *the February 28 Incident* seemed to be a turning point in his shifting from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity, though he was only at the age of thirteen at that time. In his memoir, he says that after the February 28 Incident, “my thoughts of Taiwan independence had never been modified or changed” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 210). For the incident, he had further observation as follows:

After the incident, everyone got panicky. Taiwan was no longer the Taiwan in the past. In addition to suffering from the same tribulations before the incident, the Taiwanese no longer trusted their relatives, friends and neighbors, and their dignity was destroyed. They started to lead a life in terror and anxiety, and they were preoccupied by intelligence agents and gun barrels. All of a sudden, civilization degenerated several decades, and the society marched from a clear into a murky world. Worse yet, these were not a temporary phenomenon. The Taiwanese would have to struggle to survive, and get used to the days that they felt filthy beyond their wildest imaginations. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 66)

Naturally, we are not so sure if Mu-sheng --- a 13-year-old child at that time --- really could vent in such a fashion in response to such an incident occurred in the “adult world.” However, in Taiwanese history after the war, if we want to mention any event that had a pivotal effect on the development of Taiwanese consciousness, then indeed there was no other incident which was as powerful and influential as the “February 28 Incident.”²⁰⁵

(6.3.8.b) Second, as a person born and raised up in *southern Taiwan*, Mu-sheng’s background seemed to explain well why his “naïve Taiwan consciousness” was formed to certain extent. In my research regarding the background of the TIM activists, I find that people hailed from southern Taiwan, in comparison with those from other areas of Taiwan, were more likely to take part in the TIM (Shu 2002, 59-60). In fact, the finding is consistent with the current observation regarding the political landscape in Taiwan. In general, southern Taiwan has been the vote silo of the Democratic Progressive Party, which emphasizes Taiwanese consciousness, while northern Taiwan has been more inclined to accept the KMT and the People First Party, both of which emphasize more on Chinese consciousness (Fu-chang Wang 2002; Yung-ming Hsu 2000).

Mu-sheng seemed to have the same self-realization. In 1953, for the second time, Mu-sheng went to Taipei to take the entrance examination of National Taiwan University. He stayed at the home of Mr. Chen, a family friend who served in the Taiwan Provincial

²⁰⁵. In the doctoral dissertation by Chien-di Hung (2000), he views the “February 28 Incident” as a pivotal “historical trauma” in the development of Taiwan identity, and uses the incident to explore the formation process of the Taiwanese “collective identity.” Besides, in the master thesis by Li-min Qiu (2003), she uses the writings on the “February 28 Incident” by the Taiwanese authors born before the war as her material, and uses it to analyze the interactions between the literary environment, the authors and their works at the time of the February 28 Incident.

Government. At that time, Chen's oldest son was attending elementary school. After a conversation with the child, Mu-sheng concludes in his autobiography:

The education in Taipei was so horrible. He [Chen's oldest son] firmly believed that we could go back to homeland (*hui jiaxiang* 回家鄉) only if we recovered Mainland China. I had to tell him over and over again that his home was at Dalinpu (*Dalinpu* 大林埔), Small Harbor. However, he still believed that his home was on the other side of the sea. A child no more than 10 years old was already accompanying the Chiangs in their dream to recover Mainland China and go home. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 86)

We can infer from this case that, since Mu-sheng did not receive the "education in Taipei," he was more inclined to embrace Taiwanese consciousness.

(6.3.8.c) Third, as a child growing up in poverty, Mu-sheng seemed very sensitive to "discrimination" in any form, including that based on the boundary of "Taiwanese vs. Mainlanders." In this regard, Mu-sheng's Taiwanese consciousness seemed to be forged from his "everyday life." In particular, if we compare Mu-sheng's developmental process of national identity with that of Ming-min Peng's, we can find some very interesting clues. Ming-min's development of Taiwan consciousness seemed to be closely related to his knowledge of interest --- international law. In other words, in the process of knowledge exploration, he started to ponder issues like "Taiwan's international status," and then he went ahead to obtain his Taiwanese identity. However, as a child in the countryside, Mu-sheng never bothered to go through the complicated process. Instead, he seemed to draw from his everyday life the nutrients to cultivate his Taiwanese consciousness, and then gradually developed his own naïve Taiwanese identity.

(6.3.8.d) Finally, Mu-sheng's *parents* and *family environment* seemed not to have any significant impact on the formation of his "naïve Taiwanese consciousness."

Mu-sheng expressed that his father “was not interested in public affairs, and he did not like to talk about politics, either” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 13). Besides, he also mentioned that, to his family and immediate relatives, “it looked like ‘disease of political indifference’ or ‘timidity’ ran in our blood” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77).

6.4 The Initial Period While Study and Work in the United States (1963-1986)

Mu-sheng went to the United States for further study in 1963. Due to his access to the dissident publications from the TIM camp, he was moving further toward “Taiwan independence” in terms of his national identity. After obtaining his master’s degree in 1965, he first served as an engineer at Geigy Chemical in Alabama, and in 1966, his wife and children came to reunite with him in the United States. Then, he was offered another job with Mobil Chemical in New Jersey, where he was able to participate, in a more formal fashion, in the TIM around New York City. In 1968, he joined the United Formosans in America for Independence, and until he decided not to renew membership with this organization in 1986, he had been a member of the TIM organization for 18 years.

6.4.1 Studying for Master’s Degree at the University of Mississippi

Mu-sheng left Taiwan on September 24, 1963. After nearly 60 hours’ trip, he finally arrived at the University of Mississippi.²⁰⁶ The University of Mississippi was

²⁰⁶. Since the Taiwanese economy had not started to flourish at that time, the expense for a trip from Taiwan to the United States could cost up to several years’ salary for an ordinary office worker. To save money, Mu-sheng took a plane to Los Angeles, and then boarded on a Greyhound bus, transferred at Phoenix and Memphis, and finally made it to Oxford, Mississippi, in all spending two days on bus (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 187-91).

located at Oxford, a small town in northern Mississippi. Not long after Mu-sheng's arrival, the town was renamed University. "The University of Mississippi was nicknamed Ole Miss, very low in academic reputation. I chose the university, but I did not regret, since it was where I built up my confidence to survive on the new continent" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 193). "The reason I chose the University of Mississippi was not complicated. In fact, it was not that I chose the university; rather, it was the university chose me with a scholarship. The reason behind my going to college and graduate school was absolutely not because I had deep interest in the pursuit of knowledge; rather, it was because of the Taiwanese traditional thoughts, social trends and the inevitable job environment. And the reason that I would apply for the University of Mississippi was because Zheng-qian Zhuang (*Zhuang Zhengqian* 莊徵乾) was there. Zhuang was my college classmate as well as my colleague at Taiwan Sugar Company, and we were very close, ..."(Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 20).

At the University of Mississippi, there were quite few students from Taiwan. "In the early 1960s, there were not many Taiwanese students going abroad, not to mention that the University of Mississippi was a small college situated in the remote and backward South. When I just arrived there, except for Zheng-qian Zhuang, Lan-yu Yang (*Yang Lanyu* 楊蘭玉) and me, Zhen-nan Dai (*Dai Zhengnan* 戴振南), who came a few days later, was the only Taiwanese. In addition, there were 'Mainlanders' Joseph Zhu (*Zhu* 朱) and Nan-le Yang (*Yang Nanle* 楊南樂), who came the same semester as Dai and I did, ..."(Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 200).

Right there, Mu-sheng for the first time had the opportunity to read the TIM publication *Taiwan Youth*. "I used to read *Taiwan Youth*, which was sent by Zheng-qian

Zhuang's relatives from Japan. *Zhen-nan Dai and I were very interested in the magazine.* In the magazine, I found a letter sent by K. H. Lim, who seemed to be Kuang-hui Lin (*Lin Guanghui* 林光輝), a friend of mine who was in Chicago. Also, a letter Zhuang wrote to one of his relatives in Japan was partially published" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 210; emphasis added).

Besides, in the summer of 1964, on his way to work in New York, Mu-sheng stopped by Ann Arbor where the University of Michigan is located, staying with a friend for several days. On this occasion, he had access to the alternative information related to Taiwanese history. "While staying in Ann Arbor, I had the chance to visit the Asian Collection of the UM Library and read some materials related to Chinese as well as Taiwanese history, some in Japanese and some in Chinese, greatly opening my field of vision. *A lot of historical descriptions were quite different from what I read in Taiwan,* and I realized that a lot of knowledge in my brain should be corrected and adjusted" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 211; emphasis added)

In early February 1964, Mu-sheng's older daughter was born in Taiwan. "Slowly came the news. I did not receive my wife's letter until mid-February. We had a lovely baby girl, named Pei-zhen (*Peizhen* 佩真), and both the mother and the baby were doing fine. There were also pictures in the envelope. At that time, there was probably no trans-Pacific telephone available (even if there was, I could not have afforded it, either), and it was very difficult to communicate. Hot tears kept falling down my cheeks. When could I meet my Pei-zhen? I was not doing well with my thesis, and when could I graduate? Looking at the pictures in which Qiao-bin was kissing Pei-zhen, I felt something hot surging from my heart. They were a pair of pitiful kids whose father was

not by their side” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 209).

Also in the same year, Mu-sheng’s father passed away. “In December, one thing that I had been worried about ever since I left Taiwan happened in the long run --- my father died of heart attack, at the age of sixty-two. When I got the bad news from my wife, my father had left the world for one week. My father’s death made me deeply depressed for all the things between life and death, and for a long time, I continued to feel so sorrowful for his departure without saying a word and my failure to see him for the final time” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 220).

In early 1965, Mu-sheng turned in the first draft of his master thesis. Meanwhile, he went to Texas for a job interview, and reconnected with George T. Chang (*Zhang Canhong* 張燦鑒),²⁰⁷ his college roommate who was one class lower than Mu-sheng in the Department of Chemical Engineering.²⁰⁸ “In January, I went to Texas City, Texas, for a job interview. Afterward, I went to Houston to see George T. Chang, who was studying at Rice University, and Jiang-hai Guo (*Guo Jianghai* 郭江海), who was working at Shell Oil. At Chang’s place, I made the acquaintance of Ming Liao (*Liao Mingzheng* 廖明徵), Taitzer Wang (*Wang Taize* 王泰澤), Zhen-sheng Fan (*Fan Zhensheng* 范振聲), Ke-zhong Lin (*Lin Kezhong* 林克忠) and He-yi Huang (*Huang*

²⁰⁷. George T. Chang (1936-), born in Tainan City, graduated from Tainan First Middle School, and the Department of Chemical Engineering, National Taiwan University. He received his Ph.D. in chemical engineering from Rice University, and did post-doctoral research at California Institute of Technology. Later, he taught at Cooper Union, and served as the chairperson of the Department of Chemical Engineering in later time. Chang had long been the chairperson of the WUFI, and was one of the most visible personages in the overseas TIM. In the 1990s, he returned to Taiwan and was elected mayor of Tainan City (Shi-hong Chen 1999a; Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 76-7; Mei-xiu Wang 1992; 1995; Feng-shan Zhang 2002b). For Chang’s publication relevant to TIM, see Huang, Wang and Chen (1991a, 1991b).

Heyi 黃和義), as well as Lan-yu Yang's brother-in-law of Rong-chang Lin (*Lin Rongchang* 林榮長) and her sister Hui-yu Yang (*Yang Huiyu* 楊惠玉). I also read an article written by five students, including George T. Chang, Ming Liao and Rong-chang Lin. Using their real names and addresses, they accused the KMT of being unjust regime that had committed crimes in Taiwan. I thoroughly admired their courage, and I deeply realized that the new generation after the February 28 Incident had grown up" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000 221).

In June 1965, Mu-sheng finished his Master's degree and went to report for duty at Geigy Chemical in Alabama, starting his first formal job in the United States. Overall, forwarding two years' study in the United States and prompted by new information, Mu-sheng seemed to have had some new chemistry mixed into his political thinking, gaining further insight into the injustice of the KMT regime. However, since his family still remained in Taiwan, he concentrated his life on finishing his studies and getting a job, so that his family could come sooner to reunite with him in the United States.

6.4.2 Working for Geigy Chemical in Alabama

Geigy Chemical is located in McIntosh, Alabama, a small village with fewer than 100 people in the remote countryside. The largest city nearby is Mobile, the second-largest city in Alabama 50 minutes away. The main products of Geigy Chemical are pesticides. "Nearby, there was another chemical factory, Olin Chemical, which was built right there due to the abundant salt deposit in the underground layers. Olin

²⁰⁸. In Mu-sheng's memoir, he records the event as in early 1965. But in a previous article, he lists the time of reunion with George T. Chang as the end of 1964 (Mu-sheng Wu 1995, 77).

produced chlorine from salt, and with pipes, Geigy could get chlorine directly from Olin, saving transportation costs. That was why Geigy was built at McIntosh. The project assigned to me was to use analytical instruments to control chemical reactions, so that the manufacturing process could be switched from manual to automatic system, indeed a very challenging and exciting project for me” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 226).

It was during the period with Geigy that Mu-sheng first contributed to the TIM and it was also the ever first contribution he had ever donated. “After arriving in the United States and reading *Taiwan Youth*, I came across the idea that once I had money, I would contribute to the TIM. Soon after I came to Mobile, I decided to carry out the idea. Before that, I had never made any contributions. Consequently, I was not generous; I was hesitant to donate twenty or thirty dollars. At that time, I had not repaid all of my debts for studying in the United States, and I was also raising money for my family’s trip to the United States, so I was still pretty much in a financial predicament. This was probably the reason that I was indecisive and stingy. When I was hesitating, George T. Chang called me from California, saying that he had pledged \$240 per year for me. I consented instantly. If donating money could be counted as a political activity, then my political activity in North America started from here” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 229).

Though Mu-sheng’s work was very important, in his mind, he considered moving his family to the United States a first priority. “Having all the required documents ready, in July, I applied for first priority immigration, and in October, the Immigration and Naturalization Service approved my application, giving me the status of first priority. Using the status, I applied for bringing my dependents to the United States in no time. After that, I kept waiting, impatiently and anxiously waiting.” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000,

227).

In early 1966, Mu-sheng finally met his family. “When seeing them walking out of the plane, I burst into tears with hot air shooting out of my chest. When Qiao-bin called me papa, I could hardly control myself, and in my mind, I kept saying I was sorry for leaving you behind. When I left, Qiao-bin was no older than two, but now he was older than four. He was jubilant, surprised and seemed unfamiliar. As for Pei-zhen, she seemed more unfamiliar and bewildered on the occasion of our first meeting. Bringing two children and flying in a plane for so many hours was tough enough for my wife. Still, she had to carry luggage whenever she made transfers, a difficulty not difficult to imagine, not to mention she also had the language barrier to deal with. Anyhow, the whole family finally was reunited” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 228).

Half year after his wife and children came to be with him, Mu-sheng started to look for another job in the summer of 1966. “After the excitement of reunion diminished, I started to get cabin fever. There were too many shortcomings with Mobile that I could not stay here forever. My family was essentially isolated, and if this was the purpose of my studying abroad, then the price I had to pay was too high, not worth it, and myself too stupid. Aside from Mobile’s remote location, I still had other reasons that I had to leave Mobile. I wanted to move to a place where Qiao-bin could do rehabilitation on his feet, and I could work and study at the same time. Besides, I also wanted to live in a city with a group of Taiwanese enthusiastic about a political movement” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 232).

At that time, the economy was growing. More than ten companies granted Mu-sheng interview opportunities. Later, he chose Mobil Chemical located in New

Jersey.

6.4.3 Working for Mobil Chemical in New Jersey

In early 1967, Mu-sheng started to work for Mobil Chemical. “In the beginning, I was promised work at the Process Development Department at Metuchen (later renamed Edison). But when getting to Mobil, I was reassigned to the Profit Improvement Program (PIP), a unit established with a temporary mission. The PIP was composed of a ‘fallen politician (*shiyi zhengke* 失意政客),’ who used to be a factory manager, and other personnel recruited from other departments. The whole Program had more than ten people. Our mission was to increase profits, and my job was to improve manufacturing operations to maximize profit. We started with two manufacturing factories in Cleveland, Ohio. Every Monday early in the morning, I drove to Newark, took a plane to my work site in Cleveland, and came back on Friday night. Once I got home, I was so exhausted that I had to take a little nap in the bedroom, and then showed up to see my wife in the kitchen” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 236).

In this way, Mu-sheng rode it out for four months, but he felt very unhappy. “Because none of my dependents could speak English, and I also needed to arrange Qiao-bin’s foot surgery as soon as possible” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 237). Thus, Mu-sheng requested the company to assign him back to the unit he was promised during the interview. And then, “in May of 1967, I came back to the laboratory along Route 27, doing primarily procedure analysis, trouble shooting and the design and construction of the Co-polymer Pilot Plant” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 238).

At about the same time, Mu-sheng’s son Qiao-bin had his foot correction surgery at

New York University Hospital. It was a very successful surgery. “Qiao-bin’s disease was caused by my decision to go abroad, and now it was taken care of by way of going abroad. Though we had done our best, we were not free from any regrets. An inopportune negligence had created a lifetime’s anxiety in the soul” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 239).

On the other hand, Mu-sheng also started to participate in the Taiwanese political activities around New York City. “Before the winter of 1967, in New York, there had been a group of Taiwanese consciously engaging in the TIM Our major work was: enlightenment, activities of the Taiwanese Association, recruitment and fundraisers. In that year, Zhen-nan Dai replaced Tian-sheng Wu (*Wu Tiansheng* 吳添生) as president of the Taiwanese Association of New York, and from then on, the Taiwanese Association no longer maintained its political neutrality. Though we all worked under the banner of UFAI (United Formosans in America for Independence), not everyone working there was a member of the UFAI. I myself was not a member, nor did I know who was and who was not. During that period of time, many people considered it not important to decide to be a member or not, since we were only an organization devoted to an ideal” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 242-3).

6.4.4 Joining the UFAI

In early 1968, introduced by George T. Chang, Mu-sheng, who was working for Mobil Chemical in New Jersey, “reluctantly” joined the UFAI. In his own words, he described his mind’s journey about joining the UFAI as follows:

In early 1968, as introduced by George T. Chang, I reluctantly (*mianqiang* 勉

強) joined the UFAI. I had reason to use the word “reluctantly.” As early as several months earlier, George T. had tried to persuade me to join the UFAI, and I also knew that no organization, no power, but (please listen to me).

A revolution is a big deal, literally, as big as moving heaven and earth. Overthrowing the Chiang authoritarian regime would definitely be a revolution. It does not matter whether it is a bloody revolution, or a so-called non-resistant, non-violent revolution, the members of the revolutionary party should have the determination to devote themselves (including individual life and properties) to the cause. If a revolutionary party is organized by party members without such revolutionary spirit, then its organizational fibers are bountifully in romance rather than set in blood and bones, and filled with more imagination than reality. I evaluated myself, and found that I did not have the courage and determination to sacrifice for the revolutionary movement. I was aware of the stark difference between what should be done and what I was actually doing, and that would make me uneasy in my conscience. It is easy to deceive others, but it is difficult to deceive oneself. When I proclaim to the mass passionately that we want to eradicate Chiang’s life by any all means, but deep in my mind do not agree, then it would deprive me of my sound.

Of course, I would like to make some limited contribution. Though my contribution would be more than “inviting guests to a banquet (*qingke chifan* 請客吃飯),” that kind of work should never be called revolutionary.

All in all, my unwillingness to join the UFAI was absolutely not a matter of willingness; it was rather a matter of qualification, and that was why I said I “reluctantly” joined the UFAI.

Though I joined the UFAI “reluctantly,” I did put it into action magnanimously. Without delay, I turned in the application form that I had filled in beforehand, and signed on the pledge form to fulfill all the procedures required to join the UFAI.

The reason that I chose this time to join the UFAI was very simple. I had come to a point to be comrades with comrades, or to depart from comrades, and I did not want to affect my comrades' fighting spirits simply because of my departure. Actually, at that time I overstated my case. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 248-9)

It was also in early 1968, the time Mu-sheng joined the UFAI that the organization established an office in New York City and had its own staff. "Not long after the New Year's Day, Fu-chen Lo (*Luo Fuquan* 羅福全)²⁰⁹ came from Pennsylvania, Chiu-sen Wang (*Wang Qiusen* 王秋森)²¹⁰ from California and Wen-qi Zhang (*Zhang Wenqi* 張文祺) from Kansas. For a while, Zhang was looking for a job, and then he decided to be a professional staffer [for the UFAI]. When the UFAI established an office in Manhattan, Zhang lived at the office. At this moment, the UFAI had begun to take shape" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 249). "The UFAI held a member meeting once per month.

²⁰⁹. Fu-chen Lo (1935-), born in Chiayi City, graduated from Tainan First Middle School, and the Department of Economics, National Taiwan University. He earned a Master's degree in economics from Waseda University in Japan, and a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1964, he joined the United Formosans for Independence, a predecessor of World United Formosans for Independence - U.S. Headquarters. He worked for United Nations Centre for Regional Development as well as United Nations University, and was once the publisher of *Taiwan Tribune*, the official publication of WUFI. After Chen Shui-bian was elected President, Fu-chen Lo was appointed as Taiwan's representative to Japan from 2000 to 2004 (Yue-hua He 1998; Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 178-9; Mao-sen Zhang 2001; Zhang, Lin and Chen 2000).

Fu-quan Luo's academic research was very fruitful, for example, see Lo (1981); Lo and Marcotullio (2001); Lo and McKibbin (1995); Lo and Salih (1978); and Lo and Yeung (1998).

²¹⁰. Chiu-sen Wang deserves our more attention because he later had very close relationship with Syracuse. Chiu-sen Wang, born in 1937, graduated from the Department of Chemical Engineering, National Taiwan University. He obtained his Ph.D. in chemical engineering from California Institute of Technology. He started teaching in the Department of Chemical Engineering, Syracuse University, in 1969, and became a full professor in 1974. Starting in 1982, due to the influence of the Formosa Incident, he resigned his teaching position at Syracuse University, but kept a "visiting professor" title without salary at UCLA, while concentrating on the Taiwanese political movement, and publishing the monthly *Taiwan New Society* (*Taiwan Xinshehui* 台灣新社會) in Los Angeles starting in 1985. In 1991, he went back to Taiwan, teaching in the Department of Public Health, National Taiwan University, and served as chairperson of the department, and dean of the School of Public Health at a later time. He is now Professor of the

There was a \$10 fine for each absence, and \$1 for every minute late. Though the rule was not necessarily reasonable, the money became a donation and revenue for the UFAI, so nobody opposed it. For example, when my wife gave birth at Kennedy Hospital, I willingly paid a \$10 fine for my absence, since I did not go to the monthly meeting” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 249).

In April 1968, for the first time in his life, Mu-sheng took part in a demonstration. The following is his description about this experience in his autobiography:

In early April, to protest the incident that occurred when Wen-qing Liu (*Liu Wenqing* 柳文卿) in Japan was extradited to Taiwan,²¹¹ we went to Washington, D.C. to demonstrate. Our focal points were the KMT embassy and the Japanese embassy. It was the Cherry Blossom Season in early April. Embellished in a rhapsody of cheery blossoms, the capital city was enchantingly beautiful. However, we were not romantic visitors strolling leisurely, and we did not come here to enjoy the blossoms or the sightseeing.

There were about one hundred demonstrators, none of them wearing masks (even quite a few were covering them), the decision had already been made in advance. This was the first time that the Taiwanese demonstrated without wearing masks. Anyway, we had thrown our fears into the trash bin. To me, this was the first time in my life that I participated in a demonstration.

Department of Public Health. The Syracuse Taiwan Association was founded by him (Stella Chen 1991, 137-51; Jiao Qiu 1997, 163-79; Chiu-sen Wang nd).

²¹¹. Wen-qing Liu was a member of the ‘United Young Formosans for Independence (hereafter UYFI)’ in Japan. In March 1968, pursuant to the Japanese government regulations, when he went to the Entry Administration Bureau (*Ruguo Guanliju* 入國管理局) to do reporting procedure for his visa extension, he was detained, separated in a detention house by the Japanese police. It turned out that the KMT government and the Japanese government had reached a secret agreement that, if Japan could extradite some UYFI member to Taiwan, then the Taiwanese authorities would agree to extradite some morphine criminals back to Taiwan. Under such circumstances, Wen-qing Liu became the “sacrifice item” of the implicit extradition agreement. To rescue their comrade, the staff of the UYFI even tried to intercept the China Airlines chartered plane from taking off in the Tokyo Airport. More than ten rescue members were also arrested. It was called the “Wen-qing Liu Incident (*Liu Wenqing Shijian* 柳文卿事件)” in the existing literature. For a detailed description of the incident, refer to Ming-cheng Chen (1992, 29-37) and Cheng-feng Shih (2000b, 28-31).

Though feeling something new, I was filled with indignation. I was angry at the Japanese government's desire for a small gain at the expense of justice, and was even angrier at the KMT émigré regime for its repeated insult of the Taiwanese. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 249-50)

In May 1968, Jennifer (*Qiaoqing* 喬青), the third child of Mu-sheng and Wen-zhi Hong, was born at J.F.K. Hospital in New Jersey.

Though Mu-sheng's professional work went relatively well, he had never forgotten the goal he set before going abroad --- to obtain a doctoral degree. "My manager told me that if I did not make any progress in English, then my future would be questionable. I said that I could be an engineer all my life, but he said it would not be worth it. I also thought about changing my career to do research work, which, in comparison, might tolerate incorrect pronunciations. However, obtaining a Ph.D. was a must if I wanted to do research work. Before going abroad, my hope was to get a doctoral degree, and then go back to Taiwan to be a Professor, devoting myself to the sacred work of 'educating others' children' without compromising myself in worldly matters. Now I even reaffirmed my determination to obtain a doctoral degree, which I would need no matter whether I decided to stay in the United States or go back to Taiwan" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 245).

Thus, in September 1968, with a family of five, Mu-sheng bade his friends in New York good-bye, heading off to the South again. This time his destination was the University of Texas at Austin.

6.4.5 Studying for Ph.D. Degree at the University of Texas at Austin

To Mu-sheng, who had worked for three years after obtaining his Master's degree,

going back to school to be a student again with three children (including one who was no more than six months old) in tow, certainly, was a very adventurous decision. “The first year in Austin, I was faced with not only adversity, but also sorrow. The adversity came from my expensive rent, which reduced my net income to less than \$20 per month for a big family with a small baby; the new living environment; the extreme heavy studies; and my rigorous faculty advisor. The sorrow came from the loss of dignity, a result of being reduced from a respected engineer to a virtual slave. My destiny was in the firm grip of my advisor, and basically I was at his beck and call. If he was an obnoxious person, he could insult me anytime, unless I chose to leave the school. As a foreign student with three kids, however, I had very limited choices. To put it more correctly, I had no other choice at all, and I could not afford the result of any form of disobedience. Therefore, all I could do was to bite the bullet, or to sigh: ‘A man of fortitude and courage should be flexible (*dazhangfu neng qu neng shen* 大丈夫能屈能伸),’ or ‘When god is going to bestow a great responsibility on a man (*tianjiang daren yu siren ye* 天降大任於斯人也), ...’ I had to admit that I had desperately tried to console myself with tongue in cheek” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 257-8).

In his first year in Austin, Mu-sheng was busy with his class work at school. Then, starting from the second year, he began to devote some efforts to Taiwanese affairs:

Leaving New Jersey and coming to Texas, I brought with me a sense of sin. I felt that I was just like a deserting soldier escaping from the group of friends who were fighting for ideals on the battlefield. Thus, I decided to transplant our ideals to Texas as a substitute for my remorse. In my first year at Austin, from September 1968 to June 1969, the Taiwanese right there did not have our own organization. Neng-xiang Wang (*Wang Nengxiang* 王能祥) aside, all the rest were members of the Chinese Student Association. To

understand the environment, I also participated in their gatherings a couple of times. At that time, the Chinese Student Association was controlled by the KMT's Austin section (*xiaozu* 小組), and this section was under the orders of Guang-cai Zhang (*Zhang Guangcai* 張廣材), who was stationed in Tennessee. [Even] in formal letters, the KMT members called each other "members (*huiyou* 會友)" instead of "comrade (*tongzhi* 同志)." (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 266)

In September 1969, I started to gain some momentum. Though a revolution is not something like "inviting guests to a banquet," at the "sub-revolution" level, "inviting guests to a banquet" is definitely a good start for a movement, since it is a way of getting to know and understand each other. Thus, I invited some Taiwanese with potential to have dinner at my home, and through them, I knew more Taiwanese students. Eventually, we had a group of friends who frequented our home, including Zhun-san Li (*Li Zhunsan* 李隼三), Zhong-nan Qiu (*Qiu Zhongnan* 邱忠南), Zheng-yi Yang (*Yang Zhengyi* 楊正義), Sheng-ji Wu (*Wu Shengji* 吳勝吉), Guo-guang Chen (*Chen Guoguang* 陳國洸), Yao-ben Hong (*Hong Yaoben* 洪堯本), Qing-zhang Wang (*Wang Qingzhang* 汪慶章), Can-wang Yu (*Yu Canwang* 余燦旺), Feng-sheng Lin (*Lin Fengsheng* 林峰生) and Zhao-ji Lu (*Lu Zhaoji* 盧肇基), etc. Whenever they had spare time, they would show up at my home, shooting the breeze, sometimes drinking. My wife always prepared some desert to share with these single students. Thus, the Taiwanese students started to have their own meetings, though not on a regular basis. To make things easier, I did not divulge my [TIM] status at this time. Rather, I kept an open mind, allowing them to search by themselves for the road Taiwanese should go. They were all Taiwanese students caring about Taiwan. Though some still had the China complex (*Zhongguo qingjie* 中國情結), I did not consider it important at this stage. As long as they really loved Taiwan, sooner or later, they would follow my footsteps. Even if they chose to walk other roads, at least in their minds they would understand the TIM activists' Taiwan complex and character.

It was about the end of February in 1970, when the temperatures were still cold and the wind frequently blew, they started to have cabin fever. So, we

held the first regular picnic. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 267)

After several chilling picnic gatherings, we established the Taiwanese Association at the end of March. There were almost 60 members and I was elected president. I did not decline since, at that time, it took courage and conscientization (*juewu* 覺悟) to be president. I was afraid if I declined, then the association would collapse. For the sake of Taiwanese dignity (*Taiwanren de zunyan* 台灣人的尊嚴), I accepted the presidency. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 267-8)

Once Mu-sheng founded the Taiwanese Association in Austin, the pressure from the KMT followed immediately, and he was thus put on the KMT's blacklist. "A week later, I received a certified letter with return receipt from Jin-kang Zhu (*Zhu Jinkang* 朱晉康), Consul General stationed in Houston. Inside the envelope there was a letter asking me to dissolve the association and be a campus spy (*zhuapazi* 抓耙仔) for them, two newspaper editorials about treason (*Central Daily News* and *United Daily News*), and a report form (*baodao biao* 報到表格) with information about my relatives. Though I was prepared in mind, the certified letter still caused some disturbance to me, since I was already put on the KMT's blacklist. From then on, whenever Taiwanese students went to the consulate applying for passport extensions, they were always asked about my activities. Thus, I had decided to fight with the KMT openly, and the way I handled the certified letter was: ignored it" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 268).

Not long after the association was established, the historical "April 24 Incident" of the Chiang assassination occurred in New York City. "On April 24, when I went to the Department of Chemical Engineering storage to get experiment supplies, the custodian Mr. Fairlee said he just heard from the radio that two Taiwanese's plot to assassinate

Chiang had been foiled. Shocked and dumbfounded, I went back to the laboratory without picking up the supplies, trying to calm down to digest the news that came all of a sudden. In my mind, the image of Tsu-tsai Cheng (*Zheng Zicai* 鄭自財)²¹² appeared first, but now matter what, I could not come up with the second one. Later I got to know that the two chivalrous men were Peter Huang and Tsu-tsai Cheng. But in the beginning, the name of Peter Huang did not come to my attention, since he lived in Ithaca, not New York City. Otherwise, I might have guessed it was him. To raise the bail for Zheng and Huang, I went to ask every Taiwanese for donation, while being overwhelmed with resentment and regret mixed with respect. In general, they gave both Zheng and Huang very positive comments, and they donated fervently. Even though they were students, they still did handsomely; some even donated to the tune of \$100, ...” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 270).

In Austin, as an old student with a family, Mu-sheng was heavily burdened. “When just arriving in Austin, I was already thirty-four years and eight months old, ten years older than my classmates. My responsibilities and missions were: (1) support a family with a wife and three children; (2) teach students; (3) do dissertation research; (4) participate in the Taiwanese activities; (5) be a student. With such responsibilities, I had to compete with those single and much younger students. My burden was indeed heavy enough, ...”(Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 278). The burden was heavy not only in terms of time and spirit, but more important, of financial pressure. At that time, Mu-sheng’s only

²¹². Cheng’s original Chinese name was Zheng Zicai (鄭自財), but changed to Zheng Zicai (鄭自才) later. In addition to Tsu-tsai Cheng, his has another English “T. T. Deh,” which should be Hoklo, rather than Mandarin, pronunciation of his name.

financial source was the meager scholarship provided by the school, and he also spent a lot of money and time on Taiwanese political activities. Here is an illustration of how he struggled with money:

Coming back from school one day, I saw Qiao-bin throwing small stones by himself in the parking lot. Judging from his facial expression, I could tell he was lonely and not happy. I asked him why he did not like to play with other friends. He replied that all of his friends were racing bikes. My heart was petrified with tears and blood. We were so poor that even buying a bike for him was a luxury, but on the other hand, I spent a lot of money on the Taiwanese political movement. A sense of apology surged from my heart, and I felt so hot in my chest. In terms of priority, I had put the activities in pursuit of Taiwanese dignity before the welfare of my children. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 279)

In early July of 1972, Mu-sheng passed the oral defense of his dissertation, and obtained his Ph.D. after four years' study.

6.4.6 The Taiwanese Association of America

This time, the company Mu-sheng found and worked for was a manufacturing factory of artificial diamonds owned by General Electric, located in Worthington, a suburb of Columbus, Ohio (the artificial diamond was invented by General Electric). “My job was to develop a zero-pollution diamond recovery process. To put it in a simple way, it was a process to obtain diamonds, without generating pollution, from the mixed lumps of diamond, graphite, catalysts (nickel, cobalt, manganese iron, etc.) which were formed of high temperatures (higher than 1,200°C) and under high pressure (higher than one million pounds per square inch). At that time, the existing method required the use of nitric acid, sulphuric acid and hydrochloric acid to get rid of graphite, minerals and

rocks, and the manufacturing process produced both air and water pollution” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 289).

By coincidence, the Taiwanese Association in Columbus was also in its final preparatory stage. Some of Mu-sheng’s friends urged him to serve as a member of the board of directors for this association (pursuant to the bylaw of the association, it was the board of directors, not the president, who run the association). “Some other students also asked me to be a board member, since some who had promised to be, for the sake of a passport, were afraid to directly confront the KMT and, as a consequence, at least there had to be a board member who could openly deal with the KMT. Based on my experience, I understood that at the initial stage of an association, it was imperative to have someone to fend off the KMT’s provocations, since that was the only guarantee for an association’s survival. Also based on my experience, I was aware that the KMT liked to take advantages of the soft-shell shrimps (*ruankexia* 軟殼蝦),²¹³ but they were afraid of those with backbones. In view of the circumstances, I knew it was not a matter of whether to be a board member or not. Instead, it was a matter of a mission, and I had no choice but to accept it” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 288).

In September 1972, the Taiwanese Association in Columbus was formally established, and Mu-sheng and other five were elected founding members of the board of directors. “After that, to get the privilege of holding our activities at the Ohio State University, we also registered this association under the university” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 288). “After the election of board members of the association, we started to hold

²¹³. The so-called “soft-shell shrimps” right here mean “chinless wonder.”

enlightenment and fundraising activities for the cause of Taiwan independence.

Meanwhile, we published a magazine *Taiwan Light* (*Taiguang* 台光), which was still considered an underground magazine at that time, ... As a result, soon Columbus was cast with a pall of a political atmosphere” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 291). Besides, “in that year, we launched *Homeland News* (*Xiangxun* 鄉訊), which has never stopped to this date; probably the longest lasting magazine ever published by a Taiwanese Association in America” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 289).

In the professional field, Mu-sheng’s experimentation of the zero-pollution diamond recovery process seemed to run very well. “Within half a year, I had already grasped a good concept, and also had used small glass instruments in the laboratory to demonstrate that the concept could easily be turned into reality. For this achievement I was given a manager’s award. Using the concept, along with experiment supporting data, the company applied for a patent and the patent was approved” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 290). In addition, the inventor was inducted into the “Inventors’ Hall of Fame” at the company headquarters (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 291).

In April 1973, Mu-sheng purchased a \$48,000 house, the first one he ever owned. “Though the money was borrowed, the owner of the house was me. Ever since I was born, I had been leading a life without a roof tile overhead and without a foothold underneath. The house was a two-story English Colonial with brown roof and light brown stucco” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 290).

In August 1974, Mu-sheng upgraded his involvement in Taiwanese affairs, having been elected president of the “Taiwanese Association of America (hereafter TAA).” In his autobiography, he recalls this story in the following way:

One weekend at the end of June, the key staff members of the WUFI were holding a meeting in Chicago, and they were having a difficult time trying to find a candidate for the Taiwanese Association of America. Then Strong C. Chuang nominated me as a candidate for consideration on the ground that I had successfully run the grassroots movements in both Austin and Columbus. The TAA had to keep running, and there had to be someone to take care of it. One of the qualifications to be a candidate was having been president of a local branch of this association, and another important one, though not shown in the bylaw, was being willing to fight in public with the KMT. At that time, both George T. Chang and Tom C. Yang (*Yang Zongchang* 楊宗昌) asked over the telephone if I would consider the suggestion. Chang and Yang were the chairperson and vice chairperson of the WUFI, respectively. With a sense of mission, I accepted it. At that time, I was a member of the WUFI. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 292)

After being elected president of the Taiwanese Association of America, Mu-sheng was even more occupied with the Taiwanese affairs. In the following, I shall use four examples to illustrate the nature of the political activity Mu-sheng was engaged in during this period. The first example involved a “fighting scene,” an occasion when Taiwanese cheered the Little League baseball team, which came all the way from Taiwan, in the World Little League Series held at Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Since the TIM camp labelled the baseball team as “Team Taiwan,” and the KMT side labelled it “Team China,” both sides already had serious conflicts. The following was what occurred in 1974, as described by Mu-sheng in his autobiography:

[We] went to Williamsport, Pennsylvania, to root for the Little League baseball team from Taiwan. Carry Hong²¹⁴ wore a helmet and sat together

²¹⁴. Carry Hong (1939-), born in Tainan City, graduated from Tainan First Middle School, and the Department of Civil Engineering, National Chengkung University. In 1967, he went to study for his Ph.D. in Civil Engineering at Colorado State University - Fort Collins. In July 1971, he was elected vice chairperson of the WUFI, and he voluntarily interrupted his studies, devoting the following three and a half years as full-time staff for the TIM. In 1975, he returned to school to complete his dissertation and obtain

with us in the same area. On both sides of us were the KMT cheerleaders who looked like rascals (*liumang* 流氓). They bared the upper parts of their bodies at international games. What a shame. When we yelled, “Go! Go! Taiwan!” in English or Hoklo, they responded with “Taiwan independence chopsuey (*Taidu zasui* 台獨雜碎!)” It was said that they were hired from Chinatown in New York and paid by the KMT. This year, fortunately, the city police were prepared, and we also did some precautionary work in advance, so no trouble happened. Actually, we also thought it not worthwhile fighting with the rascals. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 294-5)

Moreover, in 1975, the KMT confiscated the “Hoklo Bible” published by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, and banned the *Taiwanese Political Review* (*Taiwan Zhenglun* 台灣政論), the first self-proclaimed “indigenous” political magazine. To counter the KMT’s actions, the Taiwanese in America held several rallies the same year, and convened the annual conference of the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (hereafter WFTA). Mu-sheng describes the part he took at the rally in Chicago and his attendance at the second annual conference of the WFTA in New York as follows:

I attended the rally in Chicago on April 5, and delivered a speech entitled “Let Us Care about Politics.” I stressed that it takes only a few people to care about physics or chemistry, but politics needs everyone to care about it. Besides, politics has a very special characteristic: even if you don’t want to

his Ph.D. Carry Hong was the most representative figure in the WUFI who insisted on the road of socialism. In 1984, he separated himself from the WUFI, and organized the “Taiwan Revolutionary Party,” serving as its secretary-general, while Hsin-liang Hsu was the first deputy secretary-general (based on my phone interview with Carry Hong on September 12, 1995). For more related data about Hong, see Chu Chen (1993b, 117-20).

Carry Hong had long been editing *Taiwan Independence*, and was considered one of the important theorists in the overseas TIM. His important writings included *Taiwan Self-salvation* (1986) and *New Thoughts about Taiwan* (1996). Besides, collaborating with Kent G. Liu (*Liu Gezheng* 劉格正), he edited and translated four books on the labor movement, including *Reflection and Strategy of the Labor Movement* (1993a); *New Ways of the Labor Movement* (1993b); *Organizing Methods of Mass Self-salvation* (1993c); and *Case Studies of Labor Movements* (1993d).

bother with it, it will still bother you; and if you want to escape from it, you would find there is no door for you to escape through --- every single activity of yours has politics in it. This was my first public speech ever, but my performance exceeded my expectations. Before, even when I spoke in a small meeting, I would get nervous. However, this time I had no stage fright at all.

..... At the rally, when Ming-xiong Li (*Li Mingxiong* 李明雄), president of the Taiwanese Association of Chicago, went to the platform to announce that the dictator Chiang Kai-shek had died, the crowd in the rally stoop up to cheer. I also shared the same joy with the crowd, but in my mind, I thought he got away with it; a monster (*mowang* 魔王) shouldn't have died at old age peacefully. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 295-6)

The second annual conference of the WFTA was held in New York in July, and was hosted by the Taiwanese Association of New York, of which Long-feng Chen (*Chen Longfeng* 陳隆豐) was president, at that time. He worked very hard. At the conference, there were reunification-inclined people coming to harass the others. I did not completely oppose the harassment from those reunification-inclined people or the KMT. Not only could we clearly see what they looked like, but we became more solidary because of them. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 296)

In addition to the overseas political activities, Mu-sheng, alongside his friends, also started to do education aimed toward the island of Taiwan, which they coined “in-island propaganda.” “We collected many addresses of the people living in Taiwan (mainly from telephone directories and classmate address books) and sent propaganda materials by mail. Due to the high volume of mail during the Christmas and the New Year’s season, the customs officials would be too busy to inspect all of them. Consequently, the chance to get through and have the mail delivered was much higher, so we could make the best use of the season to do in-island propaganda. Using the ping-pong table

in my basement, a group of people worked very hard, putting stamped and addressed propaganda materials into big envelopes, sending them to different places in America, from which the propaganda materials were sent to Taiwan. On the other hand, some were sent directly from Columbus, but at several different times so as to increase the chance of delivery” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 298).

Finally, since Mu-sheng’s professional work had something to do with environmental protection, he also started to pay attention to the nuclear plant projects that Taiwan was planning to build at that time.

1976 was also a busy year in terms of political activities. First of all, in response to the construction plan for six nuclear reactors proposed by Taiwan Power Company (*Taiwan Dianli Gongsì* 台灣電力公司), I wrote and published two essays: (1) People Should Have the Veto Power in the Construction of Nuclear Reactors; (2) A Potential Hazard --- Six Nuclear Reactors May Prove to Be Too Much for Taiwan. My arguments started with the general dangers of nuclear reactors. Then, I also emphasized the problem of handling nuclear waste, and that the land in Taiwan was too limited and that Taiwan is located in a seismically volatile region.

Soon after that, two Taiwanese legislators, having obtained my telephone number from a Taiwanese friend in Washington, D.C., called me from Chicago. Very politely, they tried to solicit opinions regarding national affairs from a “prominent overseas Taiwanese (*qiaoling* 僑領)” like me. I told them two things. First, Taiwan independence was the guarantee for Taiwan’s perpetual survival. Second, I was concerned about the construction of nuclear reactors. They did not argue with me, but they were thankful for my opinions. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 303)

At the end of 1976, Mu-sheng finally concluded his two-year tenure as president of the Taiwanese Association in America. Since Mu-sheng realized that his expertise in chemical engineering had not been brought into full play, he again got “cabin fever” and

started to look for a new job. In early 1978, his former colleague at Geigy Chemical, who was assigned to construct a new research and development center for the company, invited him to take charge of the entire chemical engineering department at the center. Thus, Mu-sheng changed to a new job again in 1978, and moved one more time.

6.4.7 The Years in New England

Mu-sheng's new work place was located at Cranston, Rhode Island, about five miles to the south of the capital city of Providence. He served as manager of research and development at the chemical engineering department. Since the place was not a big city, there were quite few Taiwanese. In the beginning, Mu-sheng frequented Boston to attend the Taiwanese gatherings there (including the open Taiwanese Association and the clandestine WUFI). However, "at that time, the morale of the Taiwanese in Boston was not encouraging. Gone was the enthusiasm of the past. It seemed that the major activities of the WUFI were to attend meetings, and some members were not even eager to devote. Within two years, I sharply cut my visits to Boston" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 316). Since Mu-sheng had become a lonely person, the way he took part in political activities had also changed:

My political activities were limited to writing some articles for *Columbus Correspondence* (*Gecheng Tongxun* 哥城通訊), *Mayflowers* (*Wangchunfeng* 望春風) and *Taiwan Tribune* (*Taiwan Gonglunbao* 台灣公論報); joining the summer conferences of the Taiwanese Association at different places; and participating in demonstrations. At this time, my only title was advisor to the *Taiwan Tribune* given by its publisher Fu-chen Lo. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 316-7)

In December 1979, the "Formosa Incident" broke out in Kaohsiung City. "The

phones from my comrades and friends rang off the hook. I could only utter one sigh after another, feeling powerless both mentally and physically. The KMT was still haughtily as repressive as ever. However, I did see brave Taiwanese walking on the streets of Kaohsiung City on International Human Rights Day, and a sense of hope arose from my heart. Taiwan was changing, anyway” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 317).

As a blacklisted person, Mu-sheng was unable to go back to Taiwan. In 1980, his father-in-law organized a visiting group, nine people in all, including his in-laws and one from each family of his wife’s siblings’. “My father-in-law led a group of people, spending so much money to come to the United States, primarily because I had been blacklisted, and he was afraid that he might not be able to see me again. How thoughtful he was. Though he traveled around with us, he refused to go on sightseeing tours. He always said that he came to visit relatives, not for sightseeing. When I was allowed to go back to Taiwan on a single entry permit in 1989, he was already in a sanitarium, and my mother-in-law had passed away” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 325).

In July 1981, Wen-chen Chen (*Chen Wencheng* 陳文成), an Assistant Professor in the Department of Statistics at Carnegie-Mellon University, went back to Taiwan to visit his relatives. Since he had donated money to the *Formosa Magazine* while he was abroad, he was interviewed by the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters. Right after that, he was found dead on the campus of National Taiwan University. The KMT said he had committed suicide for fear of being punished.²¹⁵ For this incident, Mu-sheng

²¹⁵. The incident is called the “Wen-chen Chen Incident (*Chen Wencheng Shijian* 陳文成事件)” in the literature. It was widely believed that the death was caused by the torture and interrogation conducted by the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters. After his death, the staff of Taiwan Garrison put his body on the campus of his alma mater, and claimed it suicide for fear of being punished. Since the incident involved the fact that the KMT recruited students as agents on U.S. campuses to monitored Taiwanese

again railed at the KMT: “The KMT was lawless and godless, haughtily arrogant and barbarous. Once again I felt so powerless. How unfortunate the Taiwanese are” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 332)!

In 1984, the Henry Liu murder case took place. Henry Liu (*Liu Yiliang* 劉宜良)(penname Jiangnan (*Jiangnan* 江南)), a Taiwanese writer and a naturalized U.S. citizen, was assassinated in the United States by Taiwan gangsters sent by the KMT, simply because he published a rather fair *A Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo* (*Jiang Jingguo Zhuan* 蔣經國傳)(see Henry Liu 1984).²¹⁶ On this case, Mu-sheng has the following comments;

The Henry Liu murder case happened in 1984, and it was reportedly done by the Military Intelligence Bureau (*Junshi Qingbao Ju* 軍事情報局), Ministry of National Defense, by order of Hsiao-wu Chiang (*Jiang Xiaowu* 蔣孝武). In the year that followed, Chiang Ching-kuo announced that from then on, none of the Chiang family members would succeed to power, and he also said that he was Taiwanese, too. I always considered that the two events were connected, and it was likely that a deal was reached under the table between the Nationalist government and the Reagan administration. One side agreed

students’ speech and behavior, later it resulted in massive repercussions in the Taiwanese American community and the American media. The U.S. Congress held a public hearing in October of the same year, investigating the situation of the KMT sending students themselves agents on U.S. campuses (see U.S. Congress 1982). To date, as to the truth about the death was and endeavor of who the murderer was, the Taiwanese authorities have never given satisfactory answers. For a summary of the “Wen-chen Chen Incident,” refer to the Foundation of Taiwan-US Cultural Exchange (1995); Hui-ling Hu (2001b); and Professor Chen Wen-chen’s Memorial Foundation (nd).

²¹⁶. The murder is called the “Henry Liu Murder Case (*Jiangnan An* 江南案)” in the literature. Since Henry Liu was a U.S. citizen, and the KMT, unbelievably, sent gangsters to the United States to assassinate him, the murder case caused a storm. In 1984, the U.S. Congress held a public hearing, requesting that the Taiwanese authorities have the suspects extradited to the United States for trial (see U.S. Congress 1985). In 1992, U.S. reporter David K. Kaplan used the case as a backdrop and published *Fires of the Dragon: Politics, Murder, and Kuomintang*, which was considered the most detailed report of this case so far. There is a Chinese edition of this book, see David Kaplan (1993). In addition, *In Memory of Henry Liu*, another book about this case published by the Committee to Obtain Justice for Mr. Henry Liu (1985), is also an important historical data source on the case.

to forsake power, and the other agreed not to request that the key suspects Chi-li Chen (*Chen Qili* 陳啓禮) and Hsiao-wu Chiang be extradited. It was purely my guess. This was about a foreign government sending some people to the United States to assassinate a U.S. citizen, and I did not believe such a case would be closed so perfunctorily. If my guess is right, then the influence of the Henry Liu murder case on the modern history of Taiwan should not be ignored. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 332)

In 1986, the WUFI required all members to renew their registration. After careful consideration, Mu-sheng decided not to renew his membership, ending an involvement that had lasted for almost 20 years (see next section for details).

6.4.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Before going abroad, to some extent, Mu-sheng had already arrived at his “Taiwanese identity.” But that kind of Taiwanese identity could only be considered a “naïve Taiwanese consciousness,” not necessarily a clear “Taiwanese national identity” or “Taiwan independence consciousness.” During the period when he came to study and work, however, Mu-sheng had more opportunities to further distill his sense of national identity, upgrading his Taiwanese identity from the level of a naïve native consciousness to a more systematic defined national identity. If we look at it from the perspective of the racial/ethnic identity development model, we can see that Mu-sheng’s development of national identity did not go through the “conversion” process described by Cross (1971, 1976), but he did go through the “recycling” process described by Parham (1989), since he did make some revision in his original “naïve Taiwanese identity.”

In fact, the identity recycling process, just like the conversion process, would lead him through the so-called “encounter stage,” “immersion-emersion stage” and

“internalization stage.” Unlike the conversion process, there only exists a “partial,” rather than an “extreme,” difference between the original “old” identity and the formed “new” identity. In view of development process of Mu-sheng’s national identity from “naïve Taiwanese consciousness” to “Taiwan independence consciousness,” his decision to join the UFAI in 1968 was an important indicator, signifying that his “Taiwan independence consciousness” had finally entered the internalization stage. Therefore, in this section, I shall first discuss the encounter stage and immersion-emersion stage before his entry into the internalization stage, and in the section that follows, I shall discuss the content of his national identity after he joined the UFAI.

In the following five observations, the first four involve the encounter stage, while the last one is the immersion-emersion stage.

(6.4.8.a) First of all, in this process of identity recycling, Mu-sheng’s *American experience* should be considered the key factor in explaining his entry into the “encounter stage.” The American experience, refers primarily to how the external environment in which Mu-sheng was studying influenced the public’s view, including his professors, American classmates, other international students as well as the information in the news media, etc. viewed Taiwan. To illustrate how the “American experience” would affect the national identity of Taiwanese students, we can quote a little story in another of Mu-sheng’s books, *The Anecdotes of Taiwanese Americans*. In a short article titled “The Well Frog (*jingwa* 井蛙),” he describes a little story about a Taiwanese student named “A-chao (*Achao* 阿朝)” from the perspective of a third person:

With a brain full of KMT culture, A-chao was a Taiwanese student studying in America in the late 1960s. Upon his arrival on the new continent, dressed to the teeth, he walked superciliously, literally showing off an image of a

student from a “great country (*yangyang-daguo* 泱泱大國).” Due to his background, his conception of his country was often very confusing, and his so-called “common sense” was also contradictory most of the time. For instance, he believed that China was a country with bountiful resources, but he did not know that, not long ago, there were a lot of people starving on the streets of Shanghai. He also believed in the notion of Free China (*Ziyou Zhongguo* 自由中國), though he knew that people there had to speak very carefully.

One morning after registration, he met Ma (*Ma* 馬), a student from Thailand. After mutual self-introductions, Ma asked what country A-chao came from.

“From China,” A-chao replied.

“What country are you from? Would you repeat that?” Though he heard the word “China,” Ma knew that in the late 1960s there were no students coming from China, so he was still confused.

“‘China,’ haven’t you heard of the great China (*weida de Zhongguo* 偉大的中國)?” A-chao was a bit angry. He was not happy that Ma had never heard of the motherland he was so proud of. When he mentioned China, he stressed the word.

“Oh, I got it. But, which China?”

“China is China, there is no such thing as which China.”

“What I am asking is: Chiang Kai-shek’s or Mao Zedong’s (*Mao Zedong* 毛澤東)?”

“Chiang Kai-shek’s.”

“Then, it is Taiwan. How come you describe tiny Taiwan as ‘Great China?’”

Enraged, he showed a gesture of contempt with his right hand, and immediately left Ma's side. (Mu-sheng Wu 1997, 48-9)

The "Chinese identity" created by the KMT in Taiwan with the door to the outside closed, obviously, was riddled with holes, which were easily revealed once identity was put on an international platform for inspection. Given such circumstances, Mu-sheng had the opportunity to further review his original "naïve Taiwanese consciousness," and then distill it as a "Taiwan independence consciousness." Though the main character in the story was not he himself, I believe the "new environment" in America, definitely, had affected the content of Mu-sheng's national identity in all respects.

(6.4.8.b) Second, if we use the important events in his life history as the objects of our analysis, then Mu-sheng's "*reading experiences*" on the new continent --- especially the ones with books and magazines related to the TIM --- seemed to be the key events causing him to enter the "encounter stage" as part of his identity recycling process. Not long after arriving at the University of Mississippi, Mu-sheng mentioned that he read *Taiwan Youth*, a magazine published by the TIM organization in Japan, at a friend's home.

Besides, in 1964, on his way to find a summer job in New York City, he stayed over for a couple of days at the home of a friend studying at the University of Michigan. He visited the Asian collection of the library and read many publications for "alternative" information. "[The information] greatly opened my field of vision. A lot of historical descriptions were quite different from what I read in Taiwan, and I realized that a lot of knowledge in my brain should be corrected and adjusted" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 211). Though in his memoir, Mu-sheng did not elaborate these two special "reading

experiences,” I believe they were the key events contributing to his shift from Chinese to Taiwanese as his national identity.

Mu-sheng once wrote a short fiction entitled “Transformation (*Zhuanbian* 轉變),” in which the main character was a female student who changed from Chinese to Taiwanese in her national identity after coming to America. Here is how Mu-sheng described the reason why she transformed her national identity:

Her transformation resulted from her access to the publications related to Taiwanese history at the university library, until it dawned on her who she was and what was the destiny of the Taiwanese. At first, she blamed her parents for being timid and weak. To protect their children’s as well as their own safety, they kept their mouths shut and never mentioned anything about Taiwan in the past. As intellectuals, she thought that they would rather lead a life without dignity. On second thought, however, she forgave them, since they were burdened with horrible historical baggage. (Mu-sheng Wu 1994b, 371)

Of course, this was a piece of “fiction” written by Mu-sheng. He did not say directly that this was his own experience. However, I believe that, to some degree, the transformation process in national identity here was similar to Mu-sheng’s own.

(6.4.8.c) Third, Mu-sheng’s reconnection with George T. Chang, his college roommate, in Houston in 1965, seemed to be another key event moving him into the “encounter stage.” Unlike isolated University of Mississippi, Houston is a huge metropolitan area, where Mu-sheng met many of his old friends, and made acquaintance with many new Taiwanese friends. More important, he also read an article in a local newspaper written by George T. Chang and his friends, accusing the KMT of the atrocities in Taiwan. It was published in their real names, signifying that they had decided to openly confront the KMT government. Mu-sheng (1995, 77) described this

letter to the editor as “a news clipping I would never forget in my life,” and he also realized that “a new generation after the February 28 Incident had grown up” (Mu-sheng Wu 1995, 77-8).

(6.4.8.d) Fourth, using the words of Cross (1995, 105), if we want to do further analysis, then the so-called “encounter stage” actually can be divided into two sub-stages: one is experiencing the encounter, and the other is “personalizing” the encounter. Of course, Cross (1995, 105) also acknowledges that such a demarcation makes sense only in analysis, but in reality, it is like “cutting a hair into two sections.” He asks us to distinguish between “being in the path of being the object of an encounter event or activity” and “really personalizing the encounter or being ‘turned around by it.’” In other words, the “encounter” must have a strong influence on the person who experiences it. In fact, Cross (1995, 105) further points out, in the lifetime of a Black, he or she would contact some information about or experience some situation of racial discrimination. However, unless he or she personalizes the event, no matter for what reason, his or her original worldview or viewpoint toward “race” would never really be challenged.

Using this insight to compare Mu-sheng’s “reading experiences” when he just arrived in the United States with the “George T. Chang event” in early 1965, we can see the subtle difference between the two. Though the earlier “reading experiences” allowed Mu-sheng to realize that “a lot of knowledge in my brain should be corrected and adjusted” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 211), these were only “written words” he read in books and magazines; they were not deeply imprinted on Mu-sheng’s heart. However, the “George T. Chang event” had a different implication for him. Chang was one of his

closest friends. Not only was Chang his roommate in college and a classmate one year his junior, Chang was also one of the friends from whom Mu-sheng borrowed money when he went abroad (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 210). Therefore, Mu-sheng not only read the letter to the editor attacking the KMT, he also read an article published in the newspaper by his close friend. To Mu-sheng, the “George T. Chang event” was more like a “personalizing event” at the encounter stage. In fact, on the journey toward Mu-sheng’s national identity, George T. Chang played a very important role.

(6.4.8.e) Finally, when Mu-sheng sought another job in the summer of 1966, one of his considerations was that he wanted to live in a city “with a group of Taiwanese enthusiastic about the political movement” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 232; emphasis added). This was one of the important characteristics for those people at the “immersion-emersion stage.” Just as Cross (1995, 109) points out, “[M]ost converts will seek and find the social support of others by joining certain organizations and groups. The groups joined provide a counterculture to the identity being replaced (the “Negro” or non-Afrocentric identity) by entangling the person in membership requirements, symbolic dress codes, rites, rituals, obligations, and reward systems that nurture and reinforce the emerging “new” (Black or Afrocentric) identity.”

Situated in a remote area, Mu-sheng obviously could not find a group of comrades join in the search for new identity. Consequently, he hoped that in the next city he was to move to, there would be a group of Taiwanese embracing the same Taiwanese identity, and he could organize a political movement together with them.

6.4.9 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

If we take the perspective to the “behavior” level, then Mu-sheng’s action of joining the UFAI in 1968 signifies that he underwent a further development in his national identity. In terms of the racial/ethnic identity development model, he had finally entered the “internalization stage” of the identity recycling process. The followings are my observations regarding the content of his national identity at the internalization stage.

(6.4.9.a) First of all, Mu-sheng had a strong *commitment* toward this new identity. While explaining the reason why he “reluctantly” joined the UFAI, Mu-sheng was so modest as to say that he “did not have the courage and determination to sacrifice for the revolutionary movement” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 248). In fact, he had set the standard for an “activist” too high. As a vocational school graduate, once he made up his mind to get into college, he boned up at all cost and finally got into National Taiwan University. Similarly, he had a very deep commitment toward the “Taiwanese identity” he had chosen.

For example, when studying for his Ph.D. degree at the University of Texas, he was frequently in financial difficulties and had very limited time, but he was still very enthusiastic over the activities of the Taiwanese Association there. And while he had no money to buy a bicycle for his son, he “spent a lot of money on the Taiwanese political movement” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 279).

Take another example. Facing the fact that organizing a Taiwanese Association on campus would put him on the KMT’s blacklist, since there were KMT spies on U.S. campuses, he still organized the Taiwanese Association at the University of Texas at Austin. One week after the Taiwanese Association was established, according to his

own words,

I received a letter from the Consul General of the Consulate. In the letter, he made it clear that (1) the Taiwanese Association is a rebel organization; (2) I have to close the association; (3) I have to provide the consulate information about my parents and immediate relatives; (4) I have to provide the consulate information about the students on campus (i.e., be an informant for the KMT). The letter was sent certified with return receipt. I refused to reply to this threatening letter. (Mu-sheng Wu 1994, 207-8)

(6.4.9.b) Furthermore, to emphasize the Taiwanese identity that had been maliciously slandered by the KMT, Mu-sheng undauntedly *confronted the KMT's Chinese identity* in almost every field. It goes without saying that he did it in every political movement. But, noticeably, even in other fields unrelated to politics, such as baseball games, a tense situation could easily erupt into open hostility. In 1974, during the “Little League World Series” held at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, Mu-sheng had an oral confrontation with the crowd that supported the KMT, since he and his friends called the baseball team from Taiwan as “Team Taiwan,” while the supporters of the KMT considered it “Team China” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 294-5).

(6.4.9.c) Third, though Mu-sheng had a very high commitment toward Taiwanese identity, and in every field seriously fought with the KMT for that identity, *he had never positioned himself as a “revolutionary.”* Rather, he considered himself an “enthusiast.” “A revolution is a big deal, literally, as big as moving heaven and earth. Overthrowing the Chiang authoritarian regime would definitely be a revolution. I evaluated myself, and found that I did not have the courage and determination to sacrifice for the revolutionary movement” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 248). Of course, this was because Mu-sheng set a very high standard for TIM participants, and this self-positioning

also resulted in his decision not to renew his WUFI membership in 1986 (see next section for detail).

(6.4.9.d) Fourth, though Mu-sheng was a WUFI member, it seemed that he was not a key player or a leader of the organization. On the contrary, the *Taiwanese Association*, which was more grassroots in nature, was the major arena where he spent most of his time, especially during his two-year tenure as the President of the TAA. Of course, this had something to do with the grassroots nature of his personality. “I did not have the characteristics to rub elbows with reporters and dignitaries, not did I have the interest or opportunities to deal with them, ... I knew I was not fit to do this kind of work, since I did not have that gene in my blood, ...” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 333).

(6.4.9.e) Finally, during this period, from the legal perspective, Mu-sheng had in fact become an *American*, since he was granted U.S. citizenship and had pledged allegiance to the United States in 1974.²¹⁷ However, as a first-generation immigrant, “I have never said that I am American, and if today the United States was at war with Taiwan, I shall be on Taiwan’s side (but my offspring will be on the U.S. side)” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 373). In this regard, Mu-sheng’s thinking is not unique. In fact, this is what most first-generation Taiwanese Americans think.

Most Taiwanese Americans still give Taiwan the top priority over America. As a matter of fact, Taiwanese Americans seldom care about this land. Perhaps it is not that they do not love this land; it is only because the land is so secure that they do not have to care too much. And even if they care, the

²¹⁷. In Mu-sheng’s memoir, while describing the 1970s, he does not mention that he had obtained his U.S. citizenship. Rather, it is when he describes his life in the 1990s, he mentions that “26 years ago, I had already got my U.S. citizenship and pledged my allegiance to the United States” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 373). The year of 1974 is calculated by me, not directly from the content of his autobiography.

effect does not matter much. In the elections for President of the Taiwanese Association of America, the campaign theme has been always centered on Taiwan independence. Very few people would talk about the welfare of Taiwanese Americans, much less the concern and love toward this American land. After all, what they are missing and concerned about is still Taiwan. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 374)

Thus, Mu-sheng came to this conclusion: “between being the last descendants of Taiwanese and the first ancestors of Taiwanese Americans, Taiwanese Americans seem to have chosen the former” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 374).

6.5 The Post-WUFI Period (1986-)

In 1986, Mu-sheng decided not to renew his WUFI membership. Four years later, he formally retired, entering life’s “fourth movement” and concentrating on writing. After he retired, for a while Mu-sheng pondered over returning to Taiwan to contribute what he had learned. However, after much consideration, he decided to stay in the United States. It was also during this period that Mu-sheng’s national identity underwent a second identity recycling process, changing from the ‘Taiwan independence version’ of Taiwanese identity at the previous stage, which was in line with the “WUFI” mainstream identity, into the “Taiwanese American version” of Taiwanese identity.

6.5.1 Deciding Not to Renew the WUFI membership

In 1986, the WUFI required all the members to reregister their membership. After some struggle, Mu-sheng decided not to renew his membership. He explains his decision in the following way:

I had been with the WUFI for 20 years. During this period the WUFI had

not come close enough to approaching its goal. If the center of a circle is the goal, then the WUFI had been circling along the circumference at a certain radius all the time. The WUFI needed a breakthrough, which would take extraordinary courage and conscientiousness. [Unfortunately,] I lacked both of them, since I gave my first priority to my family. With such a premise, I thus lost my qualification to be in a revolutionary organization and be a WUFI member, which demanded that the Chiang regime be overthrown at any cost.

To be honest, I did not have many revolutionary cells, and I was afraid of death, too. I had a sense of justice as well as a sense of right and wrong. I also had a very strong Taiwanese consciousness. However, my revolutionary ambition was not strong enough, and I could endure only limited sacrifice. I knew how horrible the KMT's persecutions against Taiwanese were, and how cruel their nature was (some said that the KMT were so cruel that they wouldn't shed a tear before they saw the coffin, but I would say even if the KMT saw a coffin, they would remain tearless). To join a revolutionary organization to overthrow the KMT would take the spirit of absolute sacrifice, together with the determination to contribute one's life and properties. Since there was a difference between the "ought-to-be (*yinggai* 應該)" and the "reality (*shishi* 事實)" or the "willingness (*yi yuan* 意願)," I felt it very painful to stay in the WUFI. Moreover, at that time, I was alone in a remote place geographically far away from the WUFI, and far from putting principles into actual actions. Therefore, I chose to do things individually, such as writing articles, participating in demonstrations or Taiwanese gatherings, etc. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 334)

Because of the membership renewal process, Mu-sheng got a chance to reevaluate himself as well as the WUFI, and came up with the following observations. First of all, since most of the WUFI members had science or engineering backgrounds, they tended to do things that were incongruous with the "art of compromise" in real politics. "A majority of the WUFI members studied science or engineering. When these people with science or engineering backgrounds got together, the methods they decided, the ideals

they possessed, and the values they believed in were all scientific and nonnegotiable. It would be appropriate to use such a scientific attitude to study political theories or construct political ideals, but it became difficult to use such an attitude to carry out real politics. Politics is the art of compromise, and as said by the well-respected late Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois, ‘I am a man of Principle, and my principle is flexibility.’ In fact, issues are real, and politics is not an art, since an important ingredient of art is beauty. But in political maneuvering, not only is beauty rarely seen, but there is too much dirtiness, treachery, ugliness and, of course, dishonesty, which is close to deceitfulness. In real politics, the WUFI was not immune from the negative characteristics of politics” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 334-5).

Second, since most WUFI members paid too much attention to principles, they lacked flexibility, and when facing the crowd, especially the crowd in Taiwan, they often found themselves alienated. Such things happened. As a matter of fact, in a real society, there are always many things which are illogical or theoretically unsustainable, yet the crowd has been doing them all the time, and they have gotten accustomed to such things (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 335).

Third, some members stretched principles ad infinitum, and ended up stumbling over themselves. Since every measure and every action was subject to the principles, sometimes the objective was thus blurred, or worse yet, sometimes the already narrow path to the objective was blocked. Mu-sheng uses a very interesting example to illustrate his argument:

I always like to use an example of a surgeon to reflect the characteristics of an organization, which is composed of a group of people with the same professional training. If all the doctors are surgeons, then they might try to

cure a patient inflicted with the cold by way of surgery. Though the example is exaggerated, perhaps we can find some important message from this hypothetical illustration. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 335)

Fourth, Mu-sheng also found that most WUFI members did not contribute enough for the cause of Taiwan independence. “Of course, I did not deny that they did better in comparison with other overseas organizations. However, when taking the goal into consideration, it is not important to compare yourself with other organizations; rather, it is essentially an issue related to the organization itself” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 335).

Finally, the WUFI still had other practical shortcomings in terms of the organization itself. For example, “There was no staunch leadership center, and the organization lacked talents in leadership. The organization was loose and was susceptible to infiltration as well as manipulation by ambitious politicians. Besides, there were zealots without guiding principles, and there were too many people competing for limited positions, yet there were not enough fellow members. To make things worse, some people were simply too arrogant to deal with, and basically, this was a group of highly educated people who were rebelling against the government they left behind. Conclusively, it was this specific environment that had produced the characteristics of the WUFI” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 335-6).

6.5.2 Returning to Alabama

In 1987, due to the protests from a local environmental group, the research center in which Mu-sheng had worked for ten years was slated to move. First it was moved to Toms River, New Jersey, and then to McIntosh, Alabama, the first place where Mu-sheng worked right after obtaining his Master’s degree 20 years before (Mu-sheng Wu 2000,

338). Though extremely reluctant, he had not reached the age of retirement, so he had to return to Alabama. “When I heard of the news, I felt it was excruciatingly painful. This was a place I hated so much. I thought of early retirement, but I had to wait two more years to be qualified. Resignation was not a choice, since I would forfeit all the benefits. Thus, I had to go to “hell” and ride out two more years” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 338).

At the end of 1987, not long after Mu-sheng moved his family to Alabama, the headquarters of Geigy Chemical, which is located in Switzerland, suddenly decided to set up a factory in Taiwan. Mu-sheng was assigned to take charge of the whole project and was responsible for the preparation and construction of this factory. After careful consideration, he decided to accept the new job. He explains his thinking as he made this decision:

After living in a foreign land for a quarter century, I had not become a weary bird yet. But year after year, the aspiration to go back to the old nest had become stronger and stronger. When leaving Taiwan, I did not intend to stay in a foreign land permanently. I also kept warning myself that it would be better to go home as soon as possible, but I still kept staying one year after another. My wife said that we should go back to Taiwan on the assignment, because she would like to fulfill her long-craved wish --- inviting her father to live with us in southern Taiwan. In the past, due to the distance, she was unable to take care of him. Certainly, I also wanted to take good care of my mother for several years. For her children and the poor family, she had sacrificed her whole life and endured so much hardship. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 408)

However, when Mu-sheng applied for a visa at the KMT’s Office in Atlanta’s “Coordination Council for Northern American Affairs,” he was unable to get the visa from the Taiwan government. “The reason was that I had been on the file at the Bureau

of Investigation, but the details were not clear. The official at the office said that the main concern of the Taiwanese authorities was social safety (*shehui anning* 社會安寧). He suggested that I put into writing that I would not cause any trouble in Taiwan, and he would try to argue with the authorities for me one more time. Thus, I sent my petition, explaining that my returning to Taiwan was solely for the purpose of introducing advanced technologies to my homeland, and that it had nothing to do with politics. Furthermore, after returning to Taiwan, except for my own company, I would not get in touch with any agencies, nor would I contact any [political] organizations. After my return, I would concentrate on constructing the factory and I would not participate in any political activities” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 410).

Unfortunately, in the spring of 1988, the Taiwanese authorities still mercilessly denied Mu-sheng’s visa application. “Slowly, the news that I was denied the visa to go back to Taiwan spread through the company in the United States and Switzerland. My boss at the headquarters indignantly called it ridiculous, and a colleague of mine said, ‘I thought after all these years the KMT might have changed, but it remains the same.’ There were many other colleagues who said something even more pointed” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 411).

6.5.3 Returning to Taiwan for the First Time

In early 1989, Mu-sheng’s mother was seriously ill. Using the matter as a reason, he again applied to the Taiwanese authorities for a visa to get into Taiwan. One week prior to their scheduled departure, the KMT issued Mu-sheng and his wife single entry visas for return to Taiwan. “This was my first time to return to Taiwan since going

abroad in 1963. After 26 years, Taiwan was no longer the Taiwan in my memory and dreams. Besides, when I left, my parents and my parents-in-law were still healthy, but now only my father-in-law, who was staying in a sanitarium, and my mother, who was unconscious off and on, remained there” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 346).

When I saw my mother in a sanitarium in Shilin, my heart was boiling. I was trying to fight my tears in front of other people, but my tears still streamed down. On the occasion, I doubted that she knew I was the son that she had missed for 26 years. The “good deed (*haoshi* 好事)” the KMT had done to separate my family would never be forgotten by me, even though the atrocities it had inflicted upon the Taiwanese had long been completely forgotten by the Taiwanese who had amnesia.

I also went to see my father-in-law, who was staying in a sanitarium affiliated with Ye Internal Medicine Hospital (*Ye Neike Yiyuan* 葉內科醫院). My father-in-law was very conscious. When he saw me, he was so surprised, or, more correctly, terrified, since he had repeatedly advised me never to take the risk to return to Taiwan. I told him that the times had changed. Living in an era like this, he lost his will to be alive and passed away soon afterward, ... (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 346-7)

6.5.4 The Fourth Movement

By the end of 1989, Mu-sheng had arrived at the legal age of early retirement, and he had paid off his younger daughter’s final year college tuition. Therefore, as if he could not wait any longer, he applied for early retirement in January 1990, marching toward the “fourth movement” of his life (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 348). In general, Mu-sheng seemed to be a person who was afraid to “work and live in a structured fashion,” since “I longed for doing something meaningful, and I did not want to squander my life so easily” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 348). He explains why he made the decision to

retire early as follows:

By the end of August 1987, the moving project for the research center had been finished. Except for some technical positions that remained to be filled, my days returned to normalcy. Since I was residing in a place without other Taiwanese, my life no longer had any excitement. In addition, because the KMT denied my visa application, which forced me to cancel my trip to Taiwan, I was emotionally tormented. Other than that, my days were indeed insipid. Though new chemical procedures were continuously invented, experimented and tested, they still wouldn't help.²¹⁸ Sometimes I even came up with the idea that "a repeated life is no different from a chronic suicide" and I felt so uncomfortable. I needed to change the environment. I did not want to waste my life. Thus, I should resign and leave here, ... (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 343)

In January 1991, Mu-sheng and his wife left Alabama and moved to Houston, Texas, because his wife thought they had more Taiwanese friends there (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 355, 372).

When Mu-sheng retired, he was only 57, and he was still very interested in the feasibility of "returning to Taiwan with feedback for the homeland." However, after several homecomings, he suddenly realized that "I handle things in a way different from that of other Taiwanese. Perhaps I am only a *Taiwanese American* and no longer a Taiwanese" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 362; emphasis added). For this journey, he has the following explanation:

On March 15, 1990, to seek a life of "living for myself," I forsook my chemical engineering profession, which I had been in for more than 30 years

²¹⁸. In another piece of writing beyond his autobiography, Mu-sheng (1993, 30) explains why he chose to retire early: "When a person has published scores of research papers or has invented and introduced scores of chemical manufacturing procedures, the satisfaction on the job has come to saturation, one more paper or one more manufacturing procedure would not increase satisfaction in the job."

to feed my family and to raise my children. At first, I decided to contribute my modest effort to Taiwan, where I was born and grew up, in terms of political construction (*zhengzhi jianshe* 政治建設). However, at this moment, the political environment in my homeland had undergone a major change, and the newly formed political environment required me to do a thorough self-evaluation. After several field trips in Taiwan as well as many sleepless nights for considering the matter, I painfully found that I did not have the character and ambition a politician is supposed to possess. Therefore, before marching one step forward for this initial aspiration, I had to declare its death. Nevertheless, my idea of doing something for my homeland did not diminish as a result, and I decided to develop myself in other fields (especially in culture). Ever since I was very young, I had enjoyed scribbling. In terms of writing, I was not talented, and I also had been heavily burdened in everyday life due to my family background, but I still took a great interest in the matter. I firmly believed that I would find joy and comfort in this field. (Mu-sheng Wu 1994a, 3)

Thus, Mu-sheng remained in Houston, becoming a “professional writer.” One by one, he published four books: *The Fourth Movement* (*disi yuezhang* 第四樂章)(1993), *Herbal Tea* (*qingcaocha* 青草茶)(1994), *The Second Life* (*dier shengming* 第二生命)(1996), and *The Anecdotes of Taiwanese Americans* (*Taimeiren qushi* 台美人趣事)(1997), thoroughly demonstrating his potential for a “second life” after his retirement from the engineering profession.

In 1998, Mu-sheng and his wife moved to San Ramon in northern California, where they had a small house with a view of mountains and water. Mu-sheng finished writing his autobiography *The Footprint of A Brave Duck: My Memory* right there.

6.5.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Just as I pointed out in the previous section on the concept of “identity recycling,”

the development of identity does not completely stop at a certain stage. Rather, one continues to face racial/cultural experiences, large or small, positive or negative, which partially challenge the existing identity. Accordingly, the “Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity,” which Mu-sheng accomplished in his previous life stage, would not stay completely unchanged either. New personal experiences, as well as changes in the external environment, would revise the content of his existing “Taiwanese identity.” In Mu-sheng’s case, I find the most important part was that, during his “post-WUFI period,” he increasingly reinforced his “Taiwanese-American identity.”

As I point out in the discussion of Mu-sheng’s national identity at the previous stage, though he obtained the U.S. citizenship in 1974, in terms of national identity, he still tended to view his “Taiwanese,” rather than his “American,” identity as first and foremost. However, by the post-WUFI stage, Mu-sheng seemed to have made some changes, sliding from “Taiwanese” toward “Taiwanese American” identity, especially after Taiwan marched toward democratization in the 1990s. The followings are my observations and explanations for this change.

(6.5.5.a) First of all, in the blacklist era, due to all the obstructions imposed by the KMT, Mu-sheng was unable to return to his homeland. However, while far away from Taiwan, he had a very staunch Taiwanese consciousness, caring much about his homeland. He either did propaganda work among the Taiwanese in America, or wrote articles to express his opinions, or participated in demonstrations to show his support for Taiwan’s democracy to Americans. In spite of all the wrongdoings in Taiwan and abroad, the KMT failed to stop Mu-sheng and his fellow TIM activists’ love of and homesickness for their homeland. On the contrary, the misrule of KMT even reinforced

their determination to establish a Republic of Taiwan in the homeland. “In the blacklist period, the desire to return to Taiwan was so strong. Day in, day out, I dreamed of that. It was very romantic” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 372-3).

(6.5.5.b) Therefore, after retiring, Mu-sheng’s first priority was to return to Taiwan, contributing his profession to his homeland. “After we settled down in Houston, in August 1991, I went to Japan to attend the conference of the World Federation of Taiwanese Association. Then I went to Taiwan, actively exploring the possibility of returning to Taiwan to work. I wanted to establish more connections. However, at least at that moment, even if there was a need to join the [political] organization, I would not consider joining. I decided to find a job that suited my character first” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 358).

(6.5.5.c) Nevertheless, once stepping on the land of Taiwan, he found that, between the Taiwan he imagined in his dreams in the past and the Taiwan he encountered after he actually returned home, there seemed to be a big difference. First, after returning to Taiwan, to his surprise, Mu-sheng found that it was not only in appearance that Taiwan was different from where he lived more than 30 years ago, but also as a whole Taiwan had become more and more “KMT-orientation.” “The current Taiwanese are the people living in Taiwan under the KMT’s rule for more than 50 years. If this is the definition of Taiwanese, then I am not Taiwanese, nor do I possess the values believed by the Taiwanese under this definition” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 373).

Second, to Mu-sheng, all the Taiwanese suffered from amnesia, no matter whether facing the Japanese colonial government before World War II, or the KMT regime after the war. “From 1895 to 1945, the Taiwanese were under Japanese colonial rule, and

they were oppressed and treated as second-class citizens politically, economically, socially and in terms of education. However, after that, despite complaints, they still remembered the government with nostalgia. Following the Japanese, the KMT used bloody hands to rule Taiwan for another 50 years, and during the period, the Taiwanese went through the February 28 Incident, the White Terror, the Formosa Incident, the Wen-chen Chen Incident and the Lin Family Murders. But now the Taiwanese not only forget the ‘morality and conduct (*dexing* 德性)’ of the KMT, they are virtually indifferent” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 375). “These are the Taiwanese nowadays, and they are quite different from the Taiwanese that I had in mind. The Taiwan I love is the status quo (*xianzhuang* 現狀) plus dignity (*zunyan* 尊嚴), but the Taiwanese do not want to pay the price for dignity. After several hundred years’ of a colonial life, dignity no longer matters much in their minds”(Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 376).

(6.5.5.d) In addition, since the 1990s, the whole political environment in Taiwan had undergone tremendous changes and, as a result, the overseas TIM had become relatively less important. Before that, all the opposition movements on the island had to face the KMT’s authoritarian rule directly, and accordingly, the political movements inside the island were under severe repression in all regards. Under such circumstances, the overseas TIM did play a very important role in the democratization process of Taiwan (Shu 2001a, 100). However, after Taiwan’s democratization, the main TIM political arena had been moved to Taiwan, and the “overseas role was thus relegated to one with an auxiliary nature” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 274). In his autobiography, Mu-sheng explains the matter as follows:

Since the National Security Law (*Guojia Anquan Fa* 國家安全法) was

amended and put into effect in August 1992, the blacklist has been mostly removed. As a consequence, oversea Taiwanese political activities entered a new stage with more people joining, especially after 1994, because the Democratic Progressive Party was already gradually taking power. The overseas politicians, who were seen as frightening in the past from the perspective of those who were neutral, had entered the power center of the DPP. (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 377)

Given the situation, as the time progressed, Mu-sheng's possible contribution to "motherland" Taiwan via a political movement seemed to gradually diminish.

(6.5.5.e) Then, Mu-sheng finally realized that he had become a "Taiwanese American," not a "Taiwanese" any more, since he had been living in the United States longer than he did in Taiwan. "And, how about me? I am no longer the one 30 years ago; I have been pretty much Americanized. Though I am not completely compatible with American society, I have discovered that I feel more comfortable living in the United States. Certainly, it has something to do with the fact that I have lived in the United States longer than I did in Taiwan. However, it is largely because in the past upwards of 30 years, I have been living in the United States. Furthermore, as a blacklisted person [without chance of visiting home], I have become unfamiliar with Taiwan. Indeed, I have been a Taiwanese American, not a Taiwanese any more" (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 373).

(6.5.5.f) Finally, after he formally retired, Mu-sheng also had a new "occupational role." Before his retirement, he was an engineer. After applying for an early retirement, he became a professional writer. Of course, in the Taiwanese community, "writer" is still a very "unconventional" occupation, and that is why Mu-sheng writes self-deprecatingly as follows:

I have a great sense of self-respect, and for that reason, I am afraid of being considered a “jobless drifter,” a “hedonist” or a “lazy good-for-nothing” simply because I don’t have a professional job. Thus, in the beginning, when Americans asked about my profession, I was so sheepish that I had to use a voice even I myself couldn’t hear and responded with “writer” perfunctorily. However, after several months’ training, now I can reply unabashedly. If the person who raises the question is a Taiwanese, then I simply stammer out ambiguously, not knowing how to answer. It is really a very embarrassing occasion. Indeed, I feel so awkward to call myself a writer. (Mu-sheng Wu 1993, 44)

6.6 Conclusion

At last, let us briefly review Mu-sheng’s national identity development process. First of all, he was born in 1933 in Small Harbor, Kaohsiung. As a Japanese citizen by birth, he also received Japanese education for five years. He did not have the ability to oppose the “Japanese identity” imposed by the colonial government, and embraced “Japanese identity” accordingly. But in the process of accomplishing his Japanese identity, he seemed not to have forgotten his “Taiwanese status,” and he did not “stigmatize” his Taiwanese status, either.

In 1945, due to the changeover in ruling governments, Mu-sheng switched from being Japanese to being Chinese under the KMT rule. Under the KMT rule, Mu-sheng finished his elementary education, middle school education, and took the entrance examinations twice to finally get into the Department of Chemical Engineering, National Taiwan University. After graduating from college, Mu-sheng served as an Air Force reserve officer for one and a half years, and then he worked at Taiwan Sugar Company for upwards of four years. Like most Taiwanese who had been under colonial rule for 50 years, facing the new “motherland,” young Mu-sheng seemed to have Chinese identity

for a short term.

However, not too long after the KMT took over Taiwan, Mu-sheng developed a “naive Taiwanese consciousness,” probably due to the effect of the February 28 Incident, the background of growing up in southern Taiwan, and his being sensitive to all kinds of discriminations, including the “discrimination based on the division between Taiwanese and Mainlanders.” Basically, Mu-sheng’s “naive Taiwanese consciousness” consists of the following three elements: an “anti-KMT consciousness” as a political identity, “Taiwanese consciousness” as an ethnic identity, and the consciousness about “keeping politics at a distance.”

In 1963, Mu-sheng journeyed to study in the United States alone. And in 1968, he joined the UFAI, plunging himself into the overseas TIM camp. Until he decided not to renew his WUFI membership in 1986, he had been a member of the TIM organization for 18 years. During the period, first he received his master’s degree, started to work as an engineer at a chemical company, reunited with his family in the United States, went to study for his Ph.D. at the University of Texas at Austin, founded the Taiwanese Association of Austin, and later also served as president of the Taiwanese Association of America. It was during this period that Mu-sheng, for the first time, entered the identity recycling stage, further developing a “naive Taiwanese consciousness,” which he had embraced while in Taiwan, into the “Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity.” In the process, he went through the “encounter stage” (relevant factors included American experience, the experience of reading TIM publications, and the experience of his friends sending a letter to the newspaper attacking the KMT), and the “immersion-emersion stage” (wanting to move to and work at a city where there were

other Taiwanese), and finally after he joined the UFAI, he entered the “internalization stage” of identity recycling.

In 1986, Mu-sheng decided not to renew his WUFI membership. Four years later, he officially retired, marching into the “fourth movement” of his life, and concentrating on his writing. At this stage, for the second time, Mu-sheng entered another identity recycling in national identity, gradually switching from “Taiwanese identity” to “Taiwanese-American identity.” Certainly, the process was closely related to the changes of political environment in Taiwan. Before that, having being on the KMT’s blacklist, Mu-sheng fervently aspired to return to Taiwan so that he could “contribute to the motherland.” However, due to Taiwan’s democratization as well as the difference between the “imagined Taiwan” and the “real Taiwan,” Mu-sheng eventually realized that he had been living in the United States longer than he had in Taiwan and, he discovered that he had become a “Taiwanese American.”

Chapter Seven

Case Study (3): The Process of National Identity Formation of Trong R. Chai

When I was serving as the chairperson of the Student Representatives Assembly [at National Taiwan University], due to the fact that I was not a member of the KMT, I experienced all kinds of unfair treatment and obstruction, which resulted in my fierce sense of being oppressed, and an idea to overthrow the regime was ignited.

--- Trong R. Chai, *I Want to Go Home*

7.1 Introduction

While talking about the leading figures of the overseas TIM into consideration, no matter from what perspective, Trong R. Chai absolutely should be treated as one of them. Not only was he the first chairperson of the World United Formosans for Independence,” the most representative organization of the overseas TIM, he was also the first president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs, currently the most active lobbyist organization on behalf of the Taiwanese American. Immediately after ending his exile life and returned to Taiwan in 1990, Trong organized the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan and became its first president, and was thus acclaimed by the Taiwanese President Chen Shui-bian as the “father of plebiscite.” Furthermore, he was also the chairperson of Board of Directors of Formosa TV, the forth TV station in Taiwan starting to air in 1997. In November 2003, when the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan was debating ferociously about the Plebiscite Law, Trong, who was dubbed “Plebiscite Chai,” suddenly became the focus figure in the media.

However, the most important reason that Trong R. Chai deserves more attention from the oversea TIM researchers is not the “prominent” titles mentioned above; rather, it is because he was a representative figure of the important “generation” of the TIM. Born in 1935, Trong actually belonged to the most important and most influential generation²¹⁹ in the TIM. Most of the overseas TIM front leaders, such as George T. Chang (1936-), Fu-chen Lo (1935-), Mark Chen (1935-), like Trong, were born in or around 1935, studying at Tainan First Middle School or Chiayi Middle School, and graduating from National Taiwan University. Moreover, they were already acquainted with each other while they were still in Taiwan, growing up together during their adolescence or youth period. To analyze Trong’s developmental process of national identity, I have to acknowledge, would enable us to understand the identity transformation process of other important TIM leaders to some extent.

Up to date, Trong has published two autobiographies. The first one was *I Want to Go Home* (1990), which was written about one or two years before Trong returned to Taiwan in 1990, covering mostly the events related to his participation in the TIM in the United States. The second one was *Formosa TV and I* (2003), covering the period of his

²¹⁹. In an article I published earlier regarding the “demographic characteristics” of the TIM activists in the United States, I found that most of the TIM activists were born in the 1930s and 1940s. I proposed two possible “theories” to explain this phenomenon. I called the first explanation as the “publicity” theory. According to this hypothesis, the TIM activists in the United States who were born in the 1930s and 1940s were the “founders,” and those activists born afterward were the “followers.” In the development process of a social movement, because the founders are often at the leading echelon, their “publicity” is thus higher, though it does not mean that they have an overwhelming superiority in proportion.

As for the second explanation, I called it the theory on “1960s historical generation.” From the perspective of this theory, since almost all the activists born in the 1930s and 1940s came to study in the United States in the 1960s, they were susceptible to the influence of all the social movement trend of the whole world (including civil rights movement, student movement, woman movement, etc.), and they were more inclined to join the parade of social movement (Shu 2002, 55-7). Of course, no matter which explanation has a higher credibility, we have reason to argue that, to do research on the overseas TIM, we should focus on the activists that belonged to this generation.

engagement in the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan and Formosa TV after coming back to Taiwan. Through both biographies, we are able to reconstruct Trong's life history and discover the developmental process of his national identity to a satisfying degree. For Trong's recent photo, refer to Figure 7.1.

(Figure 7.1 about here)

In the following discussion, I shall divide the developmental process of Trong's national identity into five stages: (1) the childhood period (1935-1945); (2) the period under the KMT rule (1945-1960); (3) the initial period during study and work in the United States (1960-1986); (4) promoting the plebiscite movement in the United States (1986-1990); and (5) returning to Taiwan (1990-).

7.2 The Childhood Period (1935-1945)

7.2.1 Family Background

Trong R. Chai, a Hoklo, was born at Xinwen (*Xinwen* 新塢), Budai Township (*Budai Zhen* 布袋鎮), Chiayi County (*Jiayi Xian* 嘉義縣), in 1935 when Taiwan was still a Japanese colony. His parents had five boys and two girls, and Trong was the third of the boys (Chai 1990, 6).²²⁰ For the important events in Trong's life history, refer to Table 7.1.

(Table 7.1 about here)

Xinwen was a poor village on the Chiayi coastline with a population of about five

²²⁰ I am not sure of Trong's seniority among the seven children in the family, since in his autobiographies, there was no mention whether the two girls were Trong's older or younger sisters.

Figure 7.1
Photo of Trong R. Chai



Source: Chai (nd, c)

thousand. “Due to the high density of salt, no agricultural products could be produced, and so it was a barren land. Starting in 1830, our ancestors came here to cultivate fishponds, raising milkfish, and thus the area was called Xinwen (new fishponds)” (Chai 1990, 5). In his autobiography, Trong described what life was like in the fish farms:

Fish farming was at the mercy of Mother Nature. Both the amount of rainfall and the temperatures affected the growth of milkfish. The villagers were very industrious and frugal people, getting up at five or six in the morning. While men went to work at the fishponds, women went to the seashore to pick up oysters, clams and mussels to subsidize family expenses. Perhaps they worked too hard during day time, and because of the lack of recreation places, most people stayed home at night. (Chai 1990, 5)

Trong’s father never had formal education. However, he tried his best to learn

Table 7.1
Major Events in the Life of Trong R.Chai

Year	Event
I. The Childhood Period (1935-1945)	
1935	Chai was born at Xinwen, Chiayi County. His father was a successful businessman owning a lot of fishponds.
II. The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1960)	
1945	The KMT took over Taiwan after the end of World War II. Chai's father was very exciting about the matter. After learning the "national anthem" from a Mainlander official, he came home to awaken kids immediately, trying to teach them to sing the song.
1946	Chai was student of Mr. Lin, who did not like Mainlanders at all, at the age of eleven while studying at elementary school. His father was elected as the county representative.
1947	February: The "February 28 Incident" broke out. Mr. Lin was very excited. He wrote many posters and asked students to paste on the utility poles. After the Incident, Chai's father was suddenly arrested without rhyme or reason. Chai suddenly realized that the "mother country" his father had longed for was a bandit group that, without any righteous reasons, arrested people with knives and guns early in the morning.
1948	Chai passed the examination to get into the junior section of Tainan First Middle School.
1951	Chai passed the examination to get into the senior section of Chiayi Middle School. He liked to play soccer and kicked several hours a day, regardless of weather changes.
1952	Chai's mother passed away at the age of forty-seven. Chai challenged his father's authority face to face first time because his father wanted to remarry with another woman not too long after his mother's death.
1953	Due to a small matter, Chai was intimidated by a police and was kept at the police station for nearly 20 hours. This incident prompted his determination to "engage in the political reform in Taiwan [in the future]."
1954	Chai graduated from high school and passed the examination to get into the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University.

Table 7.1 (Cont.)

1955	Chai's father reprimanded him for being too obsessed with politics and requested him to transfer to Department of Law. Accordingly, he became a student of law rather than political science. Chai was acquainted with future wife. They became a pair of lovers well known in the College of Law.
1956	Chai became the first non-KMT candidate to win the chairpersonship of the Student Representatives Assembly at NTU. Due to his status of non-KMT member, he was frequently given hard time by the university administration during his tenure of chairperson. An idea to overthrow the regime was ignited in his mind during the time.
1958	Chai graduated from college and began to serve in the military.
1960	February: Chai was discharged from the army. June: Chai organized his friends with strong Taiwanese consciousness and convened a meeting at Guanziling. According to his own words, this meeting was "the largest activity against the Chiang Kai-shek regime by young students in the history of Taiwan."
III. The Initial Period during Study and Work in the United States (1960-1986)	
1960	September: Chai began his study at the master program of political science at the University of Tennessee, focusing on party politics in America.
1962	Chai Earned his Master's degree. After going to the University of Oregon for his Ph.D. degree, he felt that the academic atmosphere at the university was not ideal because "the KMT atmosphere permeated on campus."
1963	Chai Transferred to the University of Southern California to continue his Ph.D. study. His girlfriend, who was not allowed to go abroad originally due to their relationship, arrived in the United States finally. Chai got married.
1964	Chai's eldest daughter was born in Los Angeles. Chai went to school during daytime, and worked at a factory at night to make a living.
1965	May: Thomas W. I. Liao, leader of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Formosa in Tokyo, went back to Taiwan to surrender to the KMT. Chai's wife began to work at the USC and the financial situation of their family had been improved. Chai began to participate in the TIM activities.

Table 7.1 (Cont.)

1966	Chai Shifted his major from political science to public administration. Chai worked with Wen-xiong Lai, George T. Chang and Chiu-sen Wang on behalf of the TIM in Los Angeles. June: Chai attended the founding meeting of United Formosans in America for Independence. At the conference, he was elected member of the central committee of this organization, being responsible for contacting with other TIM organizations outside the United States.
1967	Chai passed the Ph.D. qualification examination and started writing his dissertation "Professionals in Communist China: Conflict and Accommodation."
1969	Chai accomplished doctorate degree. Chai was elected the UFAI chairperson. Chai began to teach political science at St. Francis College, a Catholic college in New York City.
1970	January: Chai announced in public the establishment of the World United Formosans for Independence in New York City. He was also elected the chairperson of this worldwide organization. February: <i>The New York Times</i> published the news that Ming-min Peng successfully escaped from Taiwan and arrived in Sweden. April: The "Chiang Assassination Incident" broke out in New York City. There were internal disputes inside the WUFI regarding Chai's strategy of dealing with this Incident.
1971	Chai's second daughter was born. Chai got a job at the Madison campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey. Chai ended the WUFI chairpersonship.
1975	Chai modified his Ph.D. dissertation and published it as a book entitled <i>Professionals in China: Conflict and Accommodation</i>. The university decided not to rehire Chai. He was very unsatisfied with the university's whole process about his contract and decided to sue the university. The case lasted five years, and was settled out of court in 1980. "The university acknowledges its mishandling of not rehiring me." Chai presented a paper entitled "Taiwan for the Taiwanese: Taiwan Independence Movement, Its Characteristics and Prospects" at the conference on "The Taiwan Issue" sponsored by the Michigan State University.
1977	Chai published a first academic paper in professional journal. In the following four years, he published more than ten papers, with some of them appearing in the top journals of political science.

Table 7.1 (Cont.)

1978	Chai got a new job at Medgar Evans College, the Brooklyn campus of the City University of New York.
1979	January: The United States set up diplomatic relations with China, and formally severed its relations with Taiwan. June: Chai was invited to attend the conference on “The Future of Taiwan” organized by Victor Hao Li, a professor of international law at Stanford University. December: The “Formosa Incident” broke out in Kaohsiung, Taiwan.
1980	January: <i>Village Voice</i>, a newspaper in New York City, selected Chai as the best professor on his campus. May: Together with other Taiwanese, Chai Hold a fundraiser banquet with one thousand participants for John Kennedy’s attempt to win the Democratic presidential candidate nomination.
1981	December: Due to the support from then Representative Stephen J. Solartz, a bill was passed by both the Senate and the House granting an annual immigration quota of 20,000 solely for Taiwan, no more sharing the quota with China.
1982	February: Chai was elected the president of the newly founded “Formosan Association for Public Affairs.” Chai was offered tenure and promoted to full professorship at his college. December: At the third anniversary of the “Formosa Incident,” FAPA had a press conference on the Capitol Hill to request that the KMT release these prisoners relevant to “Formosa Incident.”
1983	February: At the 11th anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué, FAPA had a luncheon on the Capitol Hill reiterating the rights of self-determination for the people in Taiwan. November: The U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations passed Senate Resolution 74 regarding the future of Taiwan, proclaiming that “Taiwan’s future should be settled peacefully, free of coercion, and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan.”
1984	Mark Chen succeeded as the president of the FAPA and Chen asked Chai to continue to serve as FAPA’s chief executive.
IV. Promoting the Plebiscite Movement in the United States (1986-1990)	
1986	September: The Taiwanese opposition movement broke through the party ban under the martial law, declaring the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party. December: Chai published in <i>Asian Survey</i> an article entitled “The Future of Taiwan,” proposing to adopt the principle of “self-determination” and hold a plebiscite to determine the future of Taiwan.

Table 7.1 (Cont.)

1989	October: The FAPA decided to establish the “FAPA Plebiscite Committee” with Chai as its coordinator.
V. Returning to Taiwan (1990-)	
1990	Chai published his first memoir <i>I Want to Go Home</i> in Taiwan. June: Chai obtained his visa to go back to Taiwan for the first time because his father-in-law died in a car accident. November: In Taiwan, Chai organized the “Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan,” serving as its founding president.
1991	September: APT held a big parade in Taipei, requesting the KMT government to “hold a plebiscite to enter the United Nations.”
1992	Chai was elected as a DPP Legislator in Chiayi City.
1995	June: Chai obtained a license issued by the Government Information Office to prepare the launch of the fourth TV station in Taiwan.
1997	May: Formosa TV successfully aired, becoming the fourth TV station in Taiwan, and the only one completely invested by private individuals. July: Hong Kong was returned to China. Chai held a “Say No to China Rally” in Taipei to show that the Taiwanese opposed China to annex Taiwan.
1999	April: Chai went out on a “hunger strike for plebiscite” outside the Legislative Yuan to the chance to pass the “Plebiscite Law.”
2000	Chen Shui-bian won the Presidency in the national elections. The DPP became the ruling party of Taiwan.
2001	The DPP became the largest party in the Legislative Yuan.
2003	Chai published his second memoirs <i>Formosa TV and I</i> . November: The Legislative Yuan officially passed the Plebiscite Law.

Source: Made by author

Chinese and Japanese by himself. He also taught himself Chinese medicine (anyaoxue 漢藥學), and passed the qualification examination of Chinese physician (*Zhongyishi Jianfu Kaoshi* 中醫師檢覆考試) after the war. “In the remote fishing villages, the villagers were susceptible to many diseases, but there was a scarcity of Western physician

(*Xiyi* 西醫). When they were sick, they either went for oracles from the temples, or obtained herbs from herb doctors. Thus, many people came to see my father for diagnosis. He never charged any person. One day, after finding a red paper bag in his pocket, he guessed it was inserted stealthily by an old woman [just asking for his diagnosis], so he requested someone to return it to her” (Chai 1990, 13-4). Trong’s father was very ambitious. He went everywhere buying unarable land and cultivating it into fishponds. After years’ assiduous operation, he was once awarded the forth place in the business of milkfish raising farmers by Ching-chung Hsu, then Director of the Agriculture Department, Taiwan Provincial Government. When he died in 1973, he left behind 50 hectares of fishponds” (Chai 1990, 7).

Trong’s mother married his father at the age of eighteen. In his autobiography, Trong described his mother as follows: “She frequented the fishponds and took care of the family. Feeling that her bound feet very inconvenient to work, she took off the binding belts and wore wood sandals, but felt painful under her left sole when she walked. Finally she was unable to walk. Father sent her to Tainan Hospital and Chiayi Hospital and had her hospitalized several times, yet to no avail. When she was home, she stayed inside her room all the time. My brothers, sisters and I liked to go to her room after meals, chatting and laughing. It was still a family full of joy” (Chai 1990, 7).

7.2.2 Childhood Years

Becasue Trong’s grandfather died early, his grandmother had to live with Trong’s family. “My grandmother adored me. She not only took care of my clothing and meals, she even asked me to sleep with her. Though growing up in a fish farm, I was

afraid of the rancid smell of fish. Accordingly, my grandmother would run special errand to buy pork, or ask others to buy vegetable balls or meat balls for me from Yanshui (*Yanshui* 鹽水). [Thanks to her care], before she died when I was in the third grade in elementary school, I had never eaten any fish. When she died, many of my relatives found that I did not cry and reprimanded me for showing no passion. What they did not know was that, behind the scenes, I burst into tears” (Chai 1990, 6).

Becausue Trong’s father was busy with business, most of the time, he wet out early and came back late. On the other hand, Strong’s mother was not in good health and had to restrain herself in her room. Accordingly, Trong led a childhood life virtually with no discipline at all. “Not far from the elementary school, there was a small creek with hard bottom and sands. No clay would stick to our feet. Since the water was only chest high, it became an ideal place for kids to swim. Every day after lunch, we would go there horsing around in the water. During my childhood, I was so hellbent that I would never concede. Even if my team was ignominiously defeated, I would get up and keep fighting again and again. Encouraged by my real actions, my teammates would continue to struggle and, frequently, we would turn defeat into victory” (Chai 1990, 9-10).

As for his school life during the Japanese occupation period, Trong described as follows:

I vividly remember my childhood frolicking with other kids outside, but I had only very vague impression about my school life at that time. I received Japanese education during my first three years in elementary school receiving. At that juncture, World War II was drawing to an end, and Japan was under intense attacks. At school, students were taught to practice air raid drill and take refuge in the shelter. Later, because Japanese troops were stationed at

our school, students were not allowed to go to class. Accordingly, the school was no longer a place to study. Instead, it had become a “sightseeing spot” for the countryside children to see the swaggering Japanese soldiers with their swords, guns and artilleries. (Chai 1990, 10)

7.2.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

In his autobiography, since Trong did not mention much about his life and thought during the Japanese occupation period, it is very difficult for us to do any further analysis.

7.3 The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1960)

In 1945, just like all other school-age children in Taiwan, Trong began to receive the KMT’s education. His study process seemed very smooth. After graduating from elementary school, he passed the examination and entered the junior section of Tainan First Middle School (*Tainan Yizhong* 台南一中). Then, he continued his senior section at Chiayi Middle School (*Jiayi Zhongxue* 嘉義中學), and finally entered the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University. Since his father asked him not to get involved in “Chinese politics,” he transferred to the Department of Law when he was a sophomore. At this time, Trong already had a very strong anti-KMT consciousness. Not only was he elected the chairperson of the Student Representatives Assembly (*Xuesheng Daibiao Lianhehui* 學生代表聯合會) at NTU, though without the KMT membership, he also organized the so-called “Guanziling Meeting (*Guanziling Huiyi* 關仔嶺會議)” for discussing the national affairs with some 40 friends in 1960 before going abroad for advanced study.

7.3.1 The Initial Period after the KMT's Takeover and the February 28

Incident

In 1945, World War II ended, and Taiwan was changed from a colony of Japan into a province of China. Trong's father and his fellow villagers had very high expectations toward the new government:

After the Japanese surrendered in 1945, he [Trong's father] and some elders in the village launched a campaign to establish a welcome arch, celebrating the arrival of "motherland (*zuguo* 祖國)" delegates to "recover (*shoufu* 收復)" Taiwan. On the night of October 25, a banquet was set up to entertain the representatives who came to take over the elementary school and the police station [of the village]. Right amid the feast, the Mainlander taught everybody to sing the "national anthem" [of Republic of China]. After learning the song, my father came home to awake us brothers immediately, trying to teach us to sing. Awakened from dreams with half-closed sleeping eyes, none of us would like to open mouth to sing. Much disappointed, he hit my second older brother, reprimanding him for failing to lead us into singing. The cry awoke my mother who was sleeping in the next room. She walked in to see what was going on, and persuaded my father to teach us to sing in the morning. Obviously, my father was passionately smitten with the "motherland"! (Chai 1990, 12)

Since Trong's father was very popular among the villagers as well as eager for public affairs, when the KMT government held the first and the second elections for county representatives, he registered to run. "The villagers almost voted for him unanimously, and he was elected Chiayi County representative as a result. According to Shih-hsian Hsu (*Xu Shixian* 許世賢), then a member of the Control Yuan, my father was the representative spending the least money in Chiayi County" (Chai 1990, 14). Besides, Trong's father was also very enthusiastic over the clan activities and, together with some

clan members, his father helped built an imposing clan ancestral hall in Chiayi City. Later, his father was recommended as chairperson of the Kes and Chais Clan Association (*Ke Cai Zongqinhui* 柯蔡宗親會) in Chiayi County (Chai 1990, 14).

In 1945, Trong, a fourth-grader, began to get “Chinese education” because of the end of the war. “At first, the school hired a teacher teaching us Chinese (*Hanwen* 漢文) in Hoklo. Later, we had several teachers who spoke Taiwanese Mandarin (*Taiwan Guoyu* 台灣國語). In my fifth grade, my class teacher was Mr. Lin, who just graduated from Taipei Normal College. *He did not like Mainlanders at all. Since he was unable to teach us Chinese, he spent most of the time teaching us arithmetic instead.* He was the one who inspired my interest in mathematics. Later on, I passed several entrance examinations on the strength of high scores on mathematics, thanks to the foundation he paved for me” (Chai 1990, 10-11; emphasis added).

In February 1947, about half year since Mr. Lin started to teach us, the February 28 Incident broke out. “Mr. Lin was very excited. He wrote many posters and asked us to paste on the utility poles. He gave speeches in front of the temple, beseeching everyone to donate money and time to bring down the corrupt government officials. Many villagers did donate money in response to his appeals. Together with some young people who were recruited by the Japanese and sent to the Hainan Island as soldiers, Mr. Lin attacked Chiang’s army at Chiayi airport.²²¹ In the following days, I kept listening

²²¹. In the February 28 Incident, as far as the area of conflict was concerned, it is notable that the conflicts in the Chiayi area were more serious in comparison with other places in the whole incident. Take March 5 as an example, due to a serious armed conflict between the crowd and the KMT army at Chiayi Shuishang Airport (*Shuishang Feijichang* 水上飛機場), “there were about three hundred people killed” (Research Group on the February 28 Incident of the Executive Yuan 1994, 107). For a summary of the

to the radio for his “battle news.” However, he did not come back, and until now I have never had any knowledge regarding his whereabouts” (Chai 1990, 11).

7.3.2 Father Arrested without Rhyme or Reason

One of the reasons that the villagers of Xinwen would fervently welcome the new Chinese government after the war, as a matter of fact, was because they hoped the “mother country” would return them the fishponds requisitioned by the Japanese government. It was at the end of the war that the Japanese government requisitioned a lot of fishponds in the village. They planned to use the land to construct salt fields, using salt as an ingredient to make dynamite for sustaining the war. They hired a group of foremen, but the project was never carried out (Chai 1990, 12).

After the end of the war, the foremen used the several hundred hectares of land to raise fish. The villages became so indignant, arguing that, if not turned into salt fields, the land should be returned to them. Thus, they signed a petition and recommended Trong’s father as their representative. After one or two years, there had been no official response to the petition. The villagers grew impatient. With knives and spears in hands, they assembled together, attacked the water gate custodians hired by the foremen, and occupied the water gate. Then, the foremen hired some hit men to take the water gate back. Thus, back and forth, the water gate changed hands several times (Chai 1990, 12). Trong wrote in his memoir: “On seeing the fighting scenes, I asked myself these questions. Where is the government? Why can’t it hammer out the disputes so that

February 28 Incident in the Chiayi area, Yan-hsian Chang and his research associates published a series of reports based on their field surveys, see Yan-hsian Chang et al. (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c).

people won't have to resort to violence" (Chai 1990, 12-3)?

Perhaps having something to do with the disputes about fishponds, Trong's father was suddenly arrested, between the spring and the summer of 1948. Trong recalled the early morning on that day:

It was about when I was a sixth-grader. One morning between the spring and the summer, I got up at about four or five o'clock as usual. After opening the door [of our house], I went outside and did some exercise, planning to start my study later. Suddenly, six or seven strong men dressed in plain clothes walked into our home. One of them pointed a bayonet against me and ordered me to freeze. I saw another one pulling out a pistol, pointing against my father's forehead, and then waking him up. Awakened, my father was even not allowed to put on shirt and trousers and, with his hands bound with a grass rope they picked up in the courtyard, my father was taken away. Like a bird frightened by the bow, I ran inside the house to tell my mother the terrible thing. When she reached the big door, my father had disappeared. (Chai 1990, 13)

After all, who would take away Trong's father? Where was he taken to? Why would he be taken away? No one in Trong's family actually knew. The atmosphere in the whole family suddenly turned dull and gloomy. "A few days later, a man came to tell us that my father was kept at the detention house of the Tainan Military Police (*Tainan xianbing dui* 台南憲兵隊). The man was jailed in the same room with my father. When he was to be released, my father asked him to carry an oral message for us. Right away, we used some money asking someone to importune. A few days later, without being put on trial, my father came back safe and sound. The incident nevertheless sowed the hatred toward the 'mother country' in my little soul. *It turned out that the 'mother country' my father had longed for was a bandit group that, without any righteous reasons, arrested people with knives and guns early in the morning*" (Chai

1990, 13; emphasis added).²²²

7.3.3 Life in Middle and High Schools

In 1948, Trong graduated from Xinwen Elementary School, passed the entrance examination and got into the junior section of Tainan First Middle School. “At that time, all the public schools in Taiwan held examinations on the same day. I registered to take examinations at Tainan First Middle School and Yanshui Middle School (*Yanshui Zhongxue* 鹽水中學). My father said that in the history of Xinwen Elementary School, there had never been a single graduate that got into a provincial middle school, and he told me not to even think of Tainan First Middle School. One day before the examination, he took me to Yanshui, but I kept nagging him that I wanted to go to Tainan. Reluctantly, after dinner, he brought me to Tainan. When we got to the hotel, it was already 10 o’clock at night. The next day I took the examination. Two weeks later, the

²²². Among the recently published memoirs, we can easily find many examples that the KMT government used political power to settle personal scores or arrested people with abandon after the war. Here are two cases. In Zhen-zhou Li’s (*Li Zhenzhou* 李鎮洲, 1917-1992) memoir, he mentioned that he was imprisoned from 1950 to 1956, though he was totally befuddled as why he was arrested. By stretching his imagination, he guessed it might be because that he graduated from public school (equivalent to elementary school) and was considered an “intellectual.” Powerlessly, he wrote, “God only knows! If we file all the three billion intellectuals in the world, I would never get my turn. However, I was railroaded with the appellation of intellectual”(Zen-zhou Li 1994, 74).

In addition, Chi-hua Ko (*Ke Qihua* 柯旗化, 1929-2002), author of one of Taiwan’s most popular English textbooks *New English Grammar*, was jailed from 1951 to 1953, and again from 1961 to 1976, for a total of almost 20 years. The reason of his arrest was that a friend of his was arrested because one of the students at the school, where his friend served as a teacher, carried a songbook relevant to Chinese Communist. Then, all the male teachers at that school were arrested, and even the friends of these teachers’ were implicated (Ko 2002, 98-108).

In a recently published book that reviews the history of human rights in Taiwan, the author helplessly wrote, “During that period, Taiwan was an occupied land (*lunxianqu* 淪陷區) in terms of human rights. Political incarceration spread across the island like a plague. ‘The whole country is filled with bandits, and everybody is a spy.’ This sentence aptly described the inundating extent of wrongful and false cases”

results were announced and I passed” (Chai 1990, 11).

Three years later, in 1951, Trong was accepted into Chiayi High School. In his memoir, Trong did not mention much about his life in middle and high schools. He described his high school days as follows: “I liked to play soccer. While studying at Chiayi High School, I liked to kick several hours a day, regardless of weather changes. For class work, I just wanted to scrape through. Mark Chen (*Chen Tangshan* 陳唐山)²²³ was my classmate sitting right next to me for three years. He used to tell others that he seldom saw me studying, but he did not see me taking makeup examinations, either. This portrayed best my high school days” (Chai 1990, 19).

In his second year at Chiayi High School, Trong’s mother died at the age of forty-seven. Within a year, one day, his father told Trong that he wanted to remarry, and wanted to bring Trong’s future stepmother to see him and his younger brother the next day. His father also asked Trong to call her Aunt (Chai 1990, 7-9). “Upon hearing of the words, I was so indignant. I stood up and signaled my brother; then both of us we left without a word. *This was the first time we bothers challenged our father’s authority face to face.* The next day, my bother and I hid at the home of a friend’s. When my

(Zhen-xiang Li et al. 2002, 36). Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo, of course, should be held responsible for those wrongful cases.

²²³. Mark Chen (1935-), born in Yanshui, Tainan, graduated from Chiayi High School, and the Department of Atmospheric Physics, National Taiwan University. He later earned a Master’s degree from University of Oklahoma, and an Ph.D. in earth physics from Purdue University, and worked at the U.S. Department of Commerce. In 1978, he was elected president of the Taiwanese Association of America and, in the following year, president of the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (*Shijie Taiwan Tongxianghui* 世界台灣同鄉會), and in 1984, president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs. In the 1990s, he returned to Taiwan and was elected Legislator of the Legislative Yuan. Afterward, he served two terms as the magistrate of Tainan County, and then as a Legislator again. He is currently the minister of Taiwan’s Ministry of Forengn Affairs (Shi-hong Chen 1999b; Legislative Yuan nd, a; Shuang-bu Lin 2000a, 42-6, 52-6).

father and stepmother came, they were unable to find us” (Trong Chai 1990, 9; emphasis added). Afterward, Trong got along with his stepmother quite well. Some villagers picked on him, saying that in the first place, Trong was the one against his stepmother most, and now it was also Trong who treated her best. “Actually, in the beginning I was not against her, since I had never seen her or heard of her. What I was against was that my father should not remarry only half year after my mother passed away” (Chai 1990, 9).

To prepare for the coming college entrance examination, in his senior high school year, Trong moved to the clan ancestral hall, which belonged to the Kes and Chais Clan Association in Chiayi County of which Trong’s father was the chairperson, so that he could concentrate on studying. A friend of his father’s even introduced a girl to the temple to cook for Trong. One day, a police came by. Finding the girl young and beautiful, he approached her and tried to strike a conversation, but she ignored. Embarrassed, the police then abused his power and said he needed to check her identification since her behavior looked suspicious. The girl ran into the temple and told Trong the matter. Once Trong showed up, the police shifted his anger to him, and demanded to see his identification card. Later, on the excuse that Trong did not register temporary domicile, the police ordered Trong to go with him to the police station (Chai 1990, 14-5).

When they arrived at the police station, the police would not allow Trong to use telephone to notify his father’s friends in Chiayi, and Trong quarreled with him. Accusing Trong of insulting public servants and offending against official duties, the police forcefully put Trong into the detention house. Trong stayed there for almost ten

hours and was brought back to the police station, where a friend of his father's was already waiting. The police reiterated that Trong had offended against official duties and was subject to a fine, and he had to sign on a document, acknowledging the crime he had committed (Chai 1990, 15). In his memoir, Trong described how he reacted at that time:

I explained to them [the police and my father's friend] again and again what had happened, insisting that the one who was subject to a fine, instead of me, should be the police who treated me unfairly. Therefore, I refused to sign. My father's friend tried very hard to persuade me, saying that my father would pay the fine and that I did not have to worry about it. Once I signed, I would be allowed to go home to eat and sleep. He felt so bewildered about my refusal to sign. At last, hungry and exhausted, I eventually signed on the paper at about five o'clock in the afternoon. (Chai 1990, 15-7)

One day after he got back from the police station, Trong's father came directly from home to Chiayi City to see him. Trong angrily told his father every detail of the event, from the beginning to the end, hoping that his father, who was serving as a county representative, could clear the wrongful accusations for him (Chai 1990, 17). However,

My father responded nonchalantly, "I told you before, there are two kinds of jobs that you should never do even if you starve: one is police, the other is tax collector. *A police tends to bully the weaker on the strength of his power; and a tax collector tends to fall into avaricious habits.*" Perhaps this was something quite usual to him, and he was not surprised at all. But I still thought he was too pessimistic. (Chai 1990, 17; emphasis added)

Smarting from the event, Trong made up his mind to "study political science and engage in the political reform in Taiwan [in the future]" (Chai 1990, 17). In 1954, Trong graduated from high school, passed the examinations and got into the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University.

7.3.4 National Taiwan University Years

Trong was very excited to get into the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University. However, upon knowing of the news, his father was very unhappy, and reprimanded Trong for being too obsessed with politics and not listening to him.

“He said that the Chinese (*Zhongguoren* 中國人) were the cruelest. For political struggles, they would not mind using arrest, assassination and other violent measures. At any rate, we should not get involved in Chinese politics (*Zhongguo zhengzhi* 中國政治)” (Chai 1990, 20).

At his father’s request, in his sophomore year, Trong transferred from the Department of Political Science to the Department of Law. “I was not interested in law articles. In my three years’ life as a student of law, I literally ‘remained out of law’s reach (*xiaoyao-fawai* 逍遙法外),’ but I became exceptionally interested in the anti-KMT activities. Whenever there were elections on campus, I always supported non-KMT candidates. And gradually I made the acquaintance of many anti-KMT students”(Chai 1990, 20).

In the summer before his sophomore year, Trong was acquainted with Li-rong Chai (*Cai Lirong* 蔡麗蓉), who also hailed from Budai, Chiayi, and had just successfully got into the Department of Law, National Taiwan University. “Later, our friendship bloomed into romance, and before flowers and in moonlight, we were as inseparable as the shadow following a person, becoming a pair of lovers well known in the College of Law” (Chai 1990, 26). However, during vacations when they returned to their conservative countryside, it became very inconvenient for them to meet, and they had to

endure the pains of missing each other. In the autobiography, Trong told the following anecdote, which humorously yet felicitously depicted his passion:

One summer night, ... after dinner, pretending to ride my bicycle for a spin, I wore a pair of wood sandals and went to the town of Budai to see her [Li-rong]. I took two ferries to cross the river, and walked through a bamboo bridge. I was chased several times by the dogs watching for the salt fields. My wood sandals were broken at halfway and I had to discard them. By the time arriving at Budai, I was already in a sweat. Holding my bicycle, I walked on the street on bare feet and, all of a sudden, I felt so embarrassing to see her. I walked back and forth around her home for a while, and then, with a sense of emptiness, I rode the bicycle back to Beimen (*Beimen* 北門). When I got home, it was already one o'clock past midnight. (Chai 1990, 26)

In 1956, when Trong was in his junior year, he decided to run for the chairperson of the Student Representatives Assembly --- the highest organization of the student body.²²⁴ Since he was good at campaigning for votes and planned well in advance, Trong finally won by a slim margin over the candidate backed by the KMT, becoming the first non-KMT candidate to win this position (Chai 1990, 20-1, nd, a). “When my father knew that I had been elected the chairperson of the Student Representatives Assembly, he took a night train and came to Taipei overnight, persuading me join the KMT. He said that if I didn’t want to join, then I had to resign. But I didn’t agree with him either way” (Chai 1990, 21). A few days later, the military instructors on campus also started to take action, bringing Trong to see the ranking staff at the headquarters of China Youth Corps, and asking him to join the KMT. “I said I had discussed the matter of joining the KMT

²²⁴. Though the name of this organization was “representative assembly (*daibiao lianhehui* 代表聯合會), at NTU at the time, the function of this organization was not limited in the domain of legislation. Rather, it also served as the administrative body of student government.

with my father, and there was no need for further ado” (Chai 1990, 21).

Not a KMT member, Trong found out that, as expected, he was frequently and deliberately given hard time by the university administration, while carrying out the duties as the Assembly chairperson. For example, the KMT would not allow him to go abroad. “[In the past,] at the end of each year, Taiwan would send several representatives to attend the Asian Student Conference (*Yaozhou Xuesheng Huiyi* 亞洲學生會議), and the chairperson of the Student Representatives Assembly at NTU had always been on the delegation. However, it was not surprising that I could not attend this conference because I rejected to join the KMT.” (Chai 1990, 21). Take another example, Trong’s proposed budget for the Assembly was unable to get approved most of the time, since the staff of university administration always had all kinds of reasons to reject it. “For instance, they said the total amount of the budget was too high; the proposed pages of *NTU Youth* (*Taida Qingnian* 台大青年) were too many; there was no reserved budget for the Peking opera (*Pinju* 平劇), and etc.” (Chai 1990, 21-2).

In response to the KMT’s willful oppression, Trong, together with his friend Kun-hu Hwang (*Huang Kunhu* 黃崑虎),²²⁵ organized a so-called “Gang of Ten (*Shirenbang* 十人幫)”²²⁶ privately, with a purpose to overthrow the KMT at any cost. To discuss and

²²⁵. Kun-hu Hwang (1932-), born in Tainan, graduated from the Department of Law, National Taiwan University. Since he attended the Guanziling Meeting, when the intelligence agency started to arrest the participants, he hid in a remote house of his friend’s in Hsinchu for two years. Later, after going back to the countryside in Tainan, he used modern industrial technology to run a chicken farm, earning a reputation as the “king of chicken farm (*yangji dawang* 養雞大王).” Hwang is now a advisor on national affairs to Taiwan’s President Chen Shui-bian (Hong-xiu Chen 2001; Jing-yun Chen 2002; Office of the President, Republic of China nd, c).

²²⁶. I have seen the phrase “Gang of Ten” only in the interview manuscript of Kun-hu Hwang (see Hong-xiu Chen 2001). It seems that Trong himself had never used the term to describe his friendship

criticize current events, the Gang of Ten had hold secret meetings at different locations, including Bitan (*Bitan* 碧潭) of Xindian, member Qiu's home in Kaohsiung, and Trong's fish farm at his countryside home. The most dangerous one was held in a hotel in the back of Taipei Railroad Station. Assuming the closed space inside the hotel room would be very safe, they were ready to exchange opinions. Thanks to a kind hint from the hotel owner, they realized, to their surprise, there were intelligence agents disguising as hotel clerks, and all the wardrobes had holes in the back, which were used to monitor the activities in the rooms. All the members departed in a hurry (Hong-xiu Chen 2001).

To summarize the four years' experience at National Taiwan University, Trong had the following conclusion in his autobiography:

While serving as the chairperson of the Student Representatives Assembly, I experienced all kinds of unfair treatment and obstruction due to the fact that I was not a member of the KMT. This experience resulted in my fierce sense of being oppressed. Since then, an idea to overthrow the regime was ignited [in my mind]. (Chai 1990, 23)

7.3.5 The Guanziling Meeting

Graduating from National Taiwan University in 1958, Trong was supposed to serve as a reserve officer in the military. "I opposed the KMT, but I had to serve in the KMT military on which the regime relied to survive. Having a complex of contradiction, I felt so reluctant [to serve in the military]. I tried to escape from Taiwan, asking friends to

network at National Taiwan University. Anyhow, at National Taiwan University in the mid-1950s, based upon the existing documents, in addition to Hwang, Trong's other friends with similar political orientation included Eng-pang Hau (*Ho Rongbang* 侯榮邦), Fu-chen Lo (*Luo Fuquan* 羅福全), George T. Chang, Rong-cheng Chen (*Chen Rongcheng* 陳榮成), Mark Chen, and etc. (Chai 1990, 56; Shi-hong Chen 1999a, 214; Yue-hua He 1998; Shuang-bu Lin 2000a, 52-6; Formosa TV News nd; Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 46; Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 161, 179).

find a boat for me to stowaway. But it was the eve of the August 23 Artillery War in Kinmen (*Baersan Jinmen Paozhan* 八二三金門炮戰),²²⁷ and the KMT was reinforcing its patrol in the Taiwan Strait. Sensing that the situation was too tense, the owner of the boat told me not to try” (Chai 1990, 23-4). Under such circumstances, Trong had to obediently report for duty at the Military Service Department at the Town Hall, and then served as a reserve officer for one and a half years.

At first, Trong planned to go to study in the United States right after being discharged, and he would come back Taiwan to participate in the activity of organizing an opposition party, as soon as he finished his studies. However, when he was discharged in February 1960, it was too late to process the exit procedures, so he spent some time to pave the way for organizing a political party. Using the network of Gang of Ten as a foundation, Trong organized his friends with strong Taiwanese consciousness, and convened a meeting at Guanziling (Chai 1990, 24; Hong-xiu Chen 2001, Formosa TV News nd). According to Trong’s description on his own website, this meeting was “the largest activity against the Chiang Kai-shek regime by young students in the history of Taiwan” (Chai 1990 nd, a). Trong reflected on the process of this meeting as follows:

The meeting was held on June 19, 1960. There were more than 40 participants. Most of them were graduates of National Taiwan University, some from other colleges, and even high school graduates. They came from all over Taiwan. Meeting notices were delivered personally, not by mail.

²²⁷. Starting on August 23, 1958, launched by Dehuai Peng (*Peng Dehuai* 彭德懷), then the Chinese Defense Minister, Communist China bombarded fiercely with artillery shells against Kinmen, an island on the coast of Fujian controlled by the KMT. Within two hours, 57,500 bombshells were shot and the bombing continued. After the United States intervened on October 6, the artillery war cooled off gradually. Historically, it was called the “August 23 Artillery War (*Baersan Paozhan* 八二三炮戰),” or the “Kinmen Artillery War (*Jinmen Paozhan* 金門炮戰)” (Wakabayashi 1994, 88-90; Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 117; Zan-he Zhang 1996, 134-43).

We rented a whole hotel at Guanziling exclusively for the participants; there were no other guests. To avoid the attention of police, only some participants registered with the hotel. The meeting lasted for three days with an agenda covering a wide range of issues. At last, we decided to pledge in a sworn brotherhood to stay connected with one another. (Chai 1990, 24)

On September 17 of the same year, Trong and Jia-shun Liu (*Liu Jiashun* 劉家順),²²⁸ a friend of Trong's who also attended the Guanziling Meeting, stayed together at a hotel in Taipei, preparing to take a chartered plane to study in the United States the next day. Unexpectedly, while in the airport the next day, officers from the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters told Jia-shun Liu that his passport had been revoked already. Without passport, Liu was unable to take the airplane. However, Trong got his passport without any trouble (Chai 1990, 24-5). Trong described his mood while waiting the plane to take off in the following way:

With the passport in my hand, I bid goodbye to Jia-shun Liu and my family, and walked toward the plane. A moment later, the door was closed, and the plane taxied to the runway. I felt so lucky that I had finally got out of the KMT devil's grip. But the plane stayed on the runway for one hour. They said there were mechanical problems and so the plane taxied back to the tarmac, and the door was open again. Looking through the window, I found all the people who came to see passengers off had left. It came to my mind that if I was arrested at this moment, my family might think that I had arrived in the United States. One hour later, the door was closed again, and the plane taxied to the runway and finally took off. I finally heaved a sigh of

²²⁸. Jia-shun Liu was a student who was accepted into the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, without having to take the entrance examination after graduating from Taichung First Middle School. "At that time, most students who were accepted with examination exemption chose to get into the College of Medicine at National Taiwan University. Liu was the only one choosing the Department of Political Science" (Chai 1990, 24-5).

relief. (Chai 1990, 25)

Soon after arriving in the United States, Trong got the information that Jia-shun Liu was arrested, and was sentenced to ten years in prison later. Furthermore, An-lan Chen (*Chen Anlan* 陳安瀾) and Shun-li Cai (*Cai Shunli* 蔡順利), who also attended the Guanziling Meeting, were also arrested and sentenced (Chai 1990, 25; Formosa TV News nd). “As a result, I became ‘the lost in a foreign land (*tianya lunluoren* 天涯淪落人).’ Now that I was unable to go home, and I had to stay overseas to push the work to overthrow the KMT” (Chai 1990, 25).

7.3.6 A Description of National Identity during the Period

In this section, I shall provide a description of Trong’s national identity during this period, and then, in the next section, I shall try to analyze the possible reasons that Trong would embrace this kind of national identity. The followings are some of my observations regarding Trong’s national identity during this period.

(7.3.6.a) First of all, at this stage, Trong had very *fierce thoughts of “anti-KMT”* already. In his first autobiography *I Want to Go Home*, we can easily find that, during this period, Trong had wording of strong indignation toward the KMT government. For instance, when seeing the serious conflicts resulting from disputes about the fish farm ownership, though Trong was still very young at that time, he knew something was wrong and sighed, “Where is the government? Why can’t it hammer out the disputes so that people won’t have to resort to violence” (Chai 1990, 12-3)?

In 1948, at the age of twelve, Trong faced the shenanigans that his father was arrested without reason. From then on, he started to hate from his heart the “mother

country,” which had moved across the sea to Taiwan from Mainland China. “It turned out that the ‘mother country’ my father had longed for was a bandit group that, without any righteous reasons, arrested people with knives and guns early in the morning” (Chai 1990, 13). Then, as a senior high school student, he was intimidated by a police and was kept at the police station for nearly 20 hours. The ordeal not only infuriated Trong vehemently, it also prompted Trong’s determination to “engage in the political reform in Taiwan [in the future]” (Chai 1990, 17).

When he was in college, he made friends with some fellow students supporting the opposition movement politically and, as a result, Trong’s anti-KMT consciousness seemed to have further developed. To challenge the KMT, Trong went ahead to run for the chairpersonship of the Student Representatives Assembly. In a fierce campaign, he defeated the candidate supported by the KMT by a single vote, winning the leadership of the highest organization of the student body. However, facing the hard time imposed by the university administrators and the military instructors, Trong not only came up with “a fierce sense of being oppressed,” but also brewed up “the idea to overthrow the regime” (Chai 1990, 23).

(7.3.6.b) However, what would the nature of Trong’s “anti-KMT” consciousness be, after all? What kind of thought that would sustain Trong to embrace this kind of thinking? Since Trong’s writing style was basically like “working journal,” in either his *I Want to Go Home* (1990) or his *Formosa TV and I* (2003), he did not depict much about the “inner thought” in his heart. Under such circumstances, I have to borrow some other data from other TIM activists contemporary with Trong, and try to answer the important questions.

Basically, I think the “anti-KMT” mentality of Trong and his contemporaries came from two divergent but related elements --- *democratic consciousness* and *native consciousness*. In the program about the “Guanziling Meeting” of 1960 produced by Formosa TV, the reporter described these participants’ thought at the time in the following way: “To those young students, the more pressure the external environment imposed, the stronger their intention to pursue democracy. As a result, the fraternity, which was headed by Trong R. Chai, Kun-hu Huang, George T. Chang and Fu-chen Lo, was established on the belief that *democracy should be practiced and the native consciousness should be promoted in Taiwan’s politics*” (Formosa TV News nd; emphasis added).

Let us talk about *democratic consciousness* first. At the ideological level, these young people at that time learned the “theory” of democracy from their school education as well as the KMT propaganda. After all, on the one hand, American textbooks were frequently used in college and, gradually, students were instilled with the democratic ideas of the Western world. On the other hand, for the notion of “the only representative of China,” the KMT also claimed in the international community that it was “Free China.”

However, in their daily life, these young people saw many “realities” that were inconsistent with democracy, or even opposite to democracy. For example, in the 1950s, the KMT launched the White Terror to purge the dissidents. Take another one, Chiang Kai-shek amended the Constitution so that he could be the “Forever President Chiang Kai-shek.” Take one more example, Taiwan had the “Permanent Parliament” whose members would never be subject to reelections. Under such situations, the enthusiastic

young people with idealistic characteristics, undoubtedly, would be disgruntled with the ruling KMT government. Fu-chen Lo, who, like Trong, was born in 1935, explained why he would come up with the “anti-KMT consciousness:”

When I was in high school, I used to contribute an article to the *Free China* magazine, asking the members of National Assembly not to vote for Old Chiang (*Laojiang* 老蔣)²²⁹ for a continuous third term as President, since it was a violation en masse of the Constitution. At that time, it was still the White Terror era. So I had no choice but to use a pseudo name for the article, going to another county [rather than my own country] to mail it. (quoted from Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 179)

Now let us talk about *native consciousness*. Under the rule of the KMT regime, these Taiwanese youths not only found that their rulers were “not democratic” and, meanwhile, they also realized their rulers were “émigré regime” and “colonial regime” in nature. Accordingly, their native consciousness sprouted as a result. Eng-pang Hau (*Hou Rongbang* 侯榮邦),²³⁰ who was born in Chiayi in 1935 like Trong, also attended Chiayi High School, explained his mind’s journey how he obtained his “anti-KMT consciousness” in the following way:

When studying in college in Taiwan, I often went to listen to campaign speeches by the opposition candidates [during the election time]. In particular, I was deeply impressed by Kuo-chi Kuo’s (*Guo Guoji* 郭國基) notion that “the beggar expels the temple priest (*qigai gan miaogong* 乞丐趕廟公),” which inspired my native consciousness (*bentu yishi* 本土意識).

²²⁹. Whereas “Old Chiang” means Chiang Kai-shek, “Little Chiang” is referred to Chiang Ching-kuo in the written as well as oral usage among many Taiwanese.

²³⁰. Eng-pang Hau (1935 -), born in Chiayi, graduated from Chiayi High School; the Department of Law, National Taiwan University; and College of Law, Meiji University in Japan with a Master’s degree in law. He went to Japan to study in April 1964, and in December of the same year, he joined the Taiwan Chinglian Associates, the predecessor of the WUFI - Japan Headquarters (Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 160-1).

Meanwhile, we also discussed at school about what kind of regime the KMT really was, and eventually I realized that the regime was an émigré, authoritarian, and colonial regime. As long as the regime exists, it would be impossible for Taiwan to carry out democratic politics. (quoted from Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 161)

(7.3.6.c) Though Trong had a strong “*opposition consciousness*,” such opposition consciousness or Taiwanese consciousness was by no means equivalent to the political consciousness of “Taiwan independence.” To say more concretely, with such opposition consciousness, Trong was able to point out the misrule of the KMT, and seemingly felt that Taiwan should walk toward a more democratic road. However, beyond antagonism, what would be the future direction of Taiwan? Trong might not have precise answer for the question yet. To paraphrase words from Trong’s old friend George T. Chang, at that time, they “knew only to oppose, yet they knew nothing about the outlet (*chulu* 出路)” (quoted from Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 77).

(7.3.6.d) In addition to having a strong “*opposition consciousness*,” at this stage, Trong also had shown *high interest in politics*. He not only personally participated in the operation of student organizations, but also ran for positions of student organization to express his political persuasions. This is quite different from most of other subjects in this study. While studying or working in Taiwan, most of other subjects showed no interest in politics, some even tried to shun politics as much as possible. However, despite his father’s strong warning “not to get involved in Chinese politics,” Trong still cultivated a predilection for politics and was consumed by all kinds of election campaign on campus, which culminated in his winning the chairpersonship of the Student Representatives Assembly in his junior year.

“Have a life-long interest toward political participation” is a very appropriate description about Trong. Not only was he elected the chairperson of the highest student organization at this stage, on his life journey that followed, he also became the leaders of many other organizations, such as the World United Formosans for Independence and the Formosan Association for Public Affairs during his stay in the United States, and the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan and Formosa TV after he returned to Taiwan in the 1990s. In this regard, to say that he was thoroughly a “political animal” is by no means an exaggeration.

Due to his high interest in politics, his strong attitude against the KMT became even more evident. At that time in Taiwan, if someone was interested in politics, the best outlet was to join the KMT, and participate in politics through the KMT systems. However, as a “political animal,” Trong absolutely would not join the KMT. It goes without saying how strong his opposition consciousness was.²³¹

²³¹. With respect to the issue “whether to join the KMT,” there is another way of explanation. *That some people had to join the KMT was because their “objective circumstances” were much worse than Trong’s.* For example, Yu-lin Wang (*Wang Yulin* 王育霖 1919-1947; older brother of Ioktek Ong, founder of *Taiwan Youth* and the Taiwan Chinglian Associates in Japan), the first Taiwanese prosecutor of the Japanese era, was killed by the KMT during the February 28 Incident, leaving behind two children and a wife. Yu-lin Wang’s older son Ken Wang (*Wang Kexiong* 王克雄) joined the KMT while studying in the Department of Electrical Engineering, National Taiwan University. His rationale of joining the KMT was that since he was little, he had seen that his mother was frequently harassed by the KMT’s intelligence agents, and he knew it was best to “do everything carefully, protect himself and keep quiet” (quoted from Hu 1995, 165). Since he wanted to go abroad to study, joining the KMT was a way to protect himself. Otherwise, he might not be able to obtain the exit certificate which was required in the procedures for going abroad. After going to the United States, Ken Wang also joined the TIM (Hu 1995, 165-7).

In this regard, Trong’s unwillingness to join the KMT showed that he had the backbone, but it also illustrated that Trong’s circumstances were not as miserable as Ken Wang’s since Wang had to join the KMT to protect himself.

7.3.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Then, how would we understand the mechanism causing Trong's "anti-KMT consciousness," "democratic consciousness," "native consciousness" and "political participating consciousness" mentioned above? The followings are some points I feel worthwhile of further discussion.

(7.3.7.a) First of all, the influence from *Mr. Lin*, Trong's class teacher in his fifth grade, was essential. "He did not like Mainlanders at all. Since he was unable to teach us Chinese, he spent most of the time teaching us arithmetic instead" (Chai 1990, 11). After the breakout of the February 28 Incident, Mr. Lin "was very excited. He wrote many posters and asked us to paste on the utility poles" (Chai 1990, 11). To an eleven-year-old school boy, a teacher was "sacred," and the political influence from a teacher was not to be despised.

However, in the memoir, except for Mr. Lin, Trong did not mention any other teachers who would have any specific impact on the formation of his political thoughts.

(7.3.7.b) Second, Trong's *father* was obviously another important source of his political socialization. In particular, Trong's father was an enthusiastic participant in public affairs and, to some extent, was also instrumental in shaping up Trong's strong interest in political affairs. In the memoir, Trong (1990, 12) expressed this matter directly: "My interest in politics came in large part from my father." In fact, the influence from his father was both positive and negative. On the positive side, his father's enthusiastic participation in public affairs, including establishing a welcome arch with his fellow villagers to welcome the arrival of the new government in 1945, running for county representative after 1946, and being elected president of the clan association,

certainly had influence on the formation of Trong's interest in politics.

On the other hand, the arrest of Trong's father without reason in 1948, his father's comments on "Chinese politics," as well as his father's negative impression of police and tax collectors all had impact on Trong, and all contributed to Trong's negative impression regarding the KMT government.

(7.3.7.c) In addition to Mr. Lin and his father, Trong's *peer friends* seemed to play a significant role in the formation process of his "opposition consciousness" as well. The group of his friends at National Taiwan University which was dubbed by Kun-hu Huang as the Gang of Ten included at least Kun-hu Huang, Eng-pang Hau, Fu-chen Lo, George T. Chang, Rong-cheng Chen,²³² and Mark Chen. They actually had multiple network entwined between them. For one thing, they were either born in Chiayi or Tainan. Second, they all attended Tainan First Middle School or Chiayi High School, in the same class or same year or one year senior or junior. Finally, all of them went to National Taiwan University, with the majority majoring in law. Trong himself, Kun-hu Huang, Eng-pang Hau and Rong-cheng Chen were all law students.

This group of young people seemed to have been together somehow since their high school days. Based on the available data, we may not be able to clearly describe clearly the influence of such hail-fellow-well-met group. However, in a series of TIM activist biographies by Shuang-bu Lin published in 2000, one of the biographees was Timmy

²³². Rong-cheng Chen (1937-), born in Puzi, Chiayi, graduated from Chiayi High School, and the Department of Law, National Taiwan University. He used to study in the Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma (Kerr 1993, about the translator). Rong-cheng Chen translated George Kerr's *Formosa Betrayed* into Chinese.

Chiu (*Qiu Yichang* 邱義昌),²³³ a same-year classmate of Trong's at Chiayi High School and National Taiwan University. In Chiu's biography, we can find some description about political influence generated through "chatting" between his circles of friends:

Most of the issues relevant to reality were initiated by Mark Chen. Then, Mark Chen's classmates Trong Chai, Guo-shi Ye (*Ye Guoshi* 葉國勢) and Teng-tzang Hsiao (*Xiao Tianzan* 蕭天讚) would jump into the discussion, and Chiu's classmate Eng-pang Hau often joined them to shoot the breeze, too. At this moment, Chiu always enjoyed listening on the side and frequently got excited. A chatting like this often led to the February 28 Incident, ... For general social problems, their points of view were frequently variegated. In particular, when they mentioned about the question of responsibility for these problem, and whether the KMT should be saddled with all the responsibilities, their opinions were even more contradictory. Oftentimes, they kept talking and talking and, all of a sudden, a fierce debate erupted. However, when the topic came to the February 28 Incident, their perspectives were congruous across the board: *the sad expressions, the sorrowful tones and the indistinct scares were exactly identical*. After the second year in high school, discussions like this continued, and the number of membership kept growing. A student named Se-kai Koh (*Xu Shikai* 許世楷) transferred from Taichung to Chiayi High School, bringing in new fodder of the February 28 Incident from a different area. Paris Chang (*Zhang Xucheng* 張旭成), a new student from Xiko (*Xiko* 溪口), was also very articulate. In addition, Mark Chen's classmate Wen-hua Zheng (*Zheng Wenhua* 鄭文華) also joined the chatting group. No matter what they talked, the February 28 Incident was always the focus of their concerns. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000a, 44-5; emphasis added)

Of course, the February 28 Incident might be an important topic for those young

²³³. Timmy Chiu (1935 -), born in Yizhu (*Yizhu* 義竹), Chiayi, graduated from Chiayi High School, and the Department of Plant Pathology, National Taiwan University. He later obtained a Master's degree from the same department, and went on to get his Ph.D. in agricultural chemical from North Carolina State University. He served as the chairperson of the Professor Wen-cheng Chen Memorial Foundation and, later, president of the Taiwanese Association of America (Shuang-bu Lin 2000a).

people, but it was impossibly the only one. Nevertheless, no matter what topic they were talking, those hot-blooded young students were obviously hatching their discontent toward the ruling KMT. In the meantime, they were also starting to show their repugnance toward the school administration, which was always headed by a Chinese (i.e., Mainlander) principal (Shuang-bu Lin 2000a, 49-50).

(7.3.7.d) Lastly, in the 1950s in Taiwan, though the opposition movement was still very frail in power and was often subject to the KMT's merciless oppression, to Trong and his hot-blooded young friends, *the leaders of opposition movement* were still considered as important "role models." Accordingly, to some extent, the influence of these political leaders on these young people's political views should also be noticed.

For example, in 1954, while Trong and his friends were students at National Taiwan University, Yu-shu Kao was running for mayor of Taipei City as a non-KMT candidate. With his other friends, George T. Chang went to "help distribute campaign leaflets" (Shi-hong Chen 1999a, 214). Besides, in *I Want to Go Home*, Trong also mentioned that before organizing the "Guanziling Meeting," he thought about the possibility of doing party-organizing preparatory work, so he went to visit Wan-chu Li (*Li Wanju* 李萬居) and Kuo-chi Kuo, the opposition leaders at that time, for advice (Chai 1990, 24).

7.4 The Initial Period during Study and Work in the United States (1960-1986)

After arriving in the United States in September 1960, Trong began his study at the master program of political science at the University of Tennessee. In early 1963, after obtaining the Master's degree, he moved to Los Angeles on the west coast, studying for his Ph.D. degree at the University of Southern California. While still a Ph.D. student,

Trong was already a key member of the United Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI). In 1969, he earned his Ph.D. in public administration, began his teaching career, and also served as the chairperson of UFAI. It was also during his chairpersonship that Trong successfully organized the worldwide World United Formosans for Independence in 1970. In 1982, Trong initiated and organized the Formosan Association for Public Affairs and served as the first president of this organization.

7.4.1 The Master Program at the University of Tennessee

On September 18, 1960, Trong flew to the United States and enrolled in the University of Tennessee, which is located in Knoxville, Tennessee, for a Master's degree in political science. Many years later, in an interview with a reporter, he explained the reason he chose this university: "It was the cheapest of all the schools I applied to" (quoted from M. Meyer 1998, 6). Trong decided to choose party politics in the United States as his major area. To foreign students, it was not an easy field. In his memoir, Trong recalled his studying experience during the first year:

I decided to study party politics in America. For the first year, I took courses such as political party, public opinion, meeting procedure and seminar on American politics, etc. Not only was I not familiar with the contents of the courses, but I found it so painful to read English. Facing so many new words, I had to look up in the dictionary all the time. As a result, on the average, I could only read two or three pages an hour. I studied very hard. Except for six or seven hours' sleep, I spent all other time studying at any place. For example, on New Year's eve in 1960, I was the last one to leave the library, and on New Year's day, in the morning, I was the first one to get in. All professors expected papers to be typed. So I bought a typewriter and started to learn typing, but my speed was too slow, and I had many typos [all the time]. Thus, even for a paper with only a few pages, I

had to type starting at night and keep working until dawn. Just like that, I studied strenuously to meet the course requirements for the first year. (Chai 1990, 32)

In the summer of 1961, Trong rode 20 hours on a bus to New York City, preparing to work and make money for his second year tuition. The first job he got was dishwashing in a restaurant, a temporary position. “Usually I considered my body very strong. But after ten hours’ work of this type, I was indeed exhausted, and I wondered if I still could work another ten hours tomorrow. About midnight, the boss gave me ten dollars wage. I told him I would not come tomorrow” (Chai 1990, 32).

Trong’s second job was at Spring Rock Country Club, a country club about 50 miles away from New York City. Though the task of his job was still dishwashing, he only had to operate a dishwasher this time. Comparing to the previous job, it was much easier now. To make more money, Trong even worked on holidays and his off days, for a total of seven days a week. He saved about a thousand dollars for next year’s living expenses and tuition (Chai 1990, 32-3). Since all the kitchen workers lived in the basement of the resort, many of them drank, quarreled and even fought at night. Facing this situation, Trong (1990, 33) lamented: “When I heard of such noise, I couldn’t help but deplore. I could have led a decent life in Taiwan, why would I choose to come to a place like this?”

Back to school, Trong started to write his master thesis, which was titled “How Private Organizations Affect the Policy Decision of U.S. Congress.” “Usually, due to language problems and education background, students from Taiwan would choose to study international politics or Chinese issues; very few would be so zealous to study American politics like me” (Chai 1990, 33). In the summer of 1962, after earning his

Master's degree, Trong went to the country club in the suburbs of New York City and worked there for the whole summer again. Then, he took a bus and spent more than 80 hours crossing the continent, arriving at the University of Oregon on the west coast, hoping to pursue his Ph.D. in political science.

Perhaps because Yung Wei (*Wei Yong* 魏鏞)²³⁴ was also studying there, Trong felt that the academic atmosphere at the university was not ideal. “The KMT atmosphere permeated on campus, and I felt quite uncomfortable” (Chai 1990, 33). Therefore, he immediately applied for the University of Southern California (hereafter USC) and got accepted. In early January 1963, he arrived at USC and began to enroll in the doctoral program in political science.

7.4.2 The Doctoral Program at the University of Southern California

After Trong arrived at the USC in March 1963, his girlfriend Li-rong Chai also arrived in the United States, but not before suffering all kinds of hurdles. There was an “inside story” to Li-rong Chai's arrival, as Trong described in his memoir:

We were not engaged yet. However, the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters found out that I was the fish that had escaped the net [in the Guanziling Meeting Incident], so they marked “application denied” on

²³⁴. Yung Wei (1937-2004), born in Hubei (*Hubei* 湖北), China, graduated from the Department of Diplomacy, National Chengchi University. He earned his Master's degree in international relations and Ph.D. in political science, both from the University of Oregon. Wei was one of the KMT's primary scholars in the field of political science. Having taught in the United States for several years, he returned to Taiwan in 1975, and served as the vice director of the Institute of International Relations (*Guoji Guanxi Yanjiu Zhongxin* 國際關係研究中心), the commissioner of Research, Development and Evaluation Commission (*Yanjiu Fazhan Kaohe Weiyuanhui* 研究發展考核委員會), Executive Yuan, and the vice director of the Vanguard Institute of Policy Studies (*Geming Shijian Yanjiuyuan* 革命實踐研究院), the KMT's training institution. In his tenure as a Legislator, an unsubstantiated accusation by opponents that Wei had been peeping in the women's toilets irrevocably damaged his image and virtually ended his political career (C. S. Culture Foundation 2002; Central News Agency 2002; Melody Chen 2004).

Li-rong's exit application form, not allowing her to go abroad. My father asked many friends to implore, yet to no avail. Consequently, she had to ask me not to write letters to her, pretending that we had broken up, and she would go abroad purely to study, not to marry me. I accepted her suggestion. For more than two years, I had written 187 letters to her. I felt excruciatingly painful because I had to stop writing letters to her all of a sudden. Every day I was expecting that she would suddenly appear in front of me. On March 15, 1963, she finally sent me a telegraph from Tokyo saying that she had been out of the woods, ... (Chai 1990, 27-9)

In April, Trong and Li-rong were married in the court. Since their financial situations were not well enough, Li-rong decided to let Trong finish his Ph.D. first, and then she would start her graduate study later. A few weeks into their marriage, however, Li-rong found she was pregnant. Since then, they started to get busy with their family and studies and, in the following two years, the small family had plunged into "the most difficult time of our life" (Chai 1990, 36). Though pregnant, Li-rong still went to a factory to work every day. "The job was to draw simple patterns on a big light (*dadeng* 大燈), and the pay was the minimum, \$1.25 per hour. She prepared her lunch box by herself, took the bus and went to work at eight, and again took the bus back at five in the afternoon. She continued to work until mid-January of the following year, right one week before she gave birth" (Chai 1990, 34-6).

In the summer of 1963, Trong also went to work to subsidize their family expenses. "During daytime, I worked at a factory, and at night, I worked at a hotel. Every day I came back at midnight exhausted. We often encouraged each other. In order to pay for tuition and finish my study, we had to work hard and save money" (Chai 1990, 36). In January 1964, their daughter was born. In the following year, Trong went to school during daytime, and worked at a factory at night, from midnight till seven in the morning.

Because they lived next to the university, so Trong went to school when he had classes, and went home to sleep whenever he had no classes. He often had to sleep several times a day to make up his lost sleep. The situation continued. Later Li-rong went to take a computer class at a city business school and, in the spring of 1965, she started to work at USC. Their financial situation was gradually and finally improved since then (Chai 1990, 36).

Trong was still studying American politics at USC, but his academic performance was not good enough. At the end of 1965, his GPA was 3.36. Thus, in the beginning of 1966, the Trongrperson of his department told Trong that he would not finish his Ph.D. in political science, and asked him to leave. “It was out of the blue. Where would I go with a two-year-old child? And according to the unspoken rule in academia, if a student was considered unable to finish a doctoral program, other schools would be very reluctant to accept him” (Chai 1990, 37).

Trong had to go to see the chairperson of the Department of Public Administration, from whom he took a class. In this professor’s class, Trong used statistics to determine the most influential factors in Congresspersons’ votes in U.S. foreign aid bills. The professor gave Trong high praise for the paper. “In addition to giving me an A grade, he wrote a long comment, saying that I was very innovative to use statistics to approach this issue” (Chai 1990, 37). Trong told the professor the difficulty he had with the Department of Political Science, and the professor said that he did not agree with the evaluation by Trong’s chair. More important, the professor considered Trong a student with great potential, and agreed to let him transfer to the Department of Public Administration to continue his pursuit of a Ph.D. degree. After the transfer, Trong’s

academic career morphed into a new stage. He not only finished all the required courses, he also got A in every single course. He recalled his life as a student at USC as follows:

It was somewhat like a miracle to me. The public administration program at USC had been excellent. In 1983, it was ranked as the third best public administration program in the United States. Why would my public administration courses and political science courses differ so significantly in grade? The possible reasons were: (1) By the time I transferred, I had been in the United States for some time, and my English comprehension and writing abilities had been greatly upgraded. (2) The financial situation of my family had been improved, and I was in a better vein and had more time to study. (3) I was interested in organization theory. (4) Now that I can put the situation at that time in perspective, I find that whenever I had obstacles, I was not discouraged; on the contrary, the more obstacles I had, the more stimuli I got, and I would come up with a strong desire to overcome the difficulties. (Chai 1990, 38)

In November 1967, Trong passed his qualification examination, and started to write his dissertation “Professionals in Communist China: Conflict and Accommodation” (Chai 1969). “The primary purpose was to study how the Chinese Communists led and managed the members of the Chinese Science Academy. While the Communists wanted to control the scientists, these intellectual elites considered the party ignorant of science, and believed that the laymen should not lead the professionals. As a result, unhappy things frequently happened between the two sides. I found the existence of six areas with severe conflict between them, and analyzed how the Communists accommodated the conflict: sometimes they played hardball, but usually they handled with flexibility” (Chai 1990, 39).

In the spring of 1969, Trong completed his dissertation and passed the oral examination, accomplishing his Ph.D. degree.

7.4.3 Starting to Participate in the TIM

When Trong was at the University of Tennessee, he hardly heard of the TIM. “Perhaps because the university was located in a remote south, there were quite few Taiwanese students, only five or six” (Chai 1990, 55-6). But, when Trong went to Los Angeles in 1963, the situation was totally different. “In that area, there were one or two hundred Taiwanese. Furthermore, in a big city, people were more open and willing to talk about the politics in Taiwan. In the summer of the year [1963], Fu-chen Lo went to Philadelphia from Japan, giving I-te Chen a big hand.²³⁵ Eng-pang Hau also went to Japan from Taiwan, and joined the Taiwan Chinglian Associates immediately.²³⁶ Both of them were good friends of mine, and they both attended the Guanziling Meeting. Now that they both joined the TIM, how could I stay away from it? Not to mention that while in Taiwan, I already had such an idea” (Chai 1990, 56).

Thus, Trong became a pioneer of the TIM in Los Angeles area. With the magazines of *Taiwan Youth*, which was published by the Taiwan Chinglian Associates in Japan in Japanese, and *Ihla Formosa*, which was published by the United Formosans for Independence (hereafter UFI) in America in English, he went everywhere to visit the Taiwanese (Chai 1990, 56). He described how he single-handedly promoted the TIM in Los Angeles as follows:

²³⁵. Fu-chen Lo obtained his Master’s degree in Japan in 1963, and then he went to study for his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. In 1964, he joined the United Formosans for Independence (Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 91).

²³⁶. In a 1991 interview, Eng-pang Hau told his own story as follows: “In April 1963, right after getting my exit certificate, I left for Japan the next day. In December of that year, I joined the [forerunner of] WUFI” (Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 161).

At that time, Los Angeles was still a virgin area for the TIM. I crisscrossed the whole city, visiting almost every fellow Taiwanese, repeatedly exchanging opinions about Taiwan's politics with them, and asking them to donate money [for the cause of TIM]. Since I was very sincere, they would be embarrassed if they declined my requests [most of the time]. (Chai 1990, 56)

In the beginning, Trong was the only person in Los Angeles promoting the ideal of TIM. Later, some other enthusiasts joined him. "In 1965, Wen-xiong Lai (*Lai Wenxiong* 賴文雄) became an active participant. In 1966, George T. Chang moved from Houston to Los Angeles, adding an important manpower. Moreover, Chiu-sen Wang also joined the activities at that time. The four of us met several times a month, discussing how to develop the grassroots work with [Taiwanese] students" (Chai 1990, 57).

In the spring of 1966, when the manifesto "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation," which was drawn up by Ming-min Peng, Tsung-min Hsieh and Ting-chao Wei, was spread out of Taiwan, the morale of the overseas Taiwanese was uplifted considerably. Therefore, in June of the year, I-te Chen, chairperson of the UFI, convened a meeting to reorganize the UFI. Delegates coming from nine areas participated in the meeting. On behalf of the Taiwanese Association in the Los Angeles area, Trong presented the following report in the meeting:

We launched the TIM in the beginning of 1964. At that time, the goals of our activities were as follows: (1) raising money as much as possible, and sending it to all TIM organizations for providing material as well as spiritual encouragement; (2) inspiring the Taiwanese with Taiwan independence consciousness as hard as possible. We have been making progress toward these goals. The first fundraiser was held in February 1964, with only about

ten people donating a hundred dollars or so. Two years later, today we have more than 80 people making donation; and the money we raised, in the first six months of the year, has exceeded one thousand dollars. As for the publications sent from various organizations: the Provisional Government (*Linshi Zhengfu* 臨時政府)²³⁷ sends intermittingly a copy of *Taiwan People News* (*Taiwan Minbao* 台灣民報); the UFI mailed ten English-edition *Ilha Formosa* (*Meilidao* 美麗島) (Volume 3, No. 3); the Taiwan Chinglian Associates sent ten copies in the beginning, and now they have increased to 100 copies, including 50 copies of English-edition *Independent Formosa* (*Duli Taiwan* 獨立台灣) and 50 copies of [Japanese-edition] *Taiwan Youth* (*Taiwan Qingnian* 台灣青年). We personally deliver the publications to the Taiwanese for them to read. (Chai 1990, 57)

After two days' meeting, the delegates from nine areas reorganized the UFI as the United Formosans in America for Independence (hereafter UFAI). The officers of this new organization were also elected in the meeting. I-te Chen was elected chairperson, who was responsible to the central committee for all business matters and current activities. In addition to I-te Chen (*Chen Yide* 陳以德),²³⁸ Samuel Chou, Ren-ji Wang (*Wang Renji* 王人紀), Fu-chen Lo, and Trong Chai were elected members of the central committee. I-te Chen also assigned Trong to take charge of overseas communication, responsible for contacting with other TIM organizations outside the United States, as well

²³⁷. Here Trong means the "Provisional Government of Republic of Formosa," a TIM organization based in Japan.

²³⁸. I-te Chen (1930-), born in Pescadores, graduated from the Department of Law, National Taiwan University, at the age of twenty-three, and passed the bar examination at the same time. In 1954, he went to study at University of Pennsylvania, and got his doctorate with a dissertation entitled "Japanese Colonialism in Korea and Formosa: A Comparison of Its Effects upon the Development of Nationalism" in 1968 (see I-te Chen 1968). Later he taught in the Department of History, Bowling Green State University, in Ohio. As a pioneer of the TIM in North America, Chen was one of the three founders of the first TIM organization in the United States --- "Formosans' Free Formosa."

as the work inside the island of Taiwan (Chai 1990, 58-9).²³⁹

Once informed of Trong's activities in the United States, the KMT started to give his family in Taiwan hard time. A captain from the regiment district frequented his home in Xinwen, saying that Trong had to extend the guarantee period of compulsory military service. Trong thought that the KMT was not so efficient; they deliberately made things difficult for Trong's family on purpose (Chai 1990, 57-8). Thus, in November 1966, Trong wrote a letter to the Compulsory Military Service Department, Town of Budai. The content of the letter was as follows:

Ever since I left Taiwan, I have found the democracy and freedom in the United States are in stark contrast to the authoritarian terror in Taiwan. To us Taiwanese, the Chiang regime is the object of revolutionary action, and there is no reason for us to provide military service for it. Therefore, no matter under what situation, I will not do any procedure related to compulsory military service. Please forward this letter to the regiment district and the division district. (Chai 1990, 58)

After that, the people from the regiment district no longer went to harass Trong's home at Xinwen. However, Trong's passport was revoked (Chai 1990, 58)

7.4.4 Chairperson of the UFAI

After the UFAI was established, the activists living on the east and the west found that, due to the distance, it was very inconvenient for them to communicate, so they decided to ask the officers as well as enthusiastic members on the west coast to move to the east coast. Thus, the four key members in the Los Angeles area, George T. Chang,

²³⁹. For more detailed records regarding the meeting, refer to Feng-chun Li at el. (1985, 38-42).

Chiu-sen Wang, Wen-xiong Lai and Trong Chai, in the year starting the fall of 1968, one by one, moved to work in New York City. After Trong's teaching position in New York City was confirmed,²⁴⁰ George T. Chang, Fu-chen Lo and Lung-chu Chen (*Chen Longzhi* 陳隆志)²⁴¹ all persuaded him to serve as the UFAI chairperson. Thus, in the July 1969 UFAI meeting, Trong was elected as the new chairperson, while George T. Chang and Lung-chu Chen were elected vice chairpersons (Chai 1990, 59-60).

As the new chairperson of UFAI, Trong put his focus on organizing a worldwide organization of TIM. The pivotal preparatory meeting was held two months later, as Trong described in the following paragraph:

On September 20, 1969, Albert Lin, chairperson of the Committee for Human Rights in Canada, Sekun Kang, chairperson of the Union for Formosa's Independence in Europe, and some key members of the UFAI gathered in New York City for a meeting. Due to the difficulty of getting visa to enter the United States, the delegates of the Japan-based United Youth Formosans for Independence were unable to attend the meeting. However, they sent a

²⁴⁰. At that time, George T. Chang had already been teaching in the Department of Chemical Engineering, Cooper Union (Chai 1990, 60; Shi-hong Chen 1999a, 214). According to Chang's own words in an oral history interview, he helped Trong find the job, and after that, he told Trong, "There has been a job for you already, why don't you move over here" (Shi-hong Chen 1999a, 214)?

²⁴¹. Lung-chu Chen (1935-), born in Madou (*Madou* 麻豆), Tainan, graduated from Tainan First Middle School, and the Department of Law, National Taiwan University. He received a Master's degree in law from Northwestern University, and a J.D. from Yale University. He was a research fellow at Yale Law School as well as a professor at New York Law School. Also, he had served as the president of International League for Human Rights, the president of North America Taiwanese Professors' Association, a director of American Society of International Law, and an editor of *American journal of Comparative Law* (Lung-chu Chen 1993, Author Profile, 5-7; New York Law School 2003).

Lung-chu Chen was one of the most important theorists in the overseas TIM. He collaborated with Harold D. Lasswell, a master in contemporary American social science, in *Formosa, China, and the United Nations: Formosa in the World Community* (Chen and Lasswell 1967). In 1971, he published in Chinese a book *Independence and Nation-building of Taiwan* (i.e., Lung-chu Chen 1993). In 1999, he edited *Proceedings of the Symposium on Plebiscite and Taiwan's Future* (i.e., Lung-chu Chen 1999). His professional publications included *An Introduction to Contemporary International Law: A Policy-oriented Perspective* (i.e., Lung-chu Chen 2000).

draft of the new organization bylaw as a foundation for discussion. After two days' discussion, an agreement to establish the World United Formosans for Independence (hereafter WUFI) was reached, and the different TIM organizations in each country would be renamed as the WUFI headquarters (*Lianmeng Benbu* 聯盟本部) in that area. These headquarters would elect central committee members, who in turn would elect the chairperson of the General Headquarters of WUFI (*Lianmeng Zongbenbu* 聯盟總本部). (Chai 1990, 60)

In the elections, Trong Chai and George T. Chang were elected chairperson and vice chairperson, respectively, of the General Headquarters of WUFI --- the new worldwide TIM organization. On New Year's Day of 1970, Trong announced in public the establishment of the WUFI, its central committee members, chairperson, vice chairperson and the persons in charge of each department. The Chinese-edition *Taiwan Youth* and the English-edition *Independent Formosa* became the official publications of this new organization (Trong 1990, 60-1).²⁴² "This was an unprecedented and the largest consolidation of the Taiwanese. It gave fellow Taiwanese immeasurable encouragement and drew a lot of international attention" (Trong 1990, 61).

Not long after the establishment of the WUFI, Ming-min Peng successfully escaped from Taiwan and arrived in Sweden. "I used international phone calls to tell the WUFI headquarters in Europe, Canada and Japan, and announced the news in public. The next day, Associated Press, United Press International and Kyodo News Service all released

²⁴². Before the formal establishment of world-wide WUFI in 1970, the different forerunners of WUFI (especially the Taiwan Chinglian Associates in Japan and the UFAI in the United States) ever issued more than 20 different publications. In addition to *Taiwan Youth* and *Independent Formosa* mentioned by Trong, there were some other important ones such as *FORMOSAgram* (*Taiwan Tongxun* 台灣通訊); *Independent Taiwan Monthly* (*Taidu Yuekan* 台獨月刊); *Taiwan Tribune*; *The Republic* (*Gongheguo* 共和國); etc. For the historical origin and development of these publications, refer to Shu (2001a, 105-13).

the news. A reporter of *The New York Times* insisted on speaking with Ming-min Peng over the phone. We accepted his request, and *The New York Times* published the news on February 1. The KMT did not know the event in advance. After reading the news, they still didn't believe that, under surveillance around the clock by intelligence agents, Ming-min Peng still could manage to get away" (Trong 1990, 61).

On April 18, Chiang Kai-shek's successor, then Vice Premier Chiang Ching-kuo, went to visit the United States, seeking U.S. aids for the KMT. Before Chiang Ching-kuo's U.S. visit, Trong sent a letter to U.S. President Richard Nixon, asking him to stop aids to the "Chiang regime." Once Chiang Ching-kuo arrived in the United States, members of the WUFI - U.S. Headquarters and their fellow Taiwanese followed Chiang Ching-kuo everywhere --- including Los Angeles, Andrew Air Force Base on the outskirts of Washington, D.C., the White House and New York City --- and held several demonstrations, holding slogans like "We represent the silent Taiwanese" and "The Taiwanese want self-determination and freedom" (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 139-40).

On April 24, in the last demonstration in New York City, the "Chiang Assassination Incident," that shocked the world, broke out. Peter Huang, a Ph.D. student of sociology at Cornell University, used a pistol to assassinate Chiang Ching-kuo, but in vain. He and Tsu-tsai Cheng, an architect who showed up to help him, were both arrested by the police right on the spot (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 140-4). "The gunshot of the April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident immediately raised the world's attention toward the TIM, and the TV and radio stations and newspapers in the United States, Japan, Europe and Canada all treated it as headline news. Meanwhile, the overseas TIM was also pushed to a climax" (Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 55).

Both Peter Huang and Tsu-tsai Cheng were WUFI members, but the plot was only between them and Wen-xiong Lai, not known to other members, nor was it on the WUFI's agenda. To protect the secret members and the organization, Trong and other officers decided to announce in public that the Chiang assassination was the courageous behavior of WUFI's individual members. However, Tsu-tsai Cheng and some others argued that the WUFI should take the responsibility, even if it dissolved because of the incident, as long as the members were still there, there would be no problem to start another organization (Editorial Department 2000; Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 146). To sum up, "the 'April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident' brought the overseas TIM to a climax, but later there were internal disputes. Tsu-tsai Cheng and Peter Huang both forfeited their bail and escaped, and then Wei-Chia Chang (*Zhagn Weijia* 張維嘉), Chiu-sen Wang and Wen-xiong Lai withdrew from the WUFI" (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 149).

After the incident, Trong sensed that the true meaning of the TIM might be misunderstood by the so-called Mainlanders, so he wrote an article, arguing that the so-called distinction between the Taiwanese and the Mainlanders was meaningless. "To avoid being ruled by the Communists, all the people living in Taiwan should consolidate to overthrow the KMT, and establish the Republic of Taiwan together" (Chai 1990, 63). In the article that appeared in the January 1971 issue of *Taiwan Youth*, Trong expressed:

The Taiwan Independence Movement opposes the dictatorships of the Chinese Communists and the KMT, and the purpose of the movement is to establish a democratic and free country with the sovereignty belonging to all the residents. *Those who agree that Taiwan should become a democratic, free and independent country are all our friends, and those Mainlanders in Taiwan who are struggling with our comrades on the island against the Communists and Chiang are all our comrades.* On the contrary, those few

people who either support the current authoritarian rule, or advocate handing Taiwan over to the Chinese Communists --- some of them are Mainlanders, some are Taiwanese --- are our real enemies. Therefore, the revolutionary objects of the TIM are not the Mainlanders as rumored by the Chiang regime. Rather, they are those who are against carrying out real democracy and freedom in Taiwan. (quoted from Chai 1990, 64; emphasis added)²⁴³

Since the remaining repercussions of the “April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident” did not diminish for quite a while, Trong decided not to serve another term as the WUFI chairperson. In the June 1971 *Member’s Newsletter* (*Mengyuan Tongxun* 盟員通訊), he announced to all the WUFI members:

To facilitate the organization to prepare more talents for nation-building, and to allow other comrades to have more opportunities for self-training, I decide not to serve another term as the chairperson of the WUFI - U.S. Headquarters. The officers in charge of all the departments and I have prepared the organization’s financial and other related documents, waiting to hand over. We have also established a panel to audit the organization’s accounting in the past two years. (quoted from Chai 1990, 66-7)

In early July, 1971, John S. Cheng (*Zheng Shaoliang* 鄭紹良)²⁴⁴ succeeded as the

²⁴³. In retrospect of the development of TIM after the war, Chiautong Ng considered such proposition --- “Regardless of the place of birth, regardless of the time coming to Taiwan, those who identify with Taiwan are all Taiwanese” --- was a new concept that developed after the mid-1970s. Ng labeled this discourse as the “thesis on indiscriminating identification (*wu chabie rentong lun* 無差別認同論)” (Chiautong Ng 1994, 214-8).

²⁴⁴. John S. Cheng (1934 -) was born in Pescadores. He studied in the Department of Economics, National Taiwan University, but later transferred to the Department of Civil Engineering of the same university. He held a Master’s degree from the University of Washington. After assumed as the chairperson of WUFI - U.S. Headquarters, he quit his job so that he could totally plunge into the TIM. In 1973, after finishing his chairpersonship, he returned to the University of Washington to pursue his Ph.D., earning his Ph.D. in aviation and aerospace engineering. He returned to Taiwan in 1993, and is now the owner of Wenjia Technology Co. (*Wenjia Keji Gufen Youxian Gongsi* 文佳科技股份有限公司), Consultant on Science and Technology (*Keji Zixun Weiyuan* 科技諮詢委員) to President Chen Shui-bian, Science and Technology Advisor (*Keji Guwen* 科技顧問), Executive Yuan, and director of Japan Science and Technology Promotion Association (*Riben Keji Jishu Zhenxing Xiehui* 日本科技技術振興協會) (104

chairperson of the WUFI - U.S. Headquarters. The following year, Ming-min Peng took over as the chairperson of the WUFI - General Headquarters. Thus, Trong was completely relieved of the heavy burden of the WUFI leadership (Chai 1990, 66-7).

7.4.5 Teaching and Research Days

Almost at the same time while serving as the WUFI chairperson, Trong was also an Assistant Professor of political science at St. Francis College, a Catholic college in New York City. He commuted between his home and the work place and found it not very convenient, so he decided to move to New Jersey. In 1971, Trong applied for and got a job at the Madison campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey. By the time he had quit the chairpersonship at the WUFI - U.S. Headquarters. Furthermore, on New Year's Day of 1972, the chairpersonship of the WUFI - General Headquarters was also taken over by Ming-min Peng (Chai 1990, 41). In his memoir, Trong described the Madison campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University where he taught at that time as follows:

The campus had about 250 acres with a huge renovated building. With many trees, the whole campus was very beautiful. Among the more than 3,000 students, most were children from the affluent communities around there, but their qualities were not very good. There were more than one hundred full-time faculty members, but no African-Americans or foreigners. The whole campus seemed very conservative. (Chai 1990, 42)

Three years later, the university decided not to rehire Trong. In the beginning, the department chairperson accused Trong of improper behavior professionally, which the

personnel commission considered a very serious accusation and required that the chairperson provide specific facts. The chairperson could not produce any evidence, and three days before the president's deadline to rehire, the chairperson changed the accusation, saying that Trong did not teach well and asking the university not to hire him (Chai 1990, 42).

Trong was very unsatisfied with the university's whole process about his contract. "First of all, the chairperson couldn't act in such a way when a reason did not stand, then went ahead looking for another reason. It looked like that he had decided not to rehire me first, and then went to look for a reason available. Second, the accusation that I did not teach well was not true. The university had professors evaluated with questionnaire by students each semester, and my evaluations had been above the average. Third, the university required that a department chairperson make recommendations two months before the president issues the hiring letters, allowing related committees and other administrators enough time to consider the recommendations. Now the chairperson gave them only three days, a violation of the legitimate procedure"(Chai 1990, 42-3).

Trong left the university in 1975, but he felt his rights were seriously encroached by the university. So he complained to the American Federation of Teachers at the university first, then the Division of Civil Rights and the Division of Public Interest Advocacy of New Jersey State, and finally sued the university at the State High Court, the State Supreme Court and the Federal Court. The case lasted five years, and was settled out of court in 1980 (Chai 1990, 43-4). "The contents of the settlement are: (1) the university acknowledges its mishandling of not rehiring me; (2) the university will

pay me one and a half years' salary; (3) the university will rehire me" (Chai 1990, 44).

Though the university agreed to rehire Trong, he had lost interest in the university.

"I sued the university, not to get my job back, but to get justice back"(Chai 1990, 44).

In fact, he already got another job at Medgar Evans College, the Brooklyn campus of the City University of New York, in 1978 (Chai 1990, 44-5).²⁴⁵ At this college, Trong taught in real earnest, and he won students' praise:

At the end of 1979, *Village Voice*, a newspaper in New York City, sent reporters to visit each campus of the City University for an in-depth reporting. The reporters interviewed students, faculty and staff on campuses for one week, and then published some survey results, one of the items being "Who is the best professor on this campus?" According to the report published on January 14, 1980, I was the best professor on this campus. (Chai 1990, 45)

During the period at CUNY, in addition to teaching, Trong also had remarkable achievement in research and publishing. At this stage, Trong's research interests were primarily based on his Ph.D. dissertation, using statistics to undergo research on related political issues in Mainland China. First of all, in 1975, he modified his Ph.D. dissertation and published it as a book, which was entitled *Professionals in China: Conflict and Accommodation* (Chai 1975), almost exactly the same as his dissertation topic. Then, from 1977 to 1981, within four years, he published more than ten papers (see Chai 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c), of which four appeared in the top ten journals in the field of political science --- including *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Comparative Politics*, *International Organization* and *The*

²⁴⁵. In his memoir, Trong did not point out clearly the whole name of the campus. The name here was based on the title he used while testifying in "Martial Law on Taiwan and United States Foreign Policy Interests," hearing before the U.S. House's Subcommittee on Asian Pacific Affairs on May 20, 1982. See U.S. Congress (1983a).

Journal of Politics, an academic achievement that was indeed significant.²⁴⁶

With his outstanding teaching and research achievements, in 1982, Trong was offered tenure and promoted to full professorship (Chai 1990, 45).

7.4.6 President of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs

In January 1979, the United States set up diplomatic relations with China, and formally severed its relations with Taiwan. In December of the same year, the “Formosa Incident” broke out, and more than one hundred key members of the opposition movement were arrested by the Taiwan authorities. To rescue the democratic worriers who were arrested and jailed due to the incident, the Taiwanese American used grassroots diplomacy everywhere, trying to deploy the rescue mission internationally. Among other things, the Taiwanese all over the United States sent 8,000 letters to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, showing their concern over Taiwan’s arrest of the opposition activists indiscriminately (Chai 1990, 69-70; Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 212). As a consequent, in March 1980, Kennedy issued a proclamation regarding the Taiwanese civil rights, vehemently reprimanding the KMT for its violation of human rights, freedom and democracy. The proclamation mentioned:

My greatest expectation is to immediately release the criminals who were jailed due to the Kaohsiung Incident, or use leniency in meting out punishment. I hope the prosecutors would recommend leniency toward the defendants, and the Taiwanese government would also take lenient

²⁴⁶. In the memoir, Trong complacently expressed, “The Institute of International Relations of National Chengchi University at Muzha spent more than NT\$100 million each year, hiring 200 China experts to study issues relevant to Communist China. However, since it was established in 1953, they have never had any papers published in any of the top ten journals in the field of political science” (Chai 1990, 46).

measures.

From a long term perspective, we should encourage the Chinese in Taiwan and the native Taiwanese to share political power. Though the Taiwanese have greater influence in the Provincial Government, the Chinese almost completely control the Central Government. Expanding the foundation of the government in Taiwan, and lifting the martial law, which has been enforced for more than 30 years, will be the best protection for the stability and security of future Taiwan. (quoted from Chai 1990, 70; my translation)

“Senator Kennedy’s proclamation in support of the democratization in Taiwan greatly uplifted the morale of the Taiwanese American, and it also allowed the fellow Taiwanese to see the concrete results of Congress diplomacy, ...”(Chai 2001, 2). To show appreciation for Kennedy’s help, Trong Chai, Kenjohn Wang and other enthusiastic fellow Taiwanese launched a campaign to hold a fundraiser banquet with one thousand participants for Kennedy, expecting to raise \$100,000 to help him win the Democratic presidential candidate nomination. The fundraiser was held at Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles in May 1980, and was a great success. “In addition to showing the consolidated power of the Taiwanese Americans, what hit Kennedy between the eyes were the achievements the Taiwanese have attained in all walks of life in America. He lavished praises on the Taiwanese repeatedly: the Taiwanese immigrants are the most outstanding among the minorities in America” (Kenjohn Wang 1999, 270).

After the successful fundraiser banquet, the Taiwanese Americans struck while the iron was hot, and Trong continued to importune Kennedy and Stephen J. Solartz, then the chairperson of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives. Finally, in December 1982, a bill was passed smoothly by both the Senate and the House granting an annual immigration quota of

20,000 solely for Taiwan (Chai 1990, 72-80; Kenjohn Wang 1999, 273-6).²⁴⁷ The two events, when combined, brought up a tremendous encouragement to the Taiwanese in America. It was such a background that, in February 1982, set the stage for the establishment of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (hereafter FAPA), an organization mainly composed of scholars, entrepreneurs, physicians, engineers and other professionals. Trong was recommended as the first president of this organization. The purposes of the newly established FAPA were:

(1) To work hand in hand with the democratic powers (*minzhu liliang* 民主力量) inside the island to improve freedom and democracy in Taiwan; (2) to publicize the Taiwanese people's (*Taiwan renmin* 台灣人民) determination in pursuit of democracy and freedom, and to create an international environment favorable to the Taiwanese residents' (*Taiwan zhumin* 台灣住民) self-determination (*zijue* 自決) and independence (*zili* 自立); (3) to advance the rights and interests of Taiwanese communities throughout the world (*haiwai Taiwanren shihui* 海外台灣人社會). (quoted from Rong-ru Chen 1995, 16)

More specifically, with the three purposes, the newly established FAPA focused its task on pushing the KMT government for the following three matters: to abolish the martial law; to release the consciousness prisoners of "Formosa Incident," and to strive for the rights of self-determination for the people in Taiwan (Chai 2003, 24). First of all, the foremost was *to abolish the martial law*. On May 20, 1982, the 33rd anniversary of Taiwan's martial law, the FAPA held three activities on the Capitol Hill,²⁴⁸ all in one day.

²⁴⁷. Before the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Taiwan, the United States gave "China" a quota of 20,000 immigrants, which was allocated solely to Taiwan. After the severance, this quota was supposed to be shared with China, seriously affecting the rights of Taiwanese immigrants (Chai 2001, 2).

²⁴⁸. In his memoir, Trong mistakenly recorded the year of this event as 1983, see Chai (1990, 87).

In the morning, Senators Kennedy, Claiborne Pell, Representatives Solartz and Jim Leach together held a press conference, telling the public the real story of the martial law that had been restraining the human rights of the Taiwanese for 33 years. There were more than one hundred reporters at the conference, and *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, Associated Press and United Press International all reported the story of the press conference, and it also became the headline story of all the Chinese newspapers in America. Then there was a luncheon at noon, attended by 43 Congresspersons, their assistants and the delegates from the State Department (Chai 1990, 88; Rong-ru Chen 1995, 16-7).

In the afternoon, the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House of Representatives held a hearing on the martial law in Taiwan. Four witnesses, including Trong Chai, testified on the necessity of the martial law and its constraints on human rights for three hours (Chai 1990, 89; Rong-ru Chen 1996, 17; U.S. Congress 1983a). Trong was very satisfied with all of the activities. “This was the very first try of the FAPA on Capitol Hill, a first one with an enormous success. A gentleman from an Asian country who was in exile in the United States was impressed that we could hold three activities in one day (press conference, luncheon and hearing). He said that if they could have one, they would be happy”(Chai 1990, 89).

Second, as for *releasing the consciousness prisoners* of “Formosa Incident,” the FAPA also made every effort to help. For example, on December 10, 1982, the third anniversary of the “Formosa Incident,” Kennedy, William P. Thompson (General Secretary of the American Presbyterian Church), James Seymour (Consultant of Amnesty International) and Trong together had a press conference on the Capitol Hill, talking to

the Taiwan authorities openly, and requesting that the KMT release these prisoners relevant to “Formosa Incident” (Chai 2003, 25).

Finally, as for striving for *the rights of self-determination* for the people in Taiwan, the FAPA also worked on the cause seriously. February 28, 1983 was the 11th anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the FAPA reiterated the rights of self-determination for the people in Taiwan. In the House of Representatives, the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held a public hearing of the “Shanghai Communiqué” on that day. For two and a half hours, Ming-min Peng, together with the representatives of the KMT and China, testified about the communiqué’s effects on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China as well as the future of Taiwan (U.S. Congress 1983b). On that day, the FAPA also had a luncheon on the Capitol Hill, with 60 Congresspersons and their assistants attending this event. Representative Robert G. Torricelli gave a keynote speech at the luncheon. Trong also made a speech, pointing out that “while the ‘Shanghai Communiqué’ acknowledged only the Chinese’s position on Taiwan and ignored the wills of the Taiwanese, it was a conspicuous violation of justice. The future of Taiwan should be determined by the people of Taiwan” (Chai 1990, 91).

On November 15, 1983, the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations passed Senate Resolution 74 regarding the future of Taiwan, proclaiming that “Taiwan’s future should be settled peacefully, free of coercion, and in a manner acceptable to the people on Taiwan and consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act enacted by Congress and the Communiqués entered into between the United States and the People’s Republic of China” (quoted from Taiwan Communiqué 1984, 12). Facing the landslide, the overseas

Taiwanese were overwhelmed with joy. Fifty overseas Taiwanese associations immediately echoed in support of the resolution, and issued a statement stressing that “self-determination is a sacred and inalienable right of the people on Taiwan” (quoted from Chai 1988, 237). But China was outraged, and lodged a strong protest with the United States, considering the resolution passed by the Committee on Foreign Relations “an act openly interfering in the internal affairs of China” (Chai 1990, 94). As the most important promoter of the bill, Trong had a view of the whole process:

This was probably the strongest response Communist China had reacted in response to the activities of Taiwanese in the past three decades. They were afraid that the Taiwanese American used the political power of the United States to keep them from invading Taiwan. This resolution was completely made possible by the mutual effort of Taiwanese, through the process of drafting, asking the Congressperson to sign jointly, and holding public hearing. The result significantly raised our confidence in grassroots diplomacy. (Chai 1990, 94)

In 1984, Mark Chen succeeded as the president of the FAPA, and he asked Trong to continue to serve as FAPA’s chief executive. Two years later, Ming-min Peng succeeded Mark Chen as the president and again Trong was asked to work for two more years. Thus, after quitting the president’s position, Trong continued to work as the FAPA chief executive until the end of 1987 (Chai 2003, 29-30).

7.4.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

The moment Trong took the plane bound for the United States, imperceptibly but inexorably, his life journey had marched toward a new stage. Soon after arriving in the United States, he heard of the news that Jia-shun Liu, who attended the “Guanziling

Meeting,” was arrested, and he clearly realized that, at least “temporarily” for a period of time (unexpectedly, the “temporarily” lasted for a whopping 30 years), he was unable to go back to Taiwan.

To Trong, 1963 seemed to be a special and pivotal year. First of all, he moved to Los Angeles in this year. Since there were more than a hundred Taiwanese residing in this area, Trong started to have more opportunities to talk about Taiwan’s political situations with his fellow Taiwanese. Moreover, it was also in the spring of the same year that Li-rong flew to the United States to be with Trong. Under such situations, it was more possible for Trong to participate in the TIM without worrying too much about his family.²⁴⁹ Third, his old friends Eng-pang Hau and Fu-chen Lo also plunged into the TIM in this year one after another. Through the channels of his old friends (one in Japan, the other the United States), Trong seemed to start to receive publications sent by different TIM organizations. With these publications at hand, on one hand, he had more opportunities to further theorize his “Taiwanese consciousness;” on the other hand, he could use the publications as the media to further discuss Taiwan’s politics with the Taiwanese living in Los Angeles.

In addition, 1966 was also a pivotal year of Trong’s identity journey. In this year, he not only “officially” joined a TIM organization,²⁵⁰ he was also elected a member of

²⁴⁹. Of course, without worrying too much about his family was only in a relative sense, since Trong’s other family members were all still in Taiwan at that time.

²⁵⁰. From the description in *I Want to Go Home*, before taking part in the reorganizing meeting of the UFI in June 1966, though Trong was enthusiastic over the Taiwanese movement, he had not joined any specific TIM organization yet. According to the account in *The Raging Wind of Stormy Cloud: The Development of the Taiwan Independence Movement in North America*, a WUFI publication issued in 1985, around 1965, the Taiwanese movement in North America had been developing in more than ten places (Los Angeles was one of them), with some very zealous activists. Though, to some extent, those people were influenced by the publication *Taiwan Youth*, which was published by the Taiwan Chinglian Associates in Japan, they

the central committee of the newly established UFAI, responsible for communicating with other overseas TIM organizations. Three years later, in 1969, Trong was elected chairperson of this organization, and the worldwide WUFI was organized under his supervision during his tenure.

Before going abroad, Trong already had had very strong Taiwanese consciousness. Therefore, his national identity after going to the United States was not very similar to the “normal” process of “Nigrescence” (Cross 1995). Rather, it was more like the “recycling” (Parham 1989) process, which happened after one’s identity had reached the “internalization” stage. To put it another way, between the “new” identity he had developed at this stage and the “old” identity at the previous stage, there only existed a “partial” difference, not the “extreme” difference.

Usually, in the process of “identity recycling,” just like in the process of “Nigrescence,” there are still “encounter stage,” “immersion-emersion stage” and “internalization stage” (for example, see Mu-sheng Wu’s “initial period during study and work in the United States). However, as far as Trong’s national identity of this stage is concerned, it is very difficult for us to claim that he actually experienced all those so-called different “stages.” On the contrary, after reading his life history, we are under the impression that he had been embracing a very strong Taiwanese identity, and had been preparing to sacrifice and devote himself for the identity long before he went to the United States. The reason that he was not quite active at certain stages was not because he was still struggling in identity; rather, it was because he lacked some external

“were mostly students or young people who just started their careers after finishing their studies and did not belong to any organization” (Feng-chun Li et al. 1985, 34).

conditions (for example, there were quite few Taiwanese Americans) to match.

Of course, if we observe from a “behavioral” perspective, we certainly can find that the “pivotal time points” (for example, 1963 or 1966) played very important roles in his identity development. However, if we use the biographies written by himself as the analysis material, it would be very difficult for us to say that the “pivotal time points” were really meaningful in his identity journey.²⁵¹ Therefore, in the following analysis, I shall not undergo any “chopped-sectional analysis” (i.e., dividing his identity development into “encounter stage,” “immersion-emersion stage,” and “internalization stage”). Instead, I shall use the whole period as a unit for analysis. The followings are my observations regarding Trong’s content of national identity at this stage.

(7.4.7.a) First of all, at this stage, Trong’s “Taiwanese consciousness” or “native consciousness” had been upgraded as “*national consciousness*.” He not only considered himself “Taiwanese” in terms of national identity, but also clearly claimed that “Taiwanese are not Chinese.” In June 1979, in a conference on The Future of Taiwan²⁵²

²⁵¹. Of course, that we have this kind of result, on one hand, had something to do with Trong’s writing style. His autobiographies looked like “working journal,” and there was not much description about his mind’s journey. On the other hand, it was probably because, during the period, he actually did not have much change in national identity.

²⁵². The conference was convened by Victor Hao Li (*Li Hao* 李浩), an international law professor at Sanford University, together with Hungdah Chiu (*Qiu Hongda* 邱宏達), Samuel C. Chu (*Zhu Changling* 朱昌陵), Che-tsao Huang (*Huang Zhecao* 黃哲操), and Michael Ying-mao Kau (*Gao Yingmao* 高英茂), with 15 Chinese-American participants. (It is notable that the notion of “Chinese-American” was the term used by the editor. However, this term obviously did not fit some of the participants. Take Trong for example, he did not consider himself Chinese and, of course, nor did he consider himself the so-called “Chinese-American.”) The conference was sponsored by the Johnson Foundation and the Center for East Asian Studies of Stanford University, held in Racine, Wisconsin, from June 8 to June 10, 1979 (V. Li 1980, X).

Strictly speaking, the conference was not a formal academic conference; rather, it was more like a longer seminar. No essays were presented at the conference. Instead, it was proceeded to in the form of dialogue between participants. The book (i.e., V. Li 1980) published after the conference was edited from the recording tapes of the dialogues at the scene. Notably, though all the participants’ names were listed

held in Racine, Wisconsin, Trong precisely and powerfully asserted his own self-identity in the following way:

I was born in Taiwan. *I consider myself Taiwanese, not Chinese.* I have never been in China, and my father and grandfather have never been in China. (V. Li 1980, 47; emphasis added)

Trong's insertion that "Taiwanese are not equal to Chinese," to some extent, was inspired by the "American Revolution" on the new continent. Also in the 1979 conference, Trong continued:

I am not Chinese. We Taiwanese have been in Taiwan for 300 years. We have never been in China. It is a completely strange land to us. I do not have any emotional attachment to that land at all. *I do not think I am Chinese just as Americans do not think they are British --- they are American.* (V. Li 1980, 50; emphasis added)

(7.4.7.b) Second, with "Taiwanese national consciousness" in mind, Trong not only claimed that "Taiwanese are not Chinese," he also firmly claimed that his TIM comrades and he wanted to "*establish a democratic country with the sovereignty belonging to all the people in Taiwan.*" In the 1979 conference, Trong said:

Who is it that desires unification? The KMT? China? Or the Taiwanese people? Taiwan is not just a piece of real estate; there are 17 million people living there. When you talk about reunification, don't you think that it is morally necessary to get the consent of these people? (V. Li 1980, 38)

at the front of the book, in the text, all the speakers were presented incognito. However, since Trong's political position was very clear, we can easily find that he was the Lawrence (pseudonym) in the book.

I think that Taiwan belongs to the Taiwanese. The United States, the PRC, and the ROC cannot determine the future of Taiwan. Only the Taiwanese can determine their own future. (V. Li 1980, 40)

Taiwan belongs to the Taiwanese. The principle of self-determination should be applied. The 17 million people on Taiwan should be free to establish a new nation, independent from China, representing all the people in Taiwan. (V. Li 1980, 52)

(7.4.7.c) Third, the most important reference point of Trong's assertion that "Taiwan belongs to the people living in Taiwan," in fact, was the KMT that had been ruling Taiwan for decades. In other words, to Trong, "*Taiwan does not belong to the KMT.*" On one hand, this was because the KMT was a brutal and authoritarian regime; on the other hand, this was also because there existed no legitimacy over the KMT's rule over Taiwan. For the first point, in another conference regarding the future of Taiwan held in 1975, Trong presented a paper entitled "Taiwan for the Taiwanese: Taiwan Independence Movement, Its Characteristics and Prospects",²⁵³ in which he expressed:

With the defeat of Japan in 1945, Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan was replaced by Chiang's tyranny. We are now forced to make the People's Republic of China our adversary just as we were forced by Japan to take the United States as our enemy during World War II. So we have been living under martial law since 1949 --- the longest martial law in human history. We have played no part in the selection of either the president or the governor of Taiwan. And yet we have been asked to pay taxes, serve in the armed forces, and support, against our will of course, the fantastic [sic, fantastic] policy of recovering the Chinese mainland. We are, in effect, the victims of

²⁵³. The formal name of the conference was "The Taiwan Issue," sponsored by the Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, held on November 6, 1975 at the Student Union Building, Michigan State University (Williams 1976, v).

Chiang's bizarre dream. (Chai 1976, 79)

In addition, in *I Want to Go Home*, Trong described the “performance” of the KMT's rule over Taiwan in the following way:

The Taiwanese people have been mistreated by the KMT. The KMT prohibits strikes and controls labor unions, making it impossible for the workers to effectively raise their wages, increase fringe benefits and improve working environment. Accordingly, the workers become the subject of exploitation. If a social system can not fairly treat and take care of most of the laborious people, then it would be very difficult for the people to support the system. For the sake of a long-term stability in Taiwanese society, we should respect the rights to strike, raise the minimum wages, establish progressive tax rates, national health insurance, social welfare, retirement and other systems to protect those economically disadvantaged, allowing them to lead a life with dignity. (Chai 1990, 195; emphasis added)

As for the second point, Trong positioned the KMT as a colonial regime without homeland, which did not belong to China, nor did it belong to Taiwan. In the 1979 conference, Trong had the following viewpoint regarding this “family regime:”

The Chiang Ching-kuo regime represents nobody except themselves. They do not represent the Chinese people; they were kicked out by the Chinese people 30 years ago. They also do not represent the Taiwanese, because there has been no general nationwide election in Taiwan. (V. Li 1980, 47; emphasis added)

(7.4.7.d) Fourth, except for the KMT regime, another reference point was the Chinese Communist regime that had been ruling Mainland China. In other words, Taiwan did not belong to the KMT regime, *nor did it belong to the Chinese Communist regime*. During his chairpersonship of WUFI in 1971, Trong published an article in the organization's official publication *Taiwan Youth*, asserting that the “The Taiwan

Independence Movement opposes the dictatorships of the Chinese Communists and the KMT, and the purpose of the movement is to establish a democratic and free country with the sovereignty belonging to all the residents” (quoted from Chai 1990, 64). In the Racine conference in 1979, Trong also said:

The essence of the Taiwan independence movement is that *the people on Taiwan who do not like the Communists* must face the reality that it is impossible to recover the Mainland. The consequence of this fact is that we must establish our own country on Taiwan; otherwise China would have an excuse to attack, or to “liberate” Taiwan. (V. Li 1980, 50; emphasis added)

However, it was evident that, to Trong and his TIM comrades, at least during this stage, in terms of the priority of “enemy,” the KMT was placed above the Chinese Communists. To put it another way, at this stage, the first and foremost enemy was actually the KMT, not the Chinese regime on the other side of the strait.

(7.4.7.e) Fifth, if Taiwan did not belong to the KMT, nor did it belong to the Chinese Communists, but it belonged to the Taiwanese people, then, after all, who were the “Taiwanese people?” Were they the “Taiwanese” (the islanders, including the Hokloes, the Hakkas and the aborigines, as opposed to the Mainlanders), as called in daily life in a narrow sense? Or, did they include all the people living on the island of Taiwan (i.e., including the Mainlanders)? At least after 1971, Trong’s open position was basically the latter, though he made some revisions. To Trong, the “*Taiwanese people*” who were entitled to determine the future of Taiwan referred to all those “living in Taiwan” and “identifying themselves with Taiwan.”

In the 1971 article published in *Taiwan Youth*, Trong proposed that “the purposes for TIM are: to keep from the Communist system; to destroy the authoritarian, terrible and

incapable Chiang regime; and to establish a democratic and free Republic of Taiwan in Taiwan” (quoted from Chai 2002). “Those who agree that Taiwan should become a democratic, free and independent country are all our friends, and those Mainlanders in Taiwan who are struggling with our comrades on the island against the Communists and Chiang are all our comrades” (quoted from Chai 1990, 64). Therefore, “the revolutionary objects of the TIM are not the Mainlanders as rumored by the Chiang regime. Rather, they are those who are against carrying out real democracy and freedom in Taiwan” (quoted from Chai 1990, 64).

In the 1979 Racine conference, Trong reiterated his argument, using the following way to define the term “Taiwanese:”

All the people in Taiwan, whether they were born in Taiwan or came from the Chinese mainland, should get together and establish a government of their own, if they think that Taiwan is the place where they will be living. (V. Li 1980, 50)

(7.4.7.f) Sixth, if the purpose of the TIM was to build a new country that belonged to the Taiwanese people, then, what would be the specific method to achieve Taiwan independence on Trong’s mind? In fact, the “April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident,” which happened during Trong’s WUFI chairpersonship, was an answer to this question. To Trong and his TIM comrades, facing the KMT that adopted measures beyond reasonable comprehension in Taiwan, they advocated using “*revolutionary*” measures to fulfill the purpose of Taiwan independence. In the article published in 1975, Trong used the following quote to conclude his paper:

We appeal to the conscience of all political leaders, in order to avoid any unnecessary sacrifice. When reason does not prevail over selfish ambition and aggression, *we have no choice but to use whatever means are available*

to us to protect our rights and liberties. We know that we still have far to go in creating and building a free, just, and independent Taiwan. But we are ready to put our own wisdom, our own courage, own strength and commitment to the test. And we believe --- strongly believe --- we, and will, succeed. (Chai 1976, 83; emphasis added)

(7.4.7.g) Seventh, though Trong lived in the United States, his “second motherland,” for 30 years in all, getting married there and also starting a family there. However, in terms of national identity, he had *never included the “United States”* as an element in his own identity. In the book *I Want to Go Home*, which was published in 1990, Trong said, “As early as in 1973, I was eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship, but I had never applied, since I had been planning that some day I would go back to Taiwan and fight hand in hand with the freedom worriers on the island” (Chai 1990, 203).

(7.4.7.h) Finally, let us talk about Trong’s “*role identity*” at this stage. As a matter of fact, though Trong’s “major profession” during this stage was a college professor, he seemed to have spent most time on the TIM. In other words, faced with multiple roles, he chose to view “activist” as his primary role. In *I Want to Go Home*, he reflected on an old story:

Some day in 1983, I drove to Washington, D.C. with Fu-chen Lo. In the car, I told him that if I died right now, I would be very regretful, since I had never been a good TIM activist, nor had I been a good husband and a good father, much less a good scholar. I shouldn’t have spread myself too thin. Instead, I should have concentrated more on the Taiwanese movement, and my research work should have been sacrificed. (Chai 1990, 49)

The reality was, in Trong’s 30 years’ career in the United States, only from 1975 to 1981 did he ever work hard on research and publish more than ten academic papers. Before 1975, he had been busy adjusting to his new teaching life, and also occupied with

the WUFI activities, so he did not have extra time for research. As for after 1981, on one hand, he obtained his tenure in 1982 and, on the other hand, he started to handle the activities of the FAPA. As a result, objectively, he was not allowed to invest too much time in research. He once heaved a sigh, “I feel sorry for my academic life. It started too late, and it died too soon. I actually spent only six years doing research work. If I were given more time, I would have done more contribution in the field of political science”(Chai 1990, 48-9).

7.5 Promoting the Plebiscite Movement in the United States (1986-1990)

In 1986, Trong published an article entitled “The Future of Taiwan,” spurring on the KMT to hold a plebiscite in Taiwan to solve the Taiwan problem once and for all. After that, Trong started to push in full swing the so-called “Plebiscite Movement” for the cause of Taiwan in the United States.

7.5.1 Commissioner of the FAPA Plebiscite Committee

In the second half of the 1980s, the political situations in Taiwan were finally experiencing some changes, gradually marching toward the road of democracy. In September 1986, the Taiwanese opposition movement broke through the party ban under the martial law, declaring the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (hereafter DPP). In July 1987, under the pressure at home and abroad, the Taiwan authorities declared the lift of the martial law that had been enforced for nearly four decades. In January 1988, President Chiang Ching-kuo died in office, and Lee Teng-hui succeeded as President, becoming the first native-born President in Taiwanese history.

Facing the new political situation, as a political movement activist, Trong seemed to make some adjustments in his strategy to push for the TIM.

At the end of 1986, Trong published in *Asian Survey* an article entitled “The Future of Taiwan.” In the article, Trong proposed to adopt the principle of “self-determination” to solve the Taiwan issue, and proposed to hold a plebiscite, allowing all the people in Taiwan to determine the future of Taiwan (Chai 1986).²⁵⁴ In the conclusion of the article, Trong expressed:

Taiwan is significantly different from China in economy, education, culture, and polity. Consequently, the Taiwanese seem to have developed their own identity and demand to shape their own political future. Their right to self-determination is enshrined in contemporary international law and should be respected. Just as the Republican Party in the U.S. pledged in its 1984 platform to “fully support self-determination for the people of Hong Kong,” Americans should uphold the principle of self-determination --- not the Hong Kong formula --- for the solution of the Taiwan problem.

Thus, the U.S. should *urge the KMT to hold a plebiscite* and to declare Taiwan a new nation if that is the wish of the Taiwanese. Unless the future of Taiwan is determined by the people on Taiwan, there will be no just solution to the Taiwan problem. (Chai 1986, 1323; emphasis added)

In the TIM history, “self-determination” and “plebiscite” were certainly not new concepts. As early as in September 1948, the Formosan League for Reemancipation (*Taiwan Zaijiefang Lianmeng* 台灣再解放聯盟) led by Thomas W. I. Liao --- the first overseas TIM organization after the war --- already had the proposition to “put Taiwan under the United Nations trusteeship, and then let the people vote to determine if Taiwan

²⁵⁴. There is a Chinese edition of the article, see Chai (1988).

should be independent” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 3). Nevertheless, Trong’s argument to “have a plebiscite held in Taiwan by the KMT” seemed to be a new try in terms of strategy in the history of TIM. Trong explained why he would advocate the measure of “plebiscite” in the following way:

When I was promoting the notion of Taiwan independence with American politicians, I found one problem: in 1979, the United States established diplomatic relations with China based on the Shanghai Communiqué. In the Shanghai Communiqué, “The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China.” Now that the United States “acknowledges” that Taiwan is a part of China, it would be very difficult to persuade Americans to support Taiwan independence. Therefore, while making lobbying, I came up with the idea to replace Taiwan independence with plebiscite. (Chai 2003, 30)

In April 1988, Trong had a long conversation about the Plebiscite Movement over the phone with Chia-wen Yao (*Yao Jiawen* 姚嘉文), then chairperson of the DPP. In general, Chia-wen Yao agreed with Trong’s arguments in his 1986 article, but he had two suggestions. “The first suggestion was, when the plebiscite was held, there should not be three choices: letting Communist China reunify Taiwan, keeping the status quo of Taiwan, and Taiwan independence. Two choices would be enough: whether to be ruled by Communist China. Due to the long and twisted propaganda from the KMT, many people in Taiwan were unable to understand the true meanings of Taiwan independence. If the choice of Taiwan independence did not get the most votes, then we would lose the real purpose of pushing for a plebiscite. Over the phone, I agreed to his opinion right away. The second suggestion was, if the plebiscite results opposed being reunified by Communist China, there was no need to declare that Taiwan was to be separated from

Mainland China and became an independent country, *since Taiwan had been a de facto independent country already*. I said if we did not declare, then Taiwan would not be able to get out of the diplomatic impasse. We decided to discuss about this matter after we met”(Chai 1990, 153; emphasis added).

In November 1988, some FAPA officers and TIM activists in the United States returned to Taiwan for this matter. They exchanged views on holding a plebiscite in Taiwan with the DPP leaders (Chai 1990, 154). Then, on November 21, the DPP Central Standing Committee passed a resolution. In this resolution, “in order to carry out the spirit of the DPP’s platform that ‘the future of Taiwan should be determined by all the people in Taiwan,’ the DPP decided to launch a ‘plebiscite movement’ in Taiwan and request the government to hold a plebiscite on ‘whether to be ruled by Communist China’ in the 1989 elections” (quoted from Chai 1990, 155).

Under these circumstances, in a FAPA meeting held in July 1989, through Trong’s promotion, all the attendants unanimously passed a resolution: “To solve the problem about Taiwan’s future, Taiwan should hold a plebiscite to decide on ‘one China, one Taiwan (*Yizhong Yitai* 一中一台).” Based on this resolution, in October of the same year, the FAPA Central Standing Committee decided to establish the “FAPA Plebiscite Committee (*FAPA Gongmin Toupiao Weiyuanhui* FAPA 公民投票委員會)” with Trong as its coordinator, vigorously campaigning for the movement to hold a plebiscite in Taiwan (Chai 2003, 34).

7.5.2 Determined to Return to Taiwan

To more effectively urge the KMT to hold a plebiscite in Taiwan, to Trong, it

became quite imperative to go back to Taiwan. “Now that the overseas theater has become secondary for the Taiwanese self-salvation movement, I have no reason to stay in the United States forever. I already had the idea to go back to Taiwan long time ago. As early as in 1973, I was eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship, but I had never applied, since I had been planning that some day I would go back to Taiwan and fight hand in hand with the freedom worriers on the island. While in Taiwan, there was always the risk of being arrested and purged by the KMT. If I were the only one with U.S. citizenship and under the extra protection of the U.S. government, then it would be unfair for those without U.S. citizenship who had to risk their life”(Chai 1990, 203).

In his first memoir *I Want to Go Home* which was finished before he went back to Taiwan in 1990, Trong wrote at the end of the book:

Though my return is to carry out democracy and plebiscite through peaceful mass movement, I also realize the inherent danger of my return. In the past, I have persuaded others to sacrifice for the sake of Taiwan, and many people did sacrifice a lot, and now it is my turn. In Taiwanese history of several hundred years, currently it is the best time to reverse our fortune and become the master of our future. I am grateful that I live at the turning point of Taiwanese history and, as a result, I have the opportunity to sacrifice and contribute myself for the future of Taiwan as well as the happiness of our offspring. Not only am I not afraid of the responsibility, but also I welcome the historic mission, since it lifts the meaning of my life to the highest state. Now that the KMT is facing a fierce internal power struggle, if we do not fight, how long are we going to wait? I can't be so selfish as to continue to stay in the danger-free America anymore; I want to return to the main theater of Taiwan instead.

I want to go home! (Chai 1990, 205)

Though yelling loudly “I want to go home,” for many times Trong applied for a visa

with the Taiwan authorities, he was rejected over and over again. Some U.S. Congresspersons even importuned for him, still to no avail. Consequently, he had to plan to stowaway by boat from Yonakuni (*Yunaguo* 與那國), the southernmost point of Ryukyu, Japan, into Taiwan. However, something happened and the stowaway plan was scrapped. In Jun 1990, Trong's father-in-law died in a car accident. Senator Claiborne Pell happened to know about the event, so he urged Trong to apply to return to Taiwan. Pell also called Mou-shih Ding (*Ding Maoshi* 丁懋時), representative of the Coordination Council for North American Affairs (*Beimei Shiwu Xietiaohui* 北美事務協調會), asking Mou-shih Ding to allow Trong to go back to Taiwan. Later, more than ten Congresspersons, including Senator Kennedy, continued to contact the KMT personalities, lobbying for Trong's return to Taiwan. After some efforts, Trong finally obtained his visa, and on June 26, with the blessings from his friends in the American political arena as well as his fellow Taiwanese, he made his homebound trip, returning to his homeland he left 30 years before.

7.5.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

When Trong wrote in his 1986 essay promoting the idea to “have a plebiscite held in Taiwan by the KMT,” superficially, the proposition seemed not so conspicuous. However, in the development of the TIM, the idea actually represented a relatively critical turning point of the TIM discourse. The focus was not on “plebiscite” itself (after all, this had been an important appeal proposed by the TIM long time ago), but on the suggestion that the plebiscite be “held by the KMT.” To me, to some extent, the proposition profoundly affected the “content” of Trong's national identity. Certainly,

Trong's "change" at this stage was not the "Nigrescence" as called by Cross (1995). Rather, it was the process of "identity recycling" described by Parham (1989), since Trong's identity still circled around the axis of "Taiwanese identity" basically. However, the content of his "Taiwanese identity" was undergoing some "partial" revision.

The followings are my observations regarding Trong's content of national identity during the period.

(7.5.3.a) First of all, this "new" strategy signified Trong's new perspective on the *KMT's legitimacy*. To put it a simple way, it was a change from totally denying the legitimacy of the KMT's rule over Taiwan, to recognizing its legitimacy of ruling Taiwan to certain extent. Before that, the KMT was not only the foremost enemy of the TIM, but also the "émigré colonial regime" from the perspective of TIM. Accordingly, the TIM would not recognize the KMT's legitimacy of ruling Taiwan at all. Under such circumstances, the TIM had no choice but to propose to hold a plebiscite "under the supervision of the United Nations and other international organizations," as far as the future of Taiwan was concerned.

The proposition to "have a plebiscite held by the KMT," to some extent, was an about-face in positioning the KMT as compared to before. On one hand, this proposition acknowledged that, at least for the time being, the KMT was the "effective ruler" of Taiwan. On the other hand, it also signified that between the TIM and the KMT, there existed some room for cooperation, since their common enemy was the Chinese Communist regime which had wanted to annex Taiwan (see the following discussion for details).

(7.5.3.b) Second, this also signified the change of *the "primary reference object" of*

the TIM. To say it in a simple way, after the new strategy was proposed, the foremost enemy of the TIM was changed from the KMT in Taiwan to the Chinese Communist regime in China. We can see Trong's statement regarding the matter in the chapter "Self-determination" of his autobiography:

Taiwan's education level is so high that a plebiscite in Taiwan is the most effective way to determine the wishes of the Taiwanese people. Because of the growing Chinese influence in the international community, a U.N.-supervised plebiscite in Taiwan does not seem feasible. However, the KMT could hold a plebiscite *to determine whether the people on Taiwan want to accept "one country, two systems" and become a part of the People's Republic of China, or become a new nation independent from China.* The United States, China, Japan, Russia and other nations as well as NGO concerned with the future of Taiwan could be invited to supervise the voting. (Chai 1990, 186; emphasis added)

In this quote, Trong's suggested plebiscite had only two choices: one was "accepting one country with two systems as offered by China," and the other was "becoming independent from the People's Republic of China." To put it in another way, the so-called "independence movement" was not to be "independent from the Republic of China" (it was the traditional discourse of the TIM in the past); rather, it meant to be "independent from the Chinese Communists." Under such new discourse, the Chinese Regime on the other side of the strait replaced the KMT regime as the foremost enemy of the TIM. We can refer to another quote below:

Taiwan's development significantly surpasses Mainland China in every aspect. To unify the two divergent societies under one country is nothing but the ignorance of the existing objective environment. *Taiwan should be independent of the Chinese Communists,* and the people of Taiwan should make every effort toward the goal, making Taiwan a new and independent country. (Chai 1990, 195; emphasis added)

(7.5.3.c) Third, to some extent, this also signified the change in *the “measures” of the TIM*. Simply speaking, to fulfill the goal of Taiwan independence, the TIM changed from the adoption of “revolutionary” means to the use of “democratic” ways. Before this, the TIM considered the KMT an illegitimate colonial regime, and so it proclaimed to use all possible methods to overthrow the KMT regime to achieve the goal of Taiwan independence. After the idea of “having a plebiscite held by the KMT” was proposed, it implied that the TIM was willing to adopt a conventional means within the system to promote its ideals.

7.6 Returning to Taiwan (1990-)

In 1990, Trong broke through the blacklist, and in the name of attending his father-in-law’s funeral, he returned to his homeland from which he had been away for 30 years. He organized the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan, and served as its founding president. Two years later, in the constituency of Chiayi City, Trong ran for and won the Legislator’s seat, which he served for five terms until now. In 1993, to promote the ideals of plebiscite and to break through the KMT’s long-time monopoly over the media, Trong, along with some dignitaries, formed a TV station preparatory committee. Two years later, with approval from the authorities, Formosa TV, the fourth island-wide TV station in Taiwan, was established. In 1996, Trong was elected the first chairperson of Board of Directors of Formosa TV, which started to air in 1997 and opened a new page in the media history of Taiwan.

7.6.1 President of the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan

Almost right after returning to Taiwan, Trong started to campaign for the plebiscite movement across the island. “After returning to Taiwan, I crisscrossed nonstop, giving circuit speeches everywhere to promote the plebiscite movement. In all, I gave 24 speeches all over the 21 counties and cities in Taiwan in less than two months, not only delivering the ideals of plebiscite everywhere, but also distributing 30,000 copies of *Plebiscite Manual* (*gongmin toupiao shouze* 公民投票手冊), establishing a sound foundation for the plebiscite movement” (Chai 2003, 43).

Within half a year after his return, in November 1990, Trong set up the “Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan”(hereafter APT) for the purpose of “promoting the plebiscite movement to allow the people in Taiwan to decide on important public policies, constitutional reform and the future of Taiwan.” The organization was composed of 218 members from the elite of every echelon in the society, including 36 professors, 26 lawyers and 30 physicians. Trong was elected president of the association, and the Rev. Chun-ming Kao (*Gao Junming* 高俊明) of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan vice president. In one year, the APT had set up 24 branches in all the counties and cities across Taiwan, providing a full-scale training for the staff and volunteers needed in the promotion of plebiscite movement (Chai 2003, 43-7).

In addition, the APT also planned to promote its ideals through a mass rally and parade, and decided to use “holding a plebiscite to enter the United Nations (*juxing gongmin toupiao jinru Lianheguo* 舉行公民投票進入聯合國)” as the appeal of this activity. For this choice, Trong explained the rationale in the following way:

A parade needed an appeal, certainly having something to do with plebiscite.

Though there were many issues related to the future of Taiwan that could be put to a plebiscite, in view of the situations at that time within and without Taiwan, the time to use a plebiscite to determine Taiwan independence seemed not ripe yet. Therefore, the APT executive committee had to decide to use “holding a plebiscite to enter the United Nations” as the main appeal of the parade. That was, in other words, to hold a plebiscite to decide whether to apply to enter the United Nations using the name of Taiwan. After all, after joining the United Nations, Taiwan would be treated as China’s equal. Taiwan is a country; China is a country. Then China’s proposition that “Taiwan is a part of China” would be invalid as a consequence, and the security of Taiwan would gain another layer of protection from the United Nations. (Chai 2003, 45)

Thus, starting in September 1991, the APT held three big parades in Taipei, Kaohsiung and Taichung at various times. On September 8, 1991, in the name of commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of San Francisco, the APT, together with the DPP, the Taiwan Association of University Professors (*Taiwan Jiaoshou Xiehui* 台灣教授協會), the National Union of Student Movement (*Guanguo Xuesheng Yundong Lianmeng* 全國學生運動聯盟) and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, held the “9/8 Taipei Grand Parade (*jiuba Taipei dayouxing* 九八台北大遊行)” on the streets of Taipei. More than 50,000 people, some of whom coming from central and southern Taiwan on 229 buses, took part in the parade. Invited by Trong, Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General of the United States, also came to Taiwan particularly for the occasion (Chai 2003, 52-7).

After the parade, the APT appropriated NT\$200,000 to “Action 100 Alliance (*Yibai Xingdong Lianmeng* 一百行動聯盟),” which was led by Chen-yuan Lee (*Li Zhenyuan* 李鎮源), Shan-tien Lin and Shih-meng Chen (*Chen Shimeng* 陳師孟). This

organization eventually forced the KMT to abolish Article 100 of the Criminal Law, terminating the crime of treason in speech, and contributing significantly to the protection of human rights and the development of democracy in Taiwan (Chai 2003, 57).

After that, the APT, again on October 25 of the same year, the Republic of China's 20th anniversary of withdrawal from the United Nations, held another big parade in Kaohsiung appealing to "hold a plebiscite to enter the United Nations," again with more than 50,000 participants. Then, on February 23, 1992, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué and the 45th anniversary of the February 28 Incident, the PPA held another parade in Taichung, and again more than 50,000 people joined it (Chai 2003, 57-61).

7.6.2 Elected Five Terms as a Legislator

When Trong just returned to Taiwan from the United States, he did not even think of running for parliamentary representative or public office. All he thought, rather, was to promote the plebiscite movement wholeheartedly. However, many people encouraged Trong to run. "Ching-hsiung Lee (*Li Qingxiong* 李慶雄) said, being a Legislator is somewhat like holding a microphone. With a louder voice, your advocacy of plebiscite will be heard. Ching Yu also persuaded me, saying that a physician who is afraid of doing surgery is like a physician with hemiplegia, and a politician not dare to run is not a real politician. Hsin-chieh Huang (*Huang Xinjie* 黃信介) also commented that if I did not want to be a representative (*minyí daibiao* 民意代表), then no matter how hard I did, at most I would be like Kai-shih Chiang (*Jiang Gaishi* 江蓋世), like an ascetic monk with a backpack, walking throughout Taiwan, sleeping at railroad stations, yet hardly

with any influence” (Chai 2003, 111).

In May 1992, Trong decided to run for Legislator in Chiayi City. As a matter of fact, Trong hailed from Budai, Chiayi County, and his father was elected the first and the second terms County Representative of Chiayi County. If Trong wanted to run, he would have a better chance to get elected in Chiayi County (Chai 2003, 111-2).

However, someone else was already seeking nomination from the DPP in Chiayi County. “As a new comer from overseas exile, I wouldn’t feel comfortable if, instead of expanding our boundaries, I fought for the existent and limited territories. That would hurt my self-respect. Therefore, I decided to run in Chiayi City” (Chai 2003, 112).

In December 1992, after a fierce competition, with only 211 votes, Trong narrowly defeated the KMT candidate Ching-jen Chen (*Chen Jingren* 陳鏡仁), and was officially elected as a Legislator, preparing to push the legislation for plebiscite in the Legislative Yuan (Dajiyuan 2001). In June 1993, with an incidental motion, Trong for the first time introduced a draft of the “Plebiscite Law” in the Legislative Yuan. The draft was already jointly signed by more than 100 of the 160 Legislators, including more than 40 KMT Legislators. However, it was still opposed by the KMT corps in the Legislative Yuan. Afterward, in all, Trong proposed the Plebiscite Law for eight times, but it was always blocked (Chai 2003, 64).

After more efforts from Trong, in April 1994, the draft of “Plebiscite Law” finally entered the second reading procedure, but only the title as well as the first article of the law passed the reading, all the rest were put on hold (Chai 2003, 65). Trong finally realized: “Since the KMT had an absolute majority in the Legislative Yuan, unless the KMT changed attitude, it would be very difficult to accomplish any legislation

procedures” (Chai 2003, 65).

In 1995, the KMT nominated Vincent Siew (*Xiao Wanchan* 蕭萬長), a ranking minister in the KMT government, to run for Legislator in his hometown Chiayi City, expecting him to fight it out with Trong. Though Trong gained seven hundred more votes as compared to last election, eventually he was defeated by Vincent Siew by eight thousand votes. Trong lost his seat, but every cloud has a silver lining: his lawyer friend Tsai-ting Tien (*Tian Zaiting* 田再庭), reluctant to see Trong “unemployed,” yielded to Trong the chairperson position of Formosa TV which was in preparatory process (Chai 2003, 96-9).

On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong was returned to China, and more than 800 international reporters went to Hong Kong to cover the changeover ceremony. Taking advantage of this opportunity, in June of the year, Trong held a “Say No to China Rally (*Fandui Zhongguo Bingtun Taiwan Dahui* 反對中國併吞台灣大會)” at the parking lot of the Taipei Municipal Government. Through this rally, Trong wanted to show that the Taiwanese opposed China to annex Taiwan, and hoping that the international media could come along to report what the Taiwanese had on their minds. At that time, Trong, together with rally organizers, set off from Erluanbi (*Erluanbi* 鵝鑾鼻) of Pingtung, and, in a format of long-distance relay, they ran to Taipei, and instigated the crowd along the way. People in central and southern Taiwan took 703 buses to the mass rally, where the crowd was close to 100,000, an unprecedented record for a mass movement at that time (Chai 2003, 105).

In September 1997, Vincent Siew was appointed Premier, and the Legislator seat he vacated was up for by-election. Staging a comeback, Trong effortlessly defeated his

KMY opponent, getting into the third Legislative Yuan, though the term had only one year left (Jia-fang Cai 1997). In 1998, 2001, and 2004, Trong successfully got re-elected as a Legislator, making him almost an evergreen from the second to the sixth Legislative Yuan.

7.6.3 Formosa TV

As a political science scholar, a TIM activist, and a professional Legislator, why would Trong get involved in the business of a TV station? In fact, it had something to do with plebiscite and the TIM. In the third chapter of his second autobiography, Trong answered the question in the following way:

Two or three years before returning to Taiwan to promote plebiscite in 1990, I was frequently asked a question, “The KMT owns three TV stations, but you don’t even have one. If someday a plebiscite is to be held, how could you overcome them?”

As a political science scholar, I found this question very difficult to answer, since this was not something that could be perfunctorily dealt with simply by yelling some slogans. In May 1992 when I went back to Chiayi to run for Legislator, I was thinking about this question, and I realized that the answer was to get a permit to set up a fourth TV station. (Chai 2003, 72)

In January 1993, in an APT executive committee meeting, Trong raised the issue of “how to obtain permission for a fourth TV station.” After the discussion, the APT decided to establish a committee to push the matter, and Trong was recommended as the convener of this committee. After a lengthy and complicated struggling process, including raising fund, writing prospectus, taking oral examination at the Government Information Office which supervised the media, lobbying government officials, and even

going to the United States lobbying the U.S. government to put pressure on the KMT, Formosa TV finally outperformed two other competitors. In June 1995, Trong and his staff obtained a license issued by the Government Information Office. Two years later, Formosa TV successfully aired, becoming the fourth TV station in Taiwan, and one invested completely by private individuals (Chai 2003, 72-95).²⁵⁵

7.6.4 Continuing to Push the Plebiscite Law in the Legislative Yuan

Since the DPP was a minority in the Legislative Yuan, unless with the KMT's support, the chance to pass the "Plebiscite Law" was very slight. Thus, in April 1999, more than 20 people, including Trong, six other DPP legislators, Chun-ming Kao, Chiautong Yuzin Ng and Zai-ting Tian, went out on a "hunger strike for plebiscite (*gongtou jueshi* 公投絕食)" outside the Legislative Yuan. They pleaded President Lee Teng-hui to have the "Plebiscite Law Draft," which had gone through the first reading, passed as a law in the Legislative Yuan. The hunger strike went on for eleven days, and Trong lost 6.5 kilograms in weight (Chai 2003, 65-7). "Many people were moved by our hunger strike, ... The media conspicuously covered the story every day, and plebiscite became the focus of attention. In response to the public opinion, the KMT promised to propose the 'Initiative and Referendum Law Draft (*Chuangzhi Fajuefa Caoan* 創制複決法草案)' within one month, which would then be reviewed and discussed together with the 'Plebiscite Law Draft.' However, the KMT broke their

²⁵⁵. Originally there were three TV stations in Taiwan: Taiwan TV (*Taiwan Dianshi Gongsi* 台灣電視公司) was run by the Taiwan Provincial Government, China TV (*Zhongguo Dianshi Gongsi* 中國電視公司) was a business run by the KMT, and Chinese TV Service (*Zhonghua Dianshi Gongsi* 中華電視公司) was invested and operated by the Ministry of National Defense, Executive Yuan.

words” (Chai 2003, 67).

In March 2000, the DPP won the Presidency in the national elections. In December of the following year, the DPP became the largest party in the Legislative Yuan, making the pass of Plebiscite Law in the Legislative Yuan highly possible. In March 2001, Chai asked Yi-jin Yeh (*Ye Yijin* 葉宜津), a DPP Legislator and the convener of the Committee on Internal Affairs, to put the “Plebiscite Law” on the committee agenda for review. She agreed (Chai 2003, 67-8). However, later Ying-yuan Lee (*Li Yingyuan* 李應元), then Secretary General of the Executive Yuan, called to dissuade (Chai 2003, 68).

In March 2003, Chian-ming Chen (*Chen Jianming* 陳建銘), a Legislator of the Taiwan Solidarity Union, took the initiative to put Trong’s “Plebiscite Law Draft” on the review agenda of the Committee on Internal Affairs. Though the draft went through the first reading procedure in May, it failed in the second reading when it was put to vote, and was thus returned to the Committee on Internal Affairs for further process (Chai 2003, 68-9).

Thanks to the incessant squabbles in the Legislative Yuan, the Plebiscite Law attracted the attention from the general public as well as the media. According to most public opinion polls, 60% of the people supported the Plebiscite Law, while 20% opposed it (Chai 2003, 69). Under such situation, and in view of the coming Taiwanese presidential elections in 2004, the ruling DPP, the opposition KMT and the People First Party (PFP, which, together with the KMT, was commonly referred to as the Pan-blue Camp) all wanted to maneuver the issue to their respective advantage in the coming elections. On one side, the DPP started to undergo staff operation and, in June 2003, drafted the so-called “Outlines for National Plebiscite Implementation (*Quanguoxing*

Gongmin Toupiao Shishi Yaodian 全國性公民投票實施要點” (Chia-long Lin 2003).

On July 26, the 30th annual meeting of the World Federation of Taiwanese Association was held in London. Using live television on the spot, President Chen Shui-bian told his fellow Taiwanese that the DPP government had decided to spare no effort to hold a plebiscite in Taiwan, right before the presidential elections in March of the following year (Jing-ling Jiang 2003).

On the other side, to keep the executive branch from using administration orders to launch a plebiscite, and to win votes for the incoming presidential elections, the Pan-blue Camp, which had been steadfast in opposing the legislation of a plebiscite law, in June 2003, abruptly announced its support of the Chai-version plebiscite law. On July 3, the Pan-blue Legislators formally proposed to review the Plebiscite Law in the extraordinary meeting of the Legislative Yuan. On the night of July 10, a partisan negotiation meeting for the Plebiscite Law was officially convened. At first, the DPP, the Taiwan Solidarity Union and the KMT all agreed to pass the Chai-version Plebiscite Law Draft. However, in the end, the KMT regretted, and the negotiation failed. As a result, the Legislative Yuan was again unable to review the Plebiscite Law (Chai 2003, 69-71; Shi, Li and Huang 2003).

In September 2003, the DPP had two versions of Plebiscite Law Draft ready, with the first one revised from the Chai-version Plebiscite Law. On October 23, the KMT and the People First Party together had the “KMT/PFP-version Plebiscite Law Draft.” On November 27, the Legislative Yuan officially put the Plebiscite Law Drafts to vote, and with many legislators abstaining, the articles to “include the changes of national flag as well as the name of the nation into the application scope,” which was the core of

Chai-version draft, were not passed. Rather, since the Pan-blue camp had voting superiority, the “KMT/PFP-version Plebiscite Law” was put to vote eight times and was finally passed in the Legislative Yuan (Xu Fang 2003; Chinanews.com.cn 2003).

In the tricky legislative maneuvers, both the ruling and the opposition sides acted accidentally on purpose. On the ruling DPP side, with respect to the articles about “changes of territory boundaries as well as the current status of sovereignty” in the Chai-version, many of its Legislators did not support at all. And on the Pan-blue Camp side, their major concern was focused on the incoming presidential elections, and their purpose was to “manipulate election issues,” not to mention that in their version, the stipulation that the executive branch was refrained from launching a plebiscite was against the world trend (Yi-hao Jiang 2003; Yan-fen Huang 2003). No wonder that Ming-juinn Li (*Li Mingjun* 李明峻), a political critic, came up with the comment on such a result: “The plebiscite movement originated from the independence movement. Then, with all the possible issues peppered by the DPP, it became a democratic movement. And after the Pan-blue Camp took over, the whole plebiscite movement was relegated to an ‘election campaign (*xuanju yundong* 選舉運動),’ much to the disappointment of those TIM-affiliated organizations” (quoted from Yan-fen Huang 2003).

Anyhow, the first Plebiscite Law in Taiwan had been passed. However, since all the constitution-amending issues regarding the national flag, the national anthem and the name of the nation, according to the Plebiscite Law, should be initiated by the Legislative Yuan. The stipulation, coupled with the high threshold in constitution amending, made it all but impossible to make changes for those issues, as far as practical operation was

concerned. Under such circumstances, Trong's dream to hold a plebiscite to fulfill independence still had a long way to struggle.

7.6.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Basically, the content of Trong's national identity at this stage, to some extent, could be seen as an extension from the previous stage, with partial difference in nature. Though the directions were consistent, the "degree" was much deepened. The followings are my observations.

(7.6.5.a) First of all, at this stage, not only did Trong recognize the legitimacy of KMT's "Republic of China," after Chen Shui-bian won the Presidency in 2000, he also recognized the legitimacy of DPP's "Republic of China." As a matter of fact, in addition to serving as a Legislator of the "Republic of China" since 1992, Trong also served as the chairperson of the Marathon Association of the Republic of China (*Zonghua Minguo Malasong Xiehui* 中華民國馬拉松協會)(Chai nd, c). To comprehend Trong's identity journey at this stage, we should take the "naming politics," which happened in Taiwan in the 1990s, into consideration. After 1990, beyond the Chinese Association of Political Science (*Zhongguo Zhengzhi Xuehui* 中國政治學會)," some other scholars with Taiwanese consciousness established the Taiwanese Association of Political Science (*Taiwan Zhengzhi Xuehui* 台灣政治學會). In 1995, the so-called Chinese Sociological Association (*Zhonggho Shehui Xuehui* 中國社會學會) had been renamed to Taiwanese Sociological Association (*Taiwan Shehui Xuehui* 台灣社會學會). Furthermore, beyond the Republic of China Alpine Association (*Zhonghua Minguo Shanyue Xiehui* 中華民國

山岳協會), some other mountaineers with Taiwanese consciousness organized the National Alpine Association of Taiwan (*Taiwan Guojia Shanyue Xiehui* 台灣國家山岳協會). Thus, the fact that Trong served as the highest leader of the civic organization “Marathon Association of the Republic of China” reminds us to rethink about the inherent nature of his national identity at this stage.

Besides, at least starting in 1969 when Trong submitted his doctoral dissertation, the English name he had been using was Trong R. Chai²⁵⁶ (Chai was the Hoklo, not Mandarin, pronunciation of his last name), which was a remainder of his Taiwanese consciousness. However, now his English name shown on the official Website of the Legislative Yuan was Tung-jung Tsai, a pronunciation based on Mandarin (Legislative Yuan, nd, b). I am not sure if this was negligence due to his assistants or the office of the Legislative Yuan. However, since Trong had been a Legislator for more than ten years, it would be quite unreasonable if he himself had not found that his name was misspelled.

(7.6.5.b) Second, in terms of Trong’s national identity during this stage, the Chinese regime across the strait, rather than the KMT on the island of Taiwan, had become the foremost negative reference object. This situation can be demonstrated by the following quotes:

During my thirty years’ stay in the United States, I strived for the democracy, freedom and future of Taiwan. Thirteen years ago, after returning to Taiwan,

²⁵⁶. Since Trong seemed not to have published any formal publications before 1969, I do not know what English name Trong used during the period. But, as far as I know, at least during the period he stayed in the United States, he used Trong R. Chai for all the academic papers as well as the political comments published in English.

I still struggled for the same goal. My success and failure have been closely entwined with the destiny of Taiwan: *if Taiwan is annexed by China, then it would be a failure of my lifelong political ideals*; if Taiwan becomes an independent country, then it would be a great success that my lifelong ambition is fulfilled. (Chai 2003, backcover; emphasis added)

Taiwan is an independent country, and China, recognized by more than 150 countries, is a country even more independent. Therefore, Taiwan and China are actually two independent countries, and *the relationship between Taiwan and China is one between one country and another, an international relationship*. (Chai nd, b; emphasis added)

To abolish the effect of one-China (*yige Zhongguo de xiaoying* 一個中國的效應), certainly, we have to let every country in the world understand that there are several differences between Taiwan and China. The difference in national income has surpassed 20 times; the percentage of college graduates in Taiwan is 10 times higher than that in China, and China's illiteracy rate is four times higher than that in Taiwan; individualism and liberalism are widespread in Taiwan, while China has been successful in creating a mass society and compelling its citizens to accept Communism as an absolute truth; and with 21,300,000 people and a gross national product of US\$260 billion, Taiwan is sufficient to be a new country. (Chai 1998, 3)

(7.6.5.c) Finally, at this stage, Trong had formally taken part in Taiwan's elections and, therefore, he had completely abandoned the revolutionary measures he instigated in his previous life stages. He had formally entered the system, following the game rules set up by the system to pursue his goal of TIM.

7.7 Conclusion

At last, let us briefly review the developmental process of Trong's national identity. He was born in the town of Budai, Chiayi County, in 1935 when Taiwan was still under

the Japanese colonial rule. Accordingly, he had received Japanese education for three years. Due to the lack of data, we are not so sure of the content of his national identity during this period.

In 1945, the KMT took over Taiwan, and Trong started to receive Chinese education provided by the KMT government. However, due to the influence from Mr. Lin, his elementary school teacher who “did not like Mainlanders at all,” and due to the influence that his father was arrested by the “motherland” army without due process, and due to the influence from his peer groups, and due to the influence of Taiwan’s opposition movement, Trong seemed to have been filled with strong “anti-KMT consciousness,” “democratic consciousness” and “native consciousness” while he was in Taiwan. Meanwhile, he also became highly enthusiastic over politics.

In 1960, Trong went to study in the United States. Two and a half years later, he arrived in Los Angeles starting to study for his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Southern California. At the same time, with TIM publications, he single-handedly went everywhere inciting the ideals of TIM, and raised money for the scattered TIM organizations. In 1966, Trong attended the founding meeting of the UFAI and was elected a member of the central committee, responsible for overseas communication. Three years later, he was elected as the chairperson of this organization, and during his tenure, the worldwide TIM organization --- WUFI --- was established. In 1982, Trong took part in the organizing meeting of the FAPA and was elected its first president.

At this time, Trong successfully transformed the “anti-KMT consciousness,” “democratic consciousness” and “native consciousness,” which he embraced while he was in Taiwan, into the “typical version of Taiwanese consciousness;” considered himself

Taiwanese, not Chinese; steadfastly proposed “to establish a democratic country with its sovereignty belonging to all the people in Taiwan;” made it clear that “Taiwan does not belong to the KMT;” argued that “Taiwan does not belong to the Chinese Communists;” considered it necessary to overthrow the KMT regime using all available measures, including revolutionary means; and also placed the role of a “TIM activist” before the role of a “political science scholar,” spending most of his time and energy to struggle for the cause of TIM.

In 1986, Trong started to propose a new strategy to “hold a plebiscite in Taiwan by the KMT” to realize the ideal of TIM. He kept close contact with the newly established DPP, asking them to consider promoting the plebiscite movement in Taiwan, and he also persuaded the FAPA to set up a committee to promote the idea in full swing. Under the new strategy, the content of Trong’s national identity changed to certain degree. He no longer considered the KMT or the Republic of China a political entity illegally occupying Taiwan; “upgraded” the Chinese Communists on the other side of the Taiwan Strait as the foremost enemy of the TIM; and abandoned the notion of “revolution,” preparing to promote the TIM through the conventional ways.

In 1990, Trong returned to his homeland which he had missed for 30 years, starting to push the plebiscite movement on his own land. In 1992, Trong decided to run for Legislator, and since then, he had become very successful in everything, except for the defeat in 1995 (but he won in the subsequent by-election), and he continued to serve five terms as a Legislator. In the meantime, to end the KMT’s monopoly over the media, he took charge to organize and get permission for the fourth TV station, and served as its chairperson. During this period, his national identity basically developed along the

main direction as the previous period, yet the extent was much deepened.

Chapter Eight

Case Study (4): The Process of National Identity Formation of Tsing-fang Chen

[When I was still a student in Paris, one day,] while taking a shower, unexpectedly, I found I was humming a Taiwanese folksong to myself. In the past, I had always enjoyed classic music and never sung Taiwanese folksongs at all. However, this time I found that the Taiwanese folksong simply came out so naturally. A sense of indescribable affection surged up. It was probably something from my miserable feeling of homesickness.

--- Tsing-fang Chen, *These Days in Paris*

8.1 Introduction

Writing about Tsing-fang Chen was a bold yet interesting experience. Basically, he was quite different from other subjects I chose in this study in many ways. First of all, he was an artist making a living by painting. To the ordinary Taiwanese and even the overseas Taiwanese, this was certainly a very unfamiliar profession. Because, without a regular salary and a normal working schedule, this profession was quite different from the work overseas Taiwanese, most of them with a background in engineering or natural science, were doing. However, through his indefatigable efforts, he was presented the “Global Tolerance Award” by the United Nations in 2001, and was appointed the “Cultural Ambassador for Tolerance and Peace,” winning accolade in the arts circle as well as the overseas Taiwanese community (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 1).

Second, unlike other subjects I chose, Tsing-fang initially went to France, not the United States, for his advanced degree, despite that he decided to emigrate from France to

the U.S. for the cause of Taiwanese Independence Movement after 1975. Third, unlike other persons, he spent six years as a full-time staff of the World Federation of Taiwanese Association. In other words, different from others who only spent their spare time outside their professional fields to participate in the activities of TIM, Tsing-fang was a professional activist in social movement. From the perspective of social movement research, professional activists are definitely a group of people that deserve researchers' more attention.

Last but not least, it was the data source related to Tsing-fang's life history that made Tsing-fang more special. Up to date, there have been no biographical publications related to Tsing-fang. However, he published the diary of his sophomore year, *Diary of A Young Artist (Circulating Corridor)* in 1968, and part of his diaries (1963-1968) written during his study in France, *These Days in Paris*, in 1996 in three volumes with almost 1,700 pages. To this research, this was a very special data source, since one of key issues I wanted to explore in this study was to see how the "overseas" environment far away from Taiwan could affect the subjects' national identity. While taking the "comprehensiveness" of data into consideration, Tsing-fang's life history at certain stages (especially the period before he left Taiwan) was not sufficient, this was for sure. Nevertheless, with the three-volume diaries about his study abroad at hand, it was still possible to sketch his life history and examine his journey of national identity based upon different kind of data. For Tsing-fang's recent photo, refer to Figure 8.1.

(Figure 8.1 about here)

In the following discussion, I shall divide Tsing-fang's developmental process of national identity into five stages: (1) the childhood period (1936-1945); (2) the period

Figure 8.1
Photo of Tsing-fang Chen



Source: Paris Foundation of Art (nd)

under the KMT rule (1945-1963); (3) the period during study in Paris (1963-1970); (4) participating in the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (1970-1980); and (5) returning to the painting world (1980-).

8.2 The Childhood Period (1936-1945)

8.2.1 Family Background and Childhood Years

Tsing-fang Chen was born on June 2, 1936, in Guiren (*Guiren* 歸仁), Tainan County.

The fourth of six children, he has an older brother, two older sisters, a younger sister and a younger brother (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 269; T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, a).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷. There might be mistakes with regard to the number of Tsing-fang's siblings and his seniority. Since he did not mention the information in a straight line, I could only infer it indirectly based upon his publications where he mentioned about his family. Tsing-fang's siblings who were mentioned in his works included his older brother (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 146, 166), oldest sister (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 146; Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 193, 297), second older sister (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 133, 146), younger sister (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 146), and little brother (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 135, 300).

For the important events in Tsing-fang's life history, refer to Table 8.1.

(Table 8.1 about here)

When Tsing-fang was born, Taiwan was still a colony of Japan. He seemed to enjoy drawing and showed creative talent in art since he was a child. Jeppson (1978, 11-2) described Tsing-fang's childhood in the following way: "As an infant Tsing-fang loved to paw through books with illustrations. Most of these depicted Japanese Samurai --- ferocious visions. Even at two and three he was drawing on walls with chalk and scratching designs in the earth. In elementary school he earned his class's highest marks in drawing, and his pictures were ever displayed. When students from other rooms passed him in the halls, they'd give him a cheer."

Tsing-fang's father owned a small meat shop in the village market. Its walls were alive with figures of folklore heroes from Chinese mythology. Tsing-fang liked to imitate them. When he was eight or nine he made moveable paper figures. Arms, bodies, heads, legs were mounted on sticks so they could run, fight, and dance. His mother had a small fabric shop in the same market. Its colors and patterns fascinated him. Manufacturers' trademarks were particularly intriguing: they always depicted traditional figures and heroes (Jeppson 1978, 12).

Tsing-fang himself briefly recalled his childhood:

Right after entering school, because of my excellent academic record, I had been very confident in myself and full of ideas. Though hailed from a poor family, I developed independent personality, self-respect, and positive work

Table 8.1
Major Events in the Life of Tsing-fang Chen

Year	Event
I. The Childhood Period (1936-1945)	
1936	Chen was born into a poor family in Guiren in Southern Taiwan. His father owned a small meat shop in the village market.
II. The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1963)	
1949	Chen graduated from elementary school first in his class and passed the examination to get into the junior section of Tainan First Middle School.
1950	Chen touched by van Gogh's paintings and decided to go to Paris to be an artist in the future at the age of fourteen.
1951	Chen fell in love for the first time.
1952	Chen graduated from the junior section of middle school and was admitted directly to the senior section without having to take the entrance examination. Chen began to have his first formal painting training at Chang-hua Chang's studio. At the studio, he sketched the head of <i>Venus de Milo</i> more than 300 times.
1953	Fascinated with Western literature, Chen became a typical literature lover at the age of seventeen.
1955	Chen graduated from high school and was admitted directly to the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University. He decided to "study French and excel in the language so that he could go to Paris" in the future.
1956	Chen served as the president of Fine Arts Society on campus.
1957	May: Chen lost his love and began the writing of diary, which was later published as <i>Diary of A Young Artist</i> .
1960	Chen served in the military and spent one and a half years in Hengchun and Pescadores. He wrote articles and sketched paintings at leisure time.
1961	Chen was discharged from the army. He took part in the examination for the scholarship sponsored by the French government and bombed.
1961-2	Chen traveled around the world with the Moral Rearmament Movement in 13 months. As a result, he was strongly influenced by the MRA's idealistic vision of "joining the family of all the races to rebuild the world."
1962	Chen began to teach English at Jincheng Middle School.

Table 8.1 (Cont.)

1963	Chen passed the examination for the scholarship offered by the French government. September: Chen had his first one-man show in Tainan.
III. The Period during Study in Paris (1963-1970)	
1963	October: Chen went to Paris for advanced study.
1964	January: The French government decided to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. February: The KMT government announced that it would sever its diplomatic relations with France. March: Chen discovered the existence of campus spy installed by the KMT and was very angry. August: Chen made a two-week-long vacation trip to Florence, Italy. Right there, he got a "revelation" that "the human beings need another renaissance, and it is quite possible that the cradle of the new renaissance is located in Taiwan." September: Ming-min Peng was secretly arrested by the KMT government. October: Chen's close friend Rong-de Lin went to Germany for advanced study. October: China had its first atomic test.
1965	July: Chen's scholarship sponsored by the French government came to an end. Accordingly, he had to work at a Chinese restaurant to support his living expenses in Paris.
1966	October: Chen decided to use "Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary Art" as his dissertation topic and formally presented the outline to his professor and classmates.
1967	July: Chen held his first one-man art show after arriving in France at Biarritz, a French summer resort on the southwest Atlantic coast. September: Chen held another art show at the city hall of Boblingen, Germany, and was met with good praises. December: Chen came to the point of establishing his own painting style tracing to his own roots with "Oriental, bountiful, impeccable, intimate and inexhaustible sources."
1968	January: Chen watched a documentary "Another China: Taiwan" and gradually found the difference between Taiwan and China. May: The "French May" broke out and the administration shut down the University of Paris. May: <i>Diary of A Young Artist</i> was published by Water Buffalo Press in Taipei.

Table 8.1 (Cont.)

1969	July: Two American astronauts had landed on the moon. Through this event, Chen realized the beginning of a “convergent” period in human history and developed his theory on “Five-dimensional World Culture.”
1970	Chen finished his doctoral dissertation “Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary Art,” which was approved with very honorable mention.
1970	Chen finished his doctoral dissertation “Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary Art,” which was approved with very honorable mention.
IV. Participating in the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (1970-1980)	
1971	January: Chen established “Taiwanese Association of France” with some other friends. October: All the Taiwanese Associations in different countries of Europe were consolidated in Frankfurt, Germany, as the “European Federation of Taiwanese Association.”
1972	Chen served as the editor-in-chief of <i>Homeland News</i> , the official publication of EFTA. For this journal, he began to write an essay entitled “The Historical Mission of Taiwanese: The Five-dimensional World Culture.”
1973	Chen formally established the painting style of “Neo-iconography,” finishing “The Real Moon,” his first “Neo-iconography” signature painting. October: The Preparatory Committee of World Federation of Taiwanese Association was formed. Chen was elected as committee member.
1974	Summer: Chen went to North America for negotiating the business related to the World Federation of Taiwanese Association. September: The World Federation of Taiwanese Association was formally established in Vienna, Austria. At the conference, Chen took charge of the performance program of “The Taiwan Night.” December: Chen happened to meet Lucia who became his future wife.
1975	Spring: Chen flew to North America for the business of WFTA and traveled 18,000 miles with a \$220 Greyhound bus ticket in two months. He had 50 small meetings with local members of Taiwanese Association, presented 50 times of the WFTA documentary, met more than 6,000 Taiwanese, and gave more than 50 speeches. November: Chen decided to forgo his Paris base of 12 years and move to New York City for the business of WFTA. Chen married Lucia.
1976	Chen’s son was born.
1977	Chen’s daughter was born. Chen, together with his family members, moved from New York City to Maryland.

Table 8.1 (Cont.)

1978	Chen held his first one-man art show after arriving in the United States in Philadelphia. Lawrence Jeppson's <i>The Neo-Iconography of Tsing-fang Chen</i> was published.
V. Returning to the Painting World (1980-)	
1980	Chen ended his role as the staff of WFTA and concentrated on his painting again. Lucia opened an art gallery in Washington, DC. November: Chen was invited to attend the ninth International Conference on the Unity of Sciences. At the conference, he presented a paper to introduce his theory of "Five-dimensional World Culture."
1981	Chen held a large-scale art exhibit at Johns Hopkins University in Maryland, showing two hundred pieces of his works.
1983	September: Chen was granted U.S. citizenship. November: Chen was given the Humanity Award, which was dubbed as the Taiwanese Nobel Prize, by the Taiwanese American Foundation.
1984	June: Chen moved his family from the suburbs of Washington, D.C. to the So-Ho district in New York City, where Lucia continued to open Lucia Gallery. November: Chen was invited to have a one-man show back in Taiwan. Accordingly, he stepped on the homeland, which had been in his dreams for the past 21 years, and stayed there for the very 28 days allowed by the visa.
1986	Chen finished 100 artworks entitled "The Spirit of Liberty Series," which generated a handsome amount of revenue, \$500,000.
1987	January: Chen opened another gallery "New World Gallery" in Taipei.
1990	Chen created 100 artworks entitled "Post-van Gogh Series" in honor of vanGogh. September: Chen was invited by the Provincial Taiwan Museum of Fine Art to have his 100 signature artworks exhibited. The museum also published a painting album, entitled <i>The Art of Tsing-fang Chen: The Neo-Iconography</i> , to celebrate his artistic achievement.
1991	June: Chen published an anthology entitled <i>The Dream of A New Renaissance</i> in Taipei.
1996	June: Chen finished the construction of a new fine art center named "T. F. Chen Cultural Center/New World Art Center" in the So-Ho district of New York City.
1999	September: Chen climbed to the top of Jade Mountain, the highest in East Asia, which is located in central Taiwan. After coming back to NYC, he created a series of Jade Mountain artworks.
2000	Chen started promoting the soul construction activity in the name of "Jade Mountain as Holy Land, Love and Peace."

Table 8.1 (Cont.)

2001	December: Chen was honored by the United Nations with the “Global Tolerance Award” of the year, and was assigned as the “Cultural Ambassador for Tolerance and Peace.”

Source: Made by author

attitudes. Inherited from my hardscrabble and nice parents,²⁵⁸ I also possessed a philosophy of life emphasizing on simple and freedom. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 1)

8.2.2 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Since we had very limited knowledge regarding Tsing-fang’s childhood, the above description, which was mainly based on Jeppson’s (1978) book, was almost the whole story we could find in the existing literature. Under such circumstances, I am unable to further analyze Tsing-fang’s national identity during this period. The only thing I know is, due to the fact that he attended elementary school during the Japanese colonial period, he could speak Japanese,²⁵⁹ read Japanese,²⁶⁰ and write letters in Japanese.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸. As a matter of fact, when Tsing-fang was growing up in Tainan, his parents worked fourteen to twenty hours a day to make ends meet (Sibyl Chen 2002b, 19).

²⁵⁹. According to Tsing-fang’s diary on April 24, 1966, he encountered a Japanese girl at the restaurant he was working. “She was traveling by herself. She did not speak French and spoke only a little English. I talked to her in Japanese. She was very glad” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 946). In face, Tsing-fang (1996a, 306) said that he could speak five languages. Though he did not mention directly what the five languages were, the answer should be very clear: Hoklo, Japanese, Mandarin, English and French.

To some extent, his multilingual ability was by no means a special case; rather, it was an epitome of the ordinary Taiwanese intellectuals of his time. Certainly, it is related to the colonial history of Taiwan. For the Taiwanese of Tsing-fang’s generation, they spoke Hoklo, their mother tongue, at home, spoke Japanese during the Japanese period, learned to speak Mandarin during the KMT period, and started to learn English after attending middle school. Mu-sheng Wu (1994a, 189), who was three years Tsing-fang’s senior, used to point out, “Because of the changes of official language and the inevitable of reality, there were many [sarcastic and suffering] stories about language learning in the Taiwanese history.”

8.3 The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1963)

Tsing-fang was only nine when the KMT took over Taiwan from Japan in 1945. Later he graduated from elementary school first in his class, and passed the examination to get into the junior section of Tainan First Middle School, one of the best schools in southern Taiwan. Because of his excellent academic performance, he was admitted directly to the high school section without taking the examination at the age of sixteen. Three years later, with his outstanding academic records, again, he was admitted exempt from examination to the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University. At the age of fourteen, Tsing-fang was fascinated by van Gogh's paintings and decided to go to Paris to be an artist in the future. Thus, after fulfilling his military obligation, Tsing-fang passed an examination and obtained a scholarship under the auspices of the French government, and left Taiwan for Paris in 1963, starting another journey of his life.

8.3.1 Middle School Years

In 1945, the sovereignty of Taiwan was transferred from Japan to China. One and a half years later, the tragic and vehement February 28 Incident broke out, making a remarkable footnote in Taiwanese history. In Tsing-fang's relevant publications, however, we are unable to find his description regarding his experience about the

²⁶⁰. Tsing-fang ever translated Yi-zhou Yang's work, *Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek*, from Japanese into Chinese (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 5).

²⁶¹. On June 26, 1964, Tsing-fang (1996a, 296) wrote in his diary: "I received a letter from Hiroko, a typical sweet Japanese girl whom I met at Montparnasse Sketch School. I decided to reply her in Japanese."

February 28 Incident.²⁶² One possible reason was that he was still too young at that time, and the incident probably had little impact on him.

In 1949, Tsing-fang graduated from elementary school first in his class, and passed the examination to get into the junior section of Tainan First Middle School. However, his parents were too poor to afford his tuition. “Rather than limit her son’s opportunities, his mother pawned her wedding ring, her most valued possession, to pay for his schooling. From that moment on, in order to honor his mother’s sacrifice, Chen resolved to do his best to maintain self-discipline and self-cultivation for the rest of his life” (Sibyl Chen 2002b, 20).

One of the best middle schools in Taiwan, Tainan First Middle School was located in Tainan City, about twelve miles from Guiren, Tsing-fang’s hometown. Since he excelled at school, after graduating from the junior section, he was admitted directly to the senior section without having to take the entrance examination. In all, Tsing-fang studied in Tainan City for six years (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c; Jeppson 1978, 12-3). Tsing-fang used to describe his middle school life from the perspective of the third person:

In the emerald fields of southern Taiwan, he took the small train, which was operated by the sugar plant, through his six years in middle school. It was a

²⁶². In the 1970s, when Tsing-fang was the editor of *Homeland News*, the publication of the European Federation of Taiwanese Association, he translated Yi-zhou Yang’s *Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek* (the original book was written in Japanese), introducing to his readers the overall situation of the February 28 Incident (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 5). Besides, in the preface to *Jade Mountain and Her Variations*, his painting album, he also mentioned this Incident in the following way: “The big changes in Taiwan in the 80s continued to reinforce in the 90s. The vicissitudes in politics, economy, society and culture made one’s eyes fully occupied. Among other things, the ‘February 28 Peace Movement’ was the greatest with profound meaning, yet it was not fully recognized. As a matter of fact, this movement was a good example transforming hatred into greater love and channeling sorrow into a torch of soul” (Tsing-fang Chen 2000c, 14). However, he seemed not to have any personal experience with the “February 28 Incident.”

bittersweet life. He went out early and returned late, and frequently had to commute under the nightly sky. The great nature [outside the train] became his intimate friend. He almost attended the resplendent ceremony of sunrise and sunset every day while taking the train. Rising like fire and setting like wine, according to his own imagination, Apollo, the god in Greek mythology, rode in a sparkling armor, came from the sea, and brought him to an imaginary Western world (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 120).²⁶³

Right in this period, after having his first contact with Western fine arts, Tsing-fang made up his mind to go to Paris and become an artist in the future. “On day in his second year of junior middle school, Chen went into an auditorium for the art show of Yong-sen Chen (*Chen Yongsen* 陳永森), a Taiwanese painter residing in Japan. At that time, it was very unusual to have a great art exhibition in Tainan. Chen was so immersed in the show that he was reluctant to leave at all. Suddenly, a volcano erupted in his mind and shook his soul with ferocious power. An idea of going abroad to learn painting arose in Chen’s mind. At that time, it was such a ridiculous and impossible dream. If he dared to tell others about this idea, it would be a jaw-dropping joke” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 120-1).

Luckily, Tsing-fang was able to get help from two elders for his painting dreams. One was Vincent Huang (*Huang Hunsheng* 黃混生), a dentist and an amateur artist; the other was Chang-hua Chang (*Zhang Changhua* 張常華), an art teacher who used to study music in Japan. Vincent Huang had a breathtaking collection of art books acquired in Japan, and Tsing-fang was allowed to borrow (Jeppson 1978, 12-4). In his October 1963 diary, Tsing-fang described his encounter with Vincent Huang in the

²⁶³. The article was first published in 1972.

following way:

Thirteen years ago, Vincent Huang, a dentist coming back from Tokyo after getting his professional degree, moved to the quiet streets of Guiren. When he was not taking care of patients, he liked to use oil painting material to draw his self-portrait and listen to Beethoven's "Moonlight Sonata." At that time, a boy of middle school had a chance to peek while the doctor was drawing. Eventually, the boy made acquaintance with the doctor through the introduction of a friend. On that night, the boy brought home a whole bunch of art books he borrowed from the doctor. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1)

One day, when Tsing-fang was reading a painting book of van Gogh,²⁶⁴ he was so touched that he could not hold back his tears. "Van Gogh's sunflowers burn like the torch of youth, and his cypresses swirl up like tornadoes of desire struggling up in a spiral. With eyes filled with warm tears, the second-year junior middle school student embraced van Gogh's biography, and was unable to sleep at midnight at all" (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1). "I feel like I had something of him in me. It was like being in love"(quoted from Jeppson 1978, 13).

As for Chang-hua Chang, he had a studio where he taught students charcoal

²⁶⁴. Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), who was born in Zundert, the Netherlands, is considered the greatest painter in Holland history after Rijn van Rembrandt. Together with Paul Cezanne and Paul Gauguin, he is also renowned as one of the greatest Post-Impressionism artists (Pioch 2002).

In Tsing-fang's life journey so far, Vincent van Gogh was probably one of the most influential figures. It was van Gogh's paintings that triggered Tsing-fang's interest in painting. Not only was his early painting style influenced by van Gogh, but in 1990, in the name of "Post-van Gogh Series," he had 100 paintings commemorating van Gogh's centennial (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c). In addition, it was also due to the influence of van Gogh, "especially the letters he wrote his brother Theo, in a way like diaries that allowed others to take a look at his inner world and enhance their understanding of the content of his drawings" (Tsing-fang Chen 1996b, 40), that Tsing-fang decided to publish his diaries written during his Paris days.

For related studies regarding van Gogh, in addition to the collection of correspondence mentioned by Tsing-fang (see Gogh 1978, 1985), the biographies by Hammacher and Hammacher (1990) and Pollock and Orton (1978) are also frequently cited by researchers.

sketching.²⁶⁵ It was at this studio that Tsing-fang began his first formal art training. He spent eight hours a day at the studio on weekends and on every holiday and vacation. Among others things he sketched the head of *Venus de Milo* more than 300 times to learn every secret the cast could yield (Jeppson 1978, 13-4). Thus, Tsing-fang ever said that “Chang-hua Chang was my first art teacher. If there were not Chang-hua Chang, there would be no Tsing-fang Chen today”(Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 152).²⁶⁶

Besides, at this time, Tsing-fang was also engrossed in literature and became a typical literature lover. In his freshman year at high school, he was fascinated with Chinese classic novels and almost chose a new one to read every day. In the following year, he discovered a new world in Western literature, becoming immersed in reading Goethe’s *The Sorrow of Young Werther*, Hugo’s *Les Misérables*, Shakespeare’s tragedies, Lamartine’s *Le Lac*, as well as the works by Gorky, Byron and Shelley (Jeppson 1978, 14; Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 120). Tsing-fang reflected on himself at that time:

Perhaps with an uncanny guidance, Chen was lucky to get acquaintance with two elders: Mr. Chang, who allowed him to use the studio; and Mr. Huang, who lent him a lot of painting books. In this situation, Chen’s soul was definitely swept away by a tide of Western modern painting.

..... After the encounter, the lonely Chen was surrounded by a group of artists: Vincent van Gogh, Paul Cezanne, Paul Gauguin, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, ... Paris became the

²⁶⁵. Chang-hua Chang was one of the founders of the “Tainan Fine Arts Study Club (*Tainan Meishu Yanjiuhui* 台南美術研究會).” The club was founded in Tainan in 1952, and its first president was Po-chuan Kuo (*Guo Bochuan* 郭柏川), a professor at Cheng Kung University (Xiu-xiong Wang nd). Tsing-fang (1991g, 152) mistakenly listed Chang-hua Chang as its first president. For Chang-hua Chang’s teaching style and philosophy in drawing, refer to Jeppson (1978, 13-4).

²⁶⁶. Besides, Po-chuan Kuo, the first president of the Tainan Fine Arts Study Club, was also one of Tsing-fang’s art teachers, since he used to practice sketching at Kuo’s studio (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 39).

destination of Chen's dreams! With painting books on one hand and poems on the other, Chen was infused with the romance and decadence of the West, and was infected with a fever that could not be found in the medical books at all and only be curable with Beethoven's music. (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 121)

Painting, literature and music kept him in a perpetual state of emotion, which he compounded by falling in love at the age of fifteen (Jeppson 1978, 14). "The god of love liked to wreck havoc with Chen, treating the growing Chen as the target and hitting the bull's eye with one single arrow" (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 120).

8.3.2 National Taiwan University and Reserve Officer

In 1955, Tsing-fang graduated from high school. At first, he was planning to study in the Department of Fine Arts, National Taiwan Normal University, but was instead admitted to the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, without having to undergo examination. "The two roads seemed to separate, but also seemed to merge. Chen swung between the two extremities and often asked himself at the crossroads, 'Which way should I go?' Eventually, he went to the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures mainly to 'study French and excel in the language so that he could go to Paris'" (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 121).

During his four years of college life, Tsing-fang was still infatuated with all kinds of literary as well as art activities. He served as president of the Fine Arts Society, joined the off-campus "Free Salon," and participated in the salon's group exhibit for three continuous years from 1956 to 1958 (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c). Hung-hsi Lee, a Professor in the Department of Law, National Taiwan University, and a roommate of

Tsing-fang's at Dormitory No. 7 while a student, recalled about Tsing-fang in his college days, "A major in foreign languages and literatures, he studied diligently and read a wide variety of books, including arts, culture, philosophy and history. His talking was always full of thought and philosophy" (Hong-xi Li 2000, 1). And according to Tsing-fang, his college life was like the following description:

He did not enter the Department of Arts at National Taiwan Normal University. Instead, he was admitted, without having to take examination, to the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at National Taiwan University. That did not mean that he had abandoned painting. On the contrary, he became an even busier student. He was preoccupied with art activities and classes during his extracurricular and curricular hours, respectively. In addition, he took charge of the Fine Arts Society on campus, participated in the exhibits of the Free Salon (*Ziyou Huahui* 自由畫會), and audited the classes in the Department of Fine Arts, National Taiwan Normal University. With literature and art, he seemed to have all the stars lined up for him, and his art field was enriched with the spring from both sides. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 2)

On May 5, 1957, Tsing-fang's first girlfriend, who maintained relationship with him for five years, was engaged with someone else. Upon hearing the news, he cut class and took a train back to Tainan from Taipei immediately. When he got to Tainan, it was already midnight. Unable to hop on a bus, he had to walk for more than ten kilometers to his girlfriend's home at Guanmiao (*Guanmiao* 關廟). Seven years later, he wrote in his diary: "On the day she was engaged, my young dream was shattered. That night I went to knock at her door at the wee hours, revealing my deep affection, but I did not cry. The next day before noon, I said good-bye to her with my blessings. That was the noblest, purist and sincerest moment of my life" (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 234).

Tsing-fang also wrote in his diary years later that, for the sake of his first love, he was

determined at that time to become a famous artist:

No matter what happened afterwards, the good-bye was an unforgettable memory. I acted so bravely, although it was the most painful moment of my life. I made up my mind to go to Paris, and I would strive to be a famous artist, a top-notch artist in the world. Not only as an artist, but also I wanted to be a man of letters, a poet, a thinker and a philosopher. I wanted to work very hard my whole life step by step. I was still in love with her, but I did not want to bother her. I hoped that she knew I had arrived in Paris, and I would do everything in real earnest all my life for the sake of her.

(Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 234-5)

In 1960, Tsing-fang was obliged to serve in the military and spent one and a half years in Hengchun (*Hengchun* 恆春) and Pescadores. At leisure time, he liked to write or sketch (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c).²⁶⁷ After being released in 1961, Tsing-fang took part in the examination for the scholarship sponsored by the French government. Due to insufficient preparation, he bombed (Jeppson 1978, 14).

8.3.3 Around the World with the Moral Rearmament Movement

At that moment, the Moral Rearmament Movement (hereafter MRA)²⁶⁸ was

²⁶⁷. Tsing-fang graduated from college in 1959, and was supposed to serve in the military in 1959. I was not sure if the time table provided by himself (i.e., T.F. Cultural Center nd, b) was mistaken, or his service was delayed for other reason. Ao Li, a famous dissident writer in Taiwan, graduated from the Department of History, National Taiwan University, also in 1959, and started his reserve officer training in September of the same year (Ao Li 2000, Chapter 6).

²⁶⁸. The so-called “Moral Rearmament Movement,” formerly known as the “Oxford Group,” was a worldwide movement founded by the American priest Frank N. D. Buchman in 1938. The basic philosophy of the MRA was that everyone could serve as the beginning of social changes, and personal changes could contribute to social changes. The MRA encouraged that each individual should not completely act from selfish motives; instead, each individual should contribute his or her own ability, time and money to others and the society. In the era of cold war, due to the influence of the social atmosphere

conducting tests to find 50 young Taiwanese students for an international tour that was expected to go to the Congo and former French colonies in Africa. French speaking participants were needed. Tsing-fang and his friends took tests and became members of the tour group. They visited Japan and India, and then they arrived in Switzerland. The contingent developed a Dragon Theater. Tsing-fang was in charge of the set. They went on tour through Switzerland, Germany, Denmark and Norway before moving to Mackinac Island in Michigan to begin a four-month circuit that took them through Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas and Illinois (Jeppson 1978, 14-5).

During these 13 months there was little time for painting, but Tsing-fang filled sketchbooks, whenever he could get off alone to visit museums in places like Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Stockholm and Oslo. To Tsing-fang, this was a very special experience. It was new, disciplined, visionary, committed, religious, productive and idealistic. Meetings made use of local cultural resources of all kinds, and Tsing-fang was nourished a thousand ways (Jeppson, 1978, 15). Tsing-fang said:

From this ideal --- aim --- to rebuild the world I saw I had a universal religion, the family of humanity. I joined the family of all the races to rebuild the world. I regard the world as one, with people mixed together to influence each other. That type of life

(such as McCarthyism) at that time, anti-Communism gradually became one of the important concerns of the MRA (Ren-zhou Liu nd; Peters 1999).

In 1955, the MRA sent a group to visit Taiwan. Since its anti-Communism proposition was welcome by the KMT authority, under the auspices of Chiang Kai-shek, General Ying-chin Ho (*He Yingqin* 何應欽), one of the KMT patriarchs, fervently took the responsibility to handle the MRA in Taiwan (Husheng He 1999, 34). For detailed records regarding Ying-chin Ho and the MRA, refer to *Moral Rearmament Movement and the Dragon Theater*, which was edited by the Editorial Commission on a Series for Celebrating the 95th anniversary of General Ying-chin Ho's Birth in 1984.

inspired me. An artist can use his art as a tool to rebuild the world. (quoted from Jeppson 1978, 15)

In 1962, Tsing-fang returned to Taiwan and became teacher of English at Jincheng Middle School (*Jincheng Zhongxue* 金城中學). Then, he took the examination for the French fellowship again and passed.²⁶⁹ But before leaving on the long trip to Paris, in September 1963, Tsing-fang had his first one-man show in Tainan (Jeppson 1978, 15).

8.3.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

For Tsing-fang's national identity at this stage, just like those of his previous period, we have very limited materials available. Fortunately, in 1968, Tsing-fang published his diary, *Diary of A Young Artist*,²⁷⁰ which covering the period from his second semester of sophomore year to the second semester of junior year at college (May 20, 1957 – April 5, 1958). Through this diary, we are able to get a glimpse of Tsing-fang's thought during the period. The followings are my observations regarding Tsing-fang's national identity at this stage:

(8.3.4.a) First of all, in this diary, we can easily find from the scattered paragraphs a kind of “impractical imaginations (*buqie shiji de huaxiang* 不切實際的幻想)” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991c, 1) of Tsing-fang's salad days, especially his imagination towards “*Western world*” or the “*world outside Taiwan*.” Just as he put it himself, “Standing at this old Oriental place, I was steeped in nostalgia toward the grandiose and

²⁶⁹. In fact, the examination for the fellowship was extremely competitive. Tsing-fang was one of only two out of 600 competitors selected for this scholarship (Sibyl Chen 2002b, 19).

²⁷⁰. The edition on my hand was published in 1991.

splendid Western palace of arts”(Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 75). Noticeably, however, the Western world Tsing-fang longed for seemed to be the old European continent, not America, the new global hegemony after the war. One possible reason was that Tsing-fang was so fascinated with van Gogh. In his diary on May 21, 1957, Tsing-fang had the following record:

You want to go to southern Europe to see the real opera. Go! Go! Get going! Go to the sacred places in Italy. You do not know that, ravaged by the war, the streets in Italy are no longer as splendid and graceful as ancient time. It does not matter. You only want to go to Italy, to Rome, to the cliffs and beaches along the Mediterranean Sea, to the old cradle of culture. Because the history teacher has described the skies over the Mediterranean Sea in wow and praise, you do want to leaf through Homer’s epics out of curiosity. And that is sufficient for you to raise a hope that, together with your sweetheart, you would go to the land with a shining sun and fragrant flowers. Go to Greece, Spain, France, and Germany. Speaking of Germany, all of a sudden, you hear the roaring rapids of music in your mind, and then you hum the Choral of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, stand up, shake your legs and go out. (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 9-10)

In his July 15 diary of the same year, Tsing-fang recorded how he longed for the Western world:

If everything goes smoothly, and you also agree, then I would like to accompany you around the world. When my art gains a position in the world, we will go to Paris together, quietly strolling along the banks of the Seine, where tender grass flourishes and sunshine falls through the canopy of branches filigreed with leaves in breeze. In the distance, the light small boats draw our attention to the quiet ripples around them. If we look further away, we can see under the misty sky the billowing smoke, and under which the buildings with blinds and scintillating marbles, as well as dark brown and grey walls, just like what we see in the pictures. I also want to escort you to the cafés on the pavement at Montmartre. On the armchair with a cat-shape

back, just like the one painted by van Gogh, we are going to befriend the leading thinkers and artists in the world. (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 49-50)

The reason that Tsing-fang had such a strong and obsessing imagination toward the “Western world” had something to do with the time trend. At that time, Taiwan was still an underdeveloped country. The students on the island, especially those at the privileged colleges, no matter whether they were students of natural sciences and engineering students, or humanities and social sciences, in the whole educational process, the textbooks they read, the theories they learned and the world they saw were nothing but a far cry from their native society. Thus, for those highly educated students, their high imagination toward the Western world was a very natural response. Take students of literature as an example, in the 1950s and the 1960s, “Westernization Thesis” and “Modernism Thesis,” which were basically direct copies from the Western thinking trends, were very popular in the academia in Taiwan. However, in essence, they had nothing to do with the native society at all (Sheng-guan You 1996, 7, 157).

(8.3.4.b) Second, the pain of being jilted, the imagination toward *love*, and the pursuit of love were obviously very important themes of Tsing-fang’s college diary. In the preface to his *Diary of A Young Artist*, Tsing-fang had the following self-reflection, “My life at age twenty looked like a novel, centering on imagination and love” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991c, 2). The diary on May 20, 1957, was definitely related to his lovelorn experience happening two weeks ago. Tsing-fang wrote in this diary entry:

Luan [his girlfriend’s nickname], I am pretentious! Luan, I am pretentious! I am excruciatingly painful in my heart, but I am still saying that I am happy, forward and courageous. No, no, I have actually lost all my strength. With my shoulders fallen, I am walking in a place without lights, step by step,

shaking my head, opening my lips, and biting my teeth, just like a soldier with gun shots struggling for his life. In the dark, where there is no light to expose myself, I walk and hold my chest. The twinge inside me is gnawing me and my chest is aching vehemently, as though a python is winding around my left chest. (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 12)

In the summer vacation of 1957, Tsing-fang went home from Taipei and fell in love with another girl again. He was so immersed in the love world that he praised the eternity and might of love. On September 21, he wrote in his diary entry:

How could a person live without love? If there is no fragrance of love to disperse the polluted air, and no tears of love to wash the dusted soul, the world is nothing but filled with ugly evils, sins, crudeness, disappointment and pain. Oh, love! You are the angel singing in the quiet night. You are the young spring irrigating the sprouts of life in the barren field of time. Oh, love! Love! Love! Love makes me nobler, love makes me purer, and love makes me more beautiful (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 94)

(8.3.4.c) Third, in addition to his imagination toward the Western world and love, Tsing-fang was also pursuing a world constructed by *literature, arts, music* and *knowledge*. In the diary, he described the majesty and sacredness of National Taiwan University as a knowledge sanctuary (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 99-102), described his experience attending concerts (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 103-7), and described his feelings about the beauty of music (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 141-30). In March 1958, Tsing-fang recorded in his diary:

Oh, what could the beauty of music be compared to? Music is not coming from the instruments; rather, it is flowing from the soul of geniuses. The soul of music, the ears of music, the fingers of music and the feelings of music are living treasury, beautiful treasury. I have forgotten what else to say.

..... The real music can reinvent life, reinvigorate nerves, change worries into hopes, and soothe pain with consolation. Except for the happiness of sobbing in the warm embrace of a lover, there is no other kind of happiness that can hold a candle to this kind of noble happiness.

Music is the purifier of soul! (Tsing-fang Chen 1991b, 141-2)

(8.3.4.d) Fourth, Tsing-fang's experience of participating in the MRA around the world from 1961 to 1962 should also have some impact on his identity and life philosophy. Unfortunately, due to the lack of the first-hand data, I have no way to handle this issue directly (after all, *Diary of A Young Artist* covered only one year). I have to make use of Tsing-fang's diaries written while he was in Paris, and compare his Paris diaries with college diaries to explore the trace marked by his MRA experience in his deep soul. After the comparison, I was much impressed by the wording with "*religious atmosphere*" that appeared in the latter period.

Since Frank Buchman, the founder of MRA, was a Christian priest, this movement was permeated with religious influence in nature. For example, Buchman induced four absolute moral standards from Jesus' Sermon on the Mount --- absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love --- for MRA (Ren-zhou Liu nd; Peters, 1994, 4). In such situation, it was not surprising that religious language had appeared in Tsing-fang's life philosophy after his experience with the MRA. In his diary on March 2, 1964, Tsing-fang mentioned that he had the habit of morning prayer:

Prayer is my morning bell at the beginning of a day and dusk drum at the end of the day. It makes my emotions stabilized, plans organized, time conserved, evil ideas reduced, and enables me to communicate with "silence" and not to "act with abandon."

It is a mysterious habit, but it is also like a kiss on the chin from parents who sitting on their son's side in every morning and every evening. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 148)

We have sufficient reason to believe that the habit did not start from his Paris period; rather, it was a habit obtained from his MRA experience.

(8.3.4.e) Fifth, as a young man indulging in literature and arts, Tsing-fang was roaming in imagination, love, and religion most of the time. In this situation, national identity seemed not to have occupied much in his young mind. In the almost a full-year diary, we could hardly find any description regarding politics, much less any description about national identity. Accordingly, in terms of his national identity at this stage, Tsing-fang seemed to possess what Cross (1995, 98) called the “*low-salience attitudes*” in his typology.

According to Cross (1995, 98), those with the “low-salience attitudes” basically do not deny the fact that physically they are Black. However, they consider that the physical fact does not play any important role in their daily life. They think that being Black and the realization of Black experience have nothing to do with their life goals. In other words, they put their life value on something other than Blackness --- for example, religious belief, life style, social status or professional field. Therefore, though they have very concrete value concept, and lead a meaningful life, their value and meaning have nothing to do with their Blackness. Since Tsing-fang had too many things to care about at this stage, to some extent, he seemed to possess a similar attitude toward his national identity as described in Cross's notion of “low-salience attitudes.”

(8.3.4.f) Finally, to those with the identity type of “low-salience attitudes,” racial or national identity is not the focus of their concerns. Since they do not pay much attention

to the issue, they might be conventionally inclined to accept the identity found in the mainstream culture at large. Tsing-fang was no exception. In Tsing-fang's Paris diaries, we could frequently find that he used the expressions like "Chinese" or "overseas Chinese" to describe people from Taiwan. The implication was that Tsing-fang's national identity was not quite different from the *Chinese identity* promoted by the KMT at this stage (see the detailed description in the following section).

8.4 The Period during Study in Paris (1963-1970)

In 1963, Tsing-fang finally boarded on an airplane bound for France, starting to fulfill his dream to study painting in Paris. Until he earned his Ph.D. degree in art history in 1970, Tsing-fang had been a student in Paris for seven years. While he was studying at the University of Paris, he also went to learn painting at an art institute. It was also during this period that, due to the influence of the new environment and new information, Tsing-fang's national identity started to transform gradually.

8.4.1 Between Literature and Painting

On October 11, 1963, Tsing-fang said good-bye to his father, who came from Tainan to Taipei to see him off, and via Hong Kong, Bangkok, Karachi, Athens, Nice in southern France, he finally arrived in Paris on October 13. On the plane, Tsing-fang, who was 28, blurted out from his heart, "Conquer Paris in five years, and the world in ten years" (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 3-15; 2003, 2)!

To Tsing-fang, Paris seemed to be a city with all of his young dreams. On the plane to Paris, he was so excited that he wrote in his diary, "Oh, Paris! You are the city

in my dreams, and my hometown in spirits! We are going to meet each other. I desperately want to see you and live at your place. You are the place where I want to devote my whole life to” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 10)! In a recent article, Tsing-fang described Paris as the “capital of the world” in the following way:

Paris has been the cultural capital of the world and a place that has nurtured many revolutions. Since the French Revolution, the banner of “freedom, equality and fraternity” has caught on all over Europe and spread around the world in the past two hundred years. And in the field of arts, after the emergence of Impressionism in the 1860s, almost all other revolutions in arts have begun in Paris. In the cafés of Paris, there have been all kinds of philosophies and thought prevailing for a certain period of time in history. Along the Seine River, the water used to mirror the faces of Zhou Enlai (*Zhou Enlai* 周恩來), Deng Xiaoping (*Deng Xiaoping* 鄧小平), Beihong Xu (*Xu Beihong* 徐悲鴻), San-lang Yang (*Yang Sanlang* 楊三郎), Shui-long Yan (*Yan Shuilong* 顏水龍), and Chang-hui Hsu (*Xu Changhui* 許常惠), ... (Tsing-fang chen 2003, 2)

Though still fascinated with both literature and art, Tsing-fang was sponsored by the French government scholarship to study literature, so he had to register at the l’Institut des Paofesseurs de Francais à l’Etranger, (i.e., the University of Paris (Sorbonne)), majoring in French and French modern literature (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 432; T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c; Jeppson 1978, 15). Once he could catch up with his studies, Tsing-fang started to develop his painting career. First of all, starting in April 1964, he went to a free evening school to learn nudity sketches, and in December of the same year,

he went to Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts²⁷¹ for further study (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 230, 482; Jeppson 1978, 15).

8.4.2 The Emerging Dissident Consciousness

When Tsing-fang was still in Taiwan, he set his heart on going to the West to pursue his dream in art. Once he had set foot in Paris, however, he somehow felt a strong nostalgia toward his homeland. In addition, after going overseas, he had a better opportunity to further understand the KMT's propaganda promoted on the island of Taiwan. On October 22, 1963, only one week after his arrival in France, Tsing-fang suddenly found himself humming a Taiwanese folksong:

While taking a shower, unexpectedly, I found I was humming a Taiwanese folksong to myself. In the past, I had always enjoyed classic music and never sung Taiwanese folksongs at all. However, this time I found that the Taiwanese folksong simply came out so naturally. A sense of indescribable affection surged up. It was probably something from my miserable feeling of homesickness. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 45)

On January 24, 1964, the French government decided to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. On February 10 of the same year, the Taiwanese government announced that it would sever its diplomatic relations with France. On April 7, China and France exchanged ambassadorship (Hua-yuan Hsueh 1993, 410-1). To Tsing-fang, a foreign student in Paris, these were really big news. He wrote in his

²⁷¹. Jeppson (1978, 15) referred to this arts school as Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts. In fact, Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts (the current name is Ecole des Beaux-Arts) refers to several arts schools in France, with the one in Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Ensba), being the most famous (Wikipedia nd, a).

diary on January 27, 1964, “Will Taipei cut its ties with Paris? I’ll read tomorrow’s paper” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 129). On January 28, “The severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and France is not set yet” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 131). On January 31, “Rong-de²⁷² will come to Europe this spring. I hope the change in the political situation will not affect his availability of going abroad. Will France’s recognition of Communist China increase the tension in the Taiwan Strait? My little brother is doing his military duty on an offshore island at this moment” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 135).

In March 1964, Tsing-fang discovered the existence of campus spy installed by the KMT. Something worse, the spy also lived in the same dormitory with him.

Tsing-fang was so infuriated at the discovery that he wrote in his diary on March 10:

After arriving in France, I made some comparisons and found that the unfairness was really beyond my maximum tolerance. Take this student dormitory for example, *there are students sent by the KMT to monitor us and write secret reports on us*. They came here without having to take the examination for studying abroad (*liuxue kaoshi* 留學考試), and they get paid US\$180 per month, more than twice of our scholarship. They are ignorant and, in terms of language, they only scratch the surface of French. In the name of student, they register but do not go to class. They are actually very shallow academically, and, like snakes in the grass, they eavesdrop. Worse yet, they indulge themselves in the comfort of French life with the taxes paid by the hard-working Taiwanese people on the island. We wear broken shoes, but they have sparkling shoes; we wear old overcoats, but they have the

²⁷². Rong-de refers to Rong-de Lin (*Lin Rongde* 林榮德), a childhood friend of Tsing-fang’s, and the one most mentioned in his Paris diaries. Graduated from the Department of Music, National Taiwan Normal University, Lin went to National Music Academy, which is located in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1964 to study piano, with a minor in vocal music. He came back to Taiwan after graduation and started “Rong-de Lin’s Music Classroom for Children,” becoming a very famous music educator in Taiwan (Rong-de Lin’s Art Worlds nd).

luxury to buy the best; we try to stretch every cent, but they smoke pipes, and pretend to be supercilious. By providing secret reports, they get an extra US\$40 per month. We don't even have enough money to study. They don't study but they have money to lead a sumptuous life. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 164; emphasis added)²⁷³

In the summer of 1964, for the first time since his arrival in Paris, Tsing-fang made a two-week-long vacation trip to Florence,²⁷⁴ Italy, the birth place of the Renaissance. He adopted the third-person-perspective to describe this trip in the following way: “He chatted with the stone statue of Dante. Furthermore, Michelangelo’s ‘Moses,’ with two divine eyes casting sight toward the past, seemed to illuminate him with a sacred torch. In the cradle of the Italian Renaissance, he saw the god of love rising slowly from the Mediterranean Sea, and the ‘goddess of spring,’ in a skirt of thin silk, dancing gracefully in the Tuscan orange gloves at dusk. He crisscrossed in the tiny alleys of the fourth century, imagining he were Leonardo da Vinci chasing after flocks of pigeons” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 127).

When Tsing-fang stayed in Florence, a city filled with talents, an intuition crossed his mind. “Today, the human beings need another renaissance, a renaissance with global-wide scale. It is quite possible that the cradle of the new renaissance is located in Taiwan, our beautiful and bountiful Taiwan” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 148). He further

²⁷³. On the overseas campuses, it seemed that almost every TIM activist had the experience of encountering with the campus spies sent by the KMT government. For this important issue (at least to me), there has been no published academic research so far. However, some journalistic articles about the issue are available, see Wei-lun Qiu (2002); Shi Tang (2002); Li-yong Zou (2002); and Dang (1991).

²⁷⁴. Florence was translated into Chinese as “*Feilengcui* (斐冷翠),” which means cool emerald. This idyllic translation came directly from its Italian spelling *Firenze* (Tsing-fang Chen 1991e, 82). It is my impression that the translation came from Zhimo Xu (*Xu Zhimo* 徐志摩), a famous Chinese poet in the 1920s. However, since Chinese literature is not my professional field, I can not point out the exact source of the translation.

described this “revelation”²⁷⁵ in the following way:

Tainan, Tsing-fang’s spiritual hometown, emerges in his mind. The East and the West mix together right there, though physically they beckon each other from afar. Tainan, no, the whole Taiwan will be a holy land of a world renaissance in the future. Today’s Florence is about the size of Tainan; tomorrow’s Taiwan should be able to encompass the whole world. (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 127-8)

Staying thousands of miles away in a foreign land, Tsing-fang not only had the opportunity to reconsider the relationship between himself and the “real Taiwan” (instead of the Taiwan as the basis for recovering the Mainland as the KMT saw it), he also seemed to have been presented, to some extent, with a new face of “Red China,” which the KMT had been trying to disgrace through its educational system. On October 16, 1964, China had its first nuclear test in western mainland, and proposed to convene a summit conference to prohibit nuclear weapons (Hua-yuan Hsueh 1993, 423). In his October 16 and 17 diaries, Tsing-fang (1996a, 430) mentioned about this event: “Communist China had its first successful atomic bomb test.”

In his diary on October 19, Tsing-fang recorded as follows: “Everyone is talking about Communist China’s atomic test right now. The effects are multifaceted and imminent. For example, K [Nikita Khrushchev] stepped down; the Olympic Games in Japan were eclipsed; the Labor Party won the British elections; the United States will

²⁷⁵. Perhaps owing to the influence of the MRA, Tsing-fang had the habit of prayer. And perhaps due to the habit, Tsing-fang frequently used the word “revelation” in his articles (especially his diaries). For instance, in his diary on April 1, 1968, he wrote, “I prayed and had a real revelation. I want to promote our invincible worldview, combining Holy Ghost, Human Beings and Arts together. I want to found a “World (Peace) University” on Mt. Ali (*Ali Shan* 阿里山). The spirits of the MRA have been deeply rooted in my soul, and I want them to flourish, blossom and bear fruits” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1519).

held presidential elections; and Communist China will soon get into the United Nations. As for Taiwan, I don't know what would happen to the island. However, it looks like the situations are getting worse" (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 432). In his diary on October 27, Tsing-fang thought about the splendid side of Chinese culture after encountering the high exposure of China in the media:

There are broadcast programs of Chinese poems and verses available every night. Chinese culture has its splendid side. Chinese music is also fraught with profound art expression, though I have had only limited contact. *In many aspects, Communist China is very progressive.* (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 443-4; emphasis added)

On October 22, 1964, after diligently studying French literature history, he wrote down his aspiration: "My life will be occupied by the creation of arts as well as the struggle against injustice." He elaborated what he learned from the reading:

As the adage says, we may foresee the future by learning from the past. In the same way, through studying the cultural movement in the past, we can get a better picture of what we have now. The past is worth of a look in retrospect. Currently, Taiwan is in the transition time. People are beginning to fight against doctrine, authority, tradition and me-too formalism, which are the foundation of the KMT's party-state education. We need some philosophical concepts to promote freedom, creation, free thinking, as well as active and independent spirits. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 436)

On September 20, 1964, Ming-min Peng, chairperson of the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, together with two of his students, drafted "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation" in private and was secretly arrested by the KMT government. On October 24, under the international pressure, the government

announced in newspaper that Peng and his students were arrested because they were “engaged in sabotage activities” (Ming-min Peng 1984, 128, 153). After reading the news, Tsing-fang wrote down in his diary: “Read the news that several people, including a professor of National Taiwan University (Ming-min Peng), were arrested because of the TIM they were involved in” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 446). The manifesto written by Ming-min Peng seemed to have brought a big impact on Tsing-fang. In a recent article, he explained his response after reading the manifesto in the following way:

After reading the manifesto, I felt that my head was struck fiercely by thunderbolts. For quite a while, I was unable to collect myself at all, though I also got a clearer idea what road should the Taiwanese people march forward. Therefore, along with two other Taiwanese students, I translated the manifesto into French, and sent it to the United Nations and the embassies of many countries. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 2)²⁷⁶

8.4.3 The Writing of His Ph.D. Dissertation

Tsing-fang kept strolling between literature and fine arts. On one side, his scholarship sponsored by the French government came to an end in July 1965; on the other side, he thought it might be more appropriate for him to walk down the creative, rather than academic, road. Thus, he was almost determined to be an artist, forsaking

²⁷⁶. In retrospect, Tsing-fang said that “in 1964, I unexpectedly received Peng’s ‘A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation’” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003). Furthermore, in an interview, he also mentioned that “the second year after arriving in Paris, I received Professor Peng’s ‘A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation,’ and then I translated it into French and sent it to the United Nations and many embassies around the world. That was the time I started to pay attention to the politics in Taiwan” (Tsing-fang Chen nd). The timing mentioned by Tsing-fang might be wrong. According to most records, the document seemed to dissipate from Taiwan in 1966 and started to circulate abroad after that year. For example, Trong R. Chai (1990, 58) expressed in his memoir, “‘A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation,’ which was written by Ming-min Peng, Tsung-min Hsieh and Ting-chao Wei, started to circulate abroad in the spring of 1966.” Once they received the document, the TIM activists in North America translated it into English in a hurry, and on November 20, 1966, they advertised the summary of the document in the *New York Times* (Feng-chun Li et al. 1985, 41-2).

his pursuit of a Ph.D. degree. On July 5, 1965, he wrote in his diary, “Reading literary works is more worthwhile than writing a doctoral dissertation” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 607). And on July 14, “My aptitude is fit to do work related to art creation, not academic research” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 615).²⁷⁷

Nevertheless, after much consideration, in November 1965, Tsing-fang decided not to forsake his pursuit of a Ph.D. degree. Instead, while working hard with painting, he wanted to start to write his doctoral dissertation simultaneously. In the beginning, Tsing-fang planned to choose Heri Michaux,²⁷⁸ who was ambidextrous with one hand on literature and the other on arts, as his dissertation topic (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 802). However, due to the termination of his scholarship, Tsing-fang was in financial straits suddenly and had to work at a Chinese restaurant to support his living expenses in Paris. Consequently, there was almost a full year that he did only some painting at his leisure hours and had little time to explore the material related to his dissertation. Something worse, he was not sure he should choose literature or arts as his dissertation topic yet. On September 9, 1966, he wrote:

I went to visit Miss Shu-hua Qiu (*Qiu Shuhua* 邱淑華) and ask her about [the procedure of] dissertation registration. In our conversation, it became apparent that I was still struggling with the appropriate topic of my dissertation between literature and art. I was unsure whether to write “Paul

²⁷⁷. In his earlier diaries, we can also find his conclusion that he “is more inclined to do creative work.” On March 7, 1964, he recorded, “I am fit to do creative work, and I decide to choose this road. During the period with scholarship, I will try to learn the cultural essence of France and the West as much as possible. After that, I will have to develop my own career. My whole life will be filled with struggle, but it will also be the ripest and most harvested life. Good-bye, the appellation of Ph.D.! Maybe I’ll see you in my next life, but in this life, I will be a king without the crown of Ph.D.” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 162)!

²⁷⁸. Henri Michaux (1899-1984) was born in Belgium. He was an accomplished poet and painter who used everything from drugs to eastern meditation to explore every facet of the internal human experience --- from the anguish of life's impermanence to the ecstasy of spiritual transcendence (Goodwin 2003).

Chaudet and China” or “The Western Painting from Post-War to 1965.” Because my final goal will be the pursuit of fine arts and I will continue to study painting at Art School of Paris (*Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts*), I am more inclined to choose the latter. My mother frequently reprimands my father’s indecisiveness. Now I am also suffering from the same characteristic. If only I can cut off one side and concentrate on the other, no matter whether it is painting or literature (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1101)

On September 13, Tsing-fang decided to choose “The Painting after World War II: 1945-1965” as his dissertation topic, with an emphasis on Impressionism. “I can analyze from social, psychological and spiritual perspectives, and have an overall review regarding time background and history. Then, based upon the painting style, I can discuss the origin and development of each style, and examine the great artists in the past 20 years” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1103).

One month later, on October 13, the focus of his dissertation became clearer. Tsing-fang decided to use “The Contribution of the Far Eastern Spirits and Arts to the Modern Arts: From Impressionism to Today” as his temporary dissertation topic (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1114). On October 28, Tsing-fang used “Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary Art” as the topic, and formally presented the outline to his professor and classmates. According to his diary, the framework of his dissertation was as follows:

- Chapter 1 The contribution of Japanese and Chinese arts to modern painting
- Chapter 2 The general characteristics of Chinese painting and the position of calligraphy in Chinese painting
- Chapter 3 The historical development of Chinese orthography and calligraphy (including calligraphers in history)
- Chapter 4 The abstract paintings related to Chinese calligraphy

Chapter 5 The modern painters (including calligraphers) related to Chinese calligraphy; their painting philosophy and signature paintings
 Chapter 6 The arts groups related to Chinese calligraphy
 Conclusions (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1131-3)²⁷⁹

8.4.4 In Search of New Painting Style: The Use of Hieroglyphs and Folk Arts

In August 1967, Tsing-fang held his first one-man art show after arriving in France at Biarritz, a French summer resort on the southwest Atlantic coast (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1223). In September, with the help of his friend Rong-de Lin, Tsing-fang held another art show at the city hall of Boblingen, which is located in Germany, and was met with good praises. On the first night alone, he sold ten painting (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1329, 1336).

Tsing-fang's paintings before and of this stage, except to those indoor sketches with practice nature, were closely related to Post-impressionism²⁸⁰ and Fauvism²⁸¹ headed by Henri Matisse in terms of style (Jeppson 1978, 17). As for the theme of his paintings, figure drawing and landscape were his favorites (You-ning Li 1996, 15) (For Tsing-fang's painting style of this stage, refer to Figure 8.2). On September 10, 1965, he had another

²⁷⁹. In his diary, in addition to the topic of each chapter, Tsing-fang also mentioned the content that he planned to discuss in each chapter. Here I only list the topic of the chapters.

²⁸⁰. The so-called "Post-Impressionism" refers to the paintings by Paul Cezanne, Paul Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh. Post-Impression was both an extension of Impressionism and a rejection of its limitations. The Impressionists' use of vivid colors, thick application of paint, distinctive brushstrokes and real-life subject matter were continued, but Post-Impressionists aimed to get more emotion and expression into their paintings. For more detailed explanation regarding "Post-Impressionism," refer to Rewald (1956).

²⁸¹. The name of "Fauves," which translates as "wild beasts," was given the group by an art critic following their 1905 seminal show in Paris. The painter Gustave Moreau was the movement's inspirational teacher, a professor at the E'cole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, who pushed his students to think outside of the lines of formality and to follow their visions. The painting style of Fauvism was characterized by the expressive use of bright and strong color with little shadow. Moreover, the style also emphasized the use of contrast color next to each other, bringing the painting with a shocking effect, or producing a much brighter picture. For further research regarding the "Fauvism," refer to Crespelle (1962).

show at Aix-en-Provence, a city in southern France. His hostess at the house he stayed said that his paintings were like those of the “Impressionists,”²⁸² a comment which triggered his reflection:

I don't think I had intended to follow Impressionism, nor had I ever wanted to be an Impressionist. However, after hearing what she said, I probably got an objective judgment from the perspective of the third person. I belong to Impressionism accidentally. Until now, I have been heavily influenced by Impressionism, especially Post-Impressionism. In the beginning, I was much touched by the works of Van Gogh, Gauguin, Cezanne and Toulouse-Lautrec, and then the Fauves, such as Matisse, Dufy, Rouault, etc., and the School of Paris,²⁸³ such as the works of Utrillo and Bonnard. I have been so deeply influenced by Impressionism, yet I did not realize it by myself. Now, much to my chagrin, it was pointed out by someone else. To absorb the nutrient from each school is good, but I have to surpass. I can not refrain myself from others' influence. However, I have to look for my own road. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 712)²⁸⁴

²⁸². In April 1874, a group of painters in Paris held an exhibit for 165 pieces of paintings which had been rejected by the salons run by the government in the past few years. During the exhibition, because the piece by Claude Monet was titled “Sunrise/Impression,” the critics joked, “this is a show of the Impressionists.” Since then, these artists called themselves Impressionists. In addition to Monet, other famous Impressionists include Edgar Degas, Berthe Morisot, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and etc. For more detailed introduction to Impressionism, see Rewald (1961).

²⁸³. Ecole de Paris, or School of Paris, was not an art movement in nature. Rather, it refers to those critics, art merchants, connoisseurs and artists who came from all over the world and took Paris as their activity center in the first 40 years of the twentieth century. In terms of the artists, the major figures included Maurice Utrillo (1883-1955), a landscape painter, and Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920), a portrait painter (Center for Humanity Education, Hua Fan University nd). Wou-ki Zao, a painter who came to Paris from China in 1935, was also classified as “School of Paris,” too (Alley 1981).

²⁸⁴. In fact, in his diary on September 1, Tsing-fang ever wrote that he found he was so fond of “Impressionism” after visiting a museum that day. He said, “I am not quite interested in artistic works finished before the age of Impressionism. Perhaps it is a dangerous signal. As a matter of fact, when I started to contact with Western painting and find them fascinating, most of the paintings I loved were after the age of Impressionism, especially Post-Impressionism, Fauvism, the School of Paris and Picasso. I did not encounter works of Abstract Expressionism until recently. Accordingly, my taste and painting style were deeply influenced by the ideas I obtained in my previous career. I found that I was not so interested in the works before Impressionism as well as works after Abstract Expressionism” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 689-90).

(Figure 8.2 about here)

Surpass? Between the East and the West, how could Tsing-fang surpass? In his diary on March 31, 1967, he found that he had been swinging between the East and the West cultural traditions,²⁸⁵ and he did not know which way to go at all. “I am facing

Figure 8.2
Early Painting of Tsing-fang Chen (1965)



Source: Tsing-fang Chen (1965)

²⁸⁵ In fact, what Tsing-fang described as the experience “swinging between the East and the West cultural traditions” was by no means a special case among Taiwanese intellectuals. For Taiwanese of Tsing-fang’s age, it would be appropriate to say that it was a universal issue that each young intellectual should face at that time, even if he so she was not an artist. In the 1960s in Taiwan, what the intellectuals argued was not “Native Literature Debate” as in the 1970s, nor was it the “Taiwanese Consciousness vs. Chinese Consciousness” as in the 1980s. Rather, it was the so-called “Chinese and Western Culture Debate (*Zhongxi Wenhua Lunzhan* 中西文化論戰)” focusing on the theme of “Westernization vs. Tradition,” an extension of the “May 4 Movement” tradition in China. Ao Li and Fu-kuan Hsu (*Xu Fuguan* 徐復觀) were the key participants in this Debate. For primary data of the Debate, refer to Ao Li (1964). For related research about the Debate, refer to Chien-kuo Lai (1997, 122-4) and Yu-liang Zhang (1984).

the problem of what to paint and how to paint. I was befuddled. Until now, I have not known which way to go. Should I paint the East, or the West? I have been inextricably puzzled by this question” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1195). In September 1967, soon after the exhibit at Boblingen, the anxiety of “how to surpass” became even more apparent, and so serious that Tsing-fang was almost unable to paint again. On November 10, he wrote:

I have come back to Paris [from Boblingen] for one month already. But, I have not picked up my brush yet until now. I feel so painful for such “no action.” I also feel so empty in spirit for such “no production.” Nonetheless, I am still whiling away on the street aimlessly.

In the past month, I have repeatedly thought about my paintings. I had two art shows this summer, one in Biarritz, and the other in Germany, where I sold nine paintings and drew fifteen portraits. In all, I stayed in Germany for forty days and almost finished forty pieces of paintings. I was so productive right there. In comparison, after coming back to Paris, except for two portraits, I did nothing else. I was worried about the quietness and emptiness. Within one week after my return, I went to see the Fifth Paris Biannual Exhibit, but my whole body was defeated. I can’t simply follow suit and keep painting what I am drawing now. *I should make changes, and I should surpass my original territory and start my new process in art creation.* It is this kind of “necessity to change” that has been torturing me, and now I have realized what I should do and how to do. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1363; emphasis added)

Facing the annoying question, Tsing-fang gradually realized the necessity to “commingle the East and the West cultures”(Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1204), probably because of his ongoing research on the dissertation topic and his continuing exploration of the painting style. On May 20, he wrote in his diary entry:

In art, the notion of “universality”²⁸⁶ is a feasible road. Universality, which contributes to the greater universalism (*dashijie zhuyi* 大世界主義) with contents coming from various sources, is different from the notion of “uniformity.”²⁸⁷ Isolation would not be able to sustain and flourish due to the lack of nourishment. The fulcrum of modern art, without a doubt, comes from Western art basically. However, after the emergence of Impressionism, Western art continued to absorb the nourishment from other cultures and showed the characteristics of universality. Of course, it is not true that Western art is the only source of modern art. Rather, it has been a trend that artists coming from different parts of the world participate in the cultivation of modern art. I will do my best to study arts in the East as well as in the West. Through the process, I will form my own art philosophy, establish my own art style, and fulfill my art career. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1205)

On December 19, in a letter to a French friend, Tsing-fang happily wrote:

During the week, I have finally come to the point of establishing my own painting style. My new paintings are different from those of the past. *I trace to my roots, Oriental, bountiful, impeccable, intimate and inexhaustible sources*, which have long been ignored, and now I use a modern expression to explain and reveal. While using my Western training to pursue art right here, [sarcastically,] I have rediscovered my own self [as well as my own roots]. Now, step by step, I am approaching a synthesis, which has the basis of universality. Thanks to my exploration in my dissertation, recently, the new style has been maturing under my pen and in my heart. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1407; emphasis added)

To be more specific, Tsing-fang had refocused on his own cultural roots and found two new themes in painting: Chinese hieroglyphs and Taiwanese folk arts. In terms of

²⁸⁶. The exact word Tsing-fang used was “*shijiexing* (世界性)” with a French vocabulary “universalite” in parentheses after it.

²⁸⁷. The exact word Tsing-fang used was “*zhengyixing* (整一性)” with a French word “uniformité” in parentheses after it.

the former one, as early as in July 1965, he thought about the possibility of using Chinese hieroglyphs as the subject to develop a new painting theme (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 608, 613). However, it was not until 1968 that he started to systematically use hieroglyphs in his art creation (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1400, 1537, 1542). In a retrospect regarding Tsing-fang's transformation in painting style, Jeppson had the following description for his development during this stage:

Then, as he discovered the East, he took up the abstract production of archaic Chinese characters. This occurred 1968-70. He was in the same groove as Zao Wou-ki [Wou-ki Zao], Hans Hartung, Pierre Soulages, and Alexandre Garbell. It was during this period that he invented hydrogravure, a method of making multiple-original prints. (Jeppson 1978, 17)

At about the same time, Tsing-fang tried to use Taiwanese folk arts as a new theme of his painting. He painted many "folklores of zodiac animal." In particular, he liked to paint the buffalo. Using the buffalo as a pattern and an emblem, he transformed, reinvented, and used the technique in oil painting as well as the bright tropical colors to reveal the mythology of his Taiwanese dreams (Yu-ning Li 1996, 18). In this regard, Tsing-fang explained the important role of folk arts in art theory:

Though I am in Paris, my art roots are in my homeland, with a trace back to my childhood. I love folk arts. It is an epitome of national art (*minzu yishu* 民族藝術), and it is related to the primitive arts (*yuanshi yishu* 原始藝術) of the disparate peoples around the world in spirit. Through folk arts, we can discover the essence of national art, and furthermore, connect with other primitive arts on all the continents. I sincerely confirm the positive value of the folk arts that enriched my childhood dreams. It does not pale in comparison with other arts at any time and in any place. Other people may have to exert in search of folk arts, but to me, it simply comes in handy. (quoted from You-ning Li 1996, 15)

8.4.5 The Theory of “Five-Dimensional World Culture” and the Completion of Dissertation

On July 20, 1969, humanity was awed by the news that two American astronauts, Neil A. Armstrong and Colonel Edwin E. Aldrin Jr., had landed on the moon, fulfilling the long dreams of mankind (Hua-yuan Hsueh 1994, 87). In Tsing-fang’s painting and thinking career, the mankind’s landing on the moon seemed to be a gigantic and influential event. In the afterword to his publication *Taiwan in the Twenty-First Century: The Cradle of A New Global Renaissance*, Tsing-fang described the influence of this big event in human history in the following way:

That was an adventure that excited and enchanted the whole mankind! Mankind’s dreams to fly in the outer space and land on other planets finally came true, right at the end of the 60s in the twentieth century! From the perspective of cultural ecology, this was the end of a “divergent” period, and the beginning of a “convergent” period. Though the landing on the moon was an American achievement, all people around the world shared the same feelings, and considered it a pride of the whole mankind. After all, although the footprint on the moon was a small step for the American astronaut, it was a big step for the mankind! Not only was it a big step in science, it was also a big step of mankind on the march toward friendship and fraternity. (Tsing-fang Chen 2000d, 249)

The big trend from “divergence” to “convergence” in cultural ecology helped Tsing-fang construct his theory on “Five-dimensional World Culture (*Wuziyuan Shijie Wenhuaguan* 五次元世界文化觀)” (see Table 8.2).²⁸⁸ To put it in a simple way, in his

²⁸⁸. The English translation of this theory is from T. F. Chen Cultural Center (nd, b). It is notable that there exist different English names for this theory in Tsing-fang’s own works, though the Chinese name is quite consistent. For example, in T. F. Chen Cultural Center (nd, a), Tsing-fang refers to this theory as “Five-Dimensional Universal Culture.”

analytical framework, from the historical perspective, *first of all*, 6000 years ago, when the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt and the oracle bones of ancient China appeared on earth, the mankind entered the one-dimensional culture, characterized by the “invention of letters.” *Second*, the application of letters resulted in the burgeoning of thoughts, which was demonstrated by the emergence of various cultures. Chinese civilization, among others, developed to be the most complete two-dimensional culture, which has lasted for five thousand years (Tsing-fang Chen 1998, 6).

(Table 8.2 about here)

Third, in the Western world, the Renaissance in the 16th century provided for the Occidentals a synthetic, shared and unified cultural foundation on which the Western civilization of today is built. The spirit of Western culture could be summed up in a “big cross” with a triple center of “God-Man-Machine.” With this big cross, Western culture went straight forward to the pursuit of the truth and the conquest of the world and even the cosmos. Claiming that “knowledge is power,” the Occidentals of the Renaissance period used “rationality, inference and calculation” to establish the three-dimensional culture (Tsing-fang Chen 1998, 4).

Fourth, the four-dimensional culture was represented by modern civilization, which was the result of industrial revolution. It was a culture centered at “power” based on “science,” which fabricated the “machine” for mass production. It was West-centered and Westernized, then spread internationally. It was a culture of “divergency” in extreme form whose explosive power was evident in the chain reaction of nuclear

For more detailed corroboration and introduction with regard to Tsing-fang’s “Five-dimensional World Culture,” refer to Chen (1998a; 1998b; 2000a, especially 33-40, 113-14).

Table 8.2**Tsing-fang Chen's Theory on "Five-dimensional World Culture"**

Dimension	Major Theme	Beginning Time	Major Event	Proto-symbol	Basic Trend
I	Letter	4000 B.C.	Invention of letters	Sign	Unity
II	Harmony	221 B.C.	Emergence of various cultures (e.g., Chinese civilization)	Yin-yang diagram	Divergency
III	Rationality	16 century	Italian Renaissance	Big cross	Convergency
IV	Power	Mid-18 century	Industrial Revolution	$E=MC^2$	Divergency
V	Love	1969	Mankind landed on the moon	Unity	Convergency

Source: Adapted from Tsing-fang Chen (1998, 3)

weapons. The three-dimensional culture was built on Newton's principle of gravity, in which time and space were separate. Nonetheless, the four-dimensional culture was based upon Einstein's general theory of relativity with the equation $E = MC^2$, with time as the fourth dimension. In this culture, time and space were not separate; rather, they were relative. Also, it was a culture that denied absoluteness and proclaimed relativity. This culture favored "democracy," and the notion of "self" emerged as the core of human existence accordingly (Tsing-fang Chen 1998, 6-7).

Finally, after mankind landed on the moon in 1969, the shifting cultural ecology from "divergency" to "convergency" corresponded admirably to the shifting of our

society from industrial to post-industrial society. It was a society of information and communication, and essentially of global concern: hunger, poverty, pollution, population control, freedom, human rights, war and peace, etc. --- all of these conditions affected each of us (Tsing-fang Chen 1998, 9). In this period, we should propose the five-dimensional culture, which consolidated space (the three-dimensional culture) and time (the four-dimensional culture), with a root in our “brain,” “heart” and “soul” (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, d). “In short, we need a culture based on ‘love’ instead of ‘power,’ ‘humanism’ instead of ‘materialism,’ ‘heart’ instead of ‘machine,’ ‘creation’ instead of ‘production,’ and ‘happiness’ instead of ‘wealth,’ a culture of ‘to love’ instead of ‘to have.’ For the purposes, a global renaissance for the human being is probably an answer”(Tsing-fang Chen 1998, 9).

After establishing this specific theory as his philosophical foundation, Tsing-fang also morphed into the so-called “Neo-iconography” in painting.²⁸⁹ “New-iconography” attempted to unite East and West, past and present, by organizing and combining familiar “icons” in unfamiliar ways. It was an art style assembling images the artists treasured and placing them together in context that defied time, space, and cultural carriers (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, d). In 1969, Tsing-fang created his first “Neo-iconography” painting “The Real Moon: The Landing of Love,” and the draft of his second painting “Mono Lisa’s Variation” (Tsing-fang Chen 2000d, 250; 2001, 7). He explained what inspired him to create the first painting in the following way: (for this painting which was finally in 1973, refer to Figure 8.3):

²⁸⁹. The term “Neo-iconography” was not invented by Tsing-fang himself. Rather, it was proposed by Lawrence Jeppson, an art critic, in a book about Tsing-fang’s artistic works. For the meaning and detailed explanation of the term “Neo-iconography,” refer to Jeppson (1978, 9-10).

In 1969, when I saw the picture that the two astronauts were digging rocks on the moon so that they could bring the rocks back to earth for analysis and research, an image for painting emerged in my mind. Later, I put the image on the canvas and named it “The Real Moon: The Landing of Love.” In the painting, there were two astronauts, and over their heads there was another moon, in which “Madonna of the Chair,” a painting by Raphael, the Italian master during the Renaissance, was shown. “Madonna of the Chair” was considered in Western art history as one of the best symbols of “love.” Thus, I combined the 15th century work together with the icon of the two astronauts on the moon, through the idea of “making the art to convey the truth (*yiyi zaidao* 藝以載道),” and named the painting “The Real Moon,” or “The Landing of Love.” (Tsing-fang Chen 2000d, 250)

(Figure 8.3 about here)

In 1970, Tsing-fang finished his doctoral dissertation, which was approved with very honorable mention, and was awarded Ph.D. by the University of Paris (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c). In the 100-page preface to his dissertation, Tsing-fang elucidated the trend of a great convergence of Eastern and Western cultures, arguing that by integrating all the cultures, Eastern and Western, ancient and current, and by keeping the good and getting rid of the bad, we could reinvent a new culture, which would eventually bring about a new renaissance in human history, and the integrated world culture would be the foundation for mankind to march toward the greater world family. Besides, Tsing-fang also considered that, in the new world renaissance movement, Taiwan had the qualifications to be the place of origin in the new world culture (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 3). In an article published in 1972, Tsing-fang reflected on his Ph.D. dissertation from the perspective of the third person:

He had his ideals couched in his dissertation. Six hundred pages were finished in one year with the title “Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary

Figure 8.3
“The Real Moon” by Tsing-fang Chen (1973)



Source: Tsing-fang Chen (1973)

Art.” He explored the relationship between Oriental calligraphy and lyrical abstraction painting, and used historical facts to elucidate the “inner necessity” that different cultures must converge. Based on the argument, he extended from small to large, from specific cases to general theories, and from today to the future. The conflicts between Eastern culture and Western culture, which happened in the great convergence of the two cultures, according to Chen, were nothing but like the “arguments” between a husband and a wife. Divorce was not a choice, since they were predestined to get together. The convergence between yin (*yin* 陰) and yang (*yang* 陽), curve-line culture and straight-line culture, inward culture and outward culture, and moral culture and scientific culture would be the foundation of the “world culture.” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f, 127)

8.4.6 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

The change of identity is not only a long route; oftentimes it is also an imperceptible

process. This argument is best demonstrated by Tsing-fang's case. In other cases of this study, usually the subjects would recall the situations related to their identity changes that happened long time ago afterwards, and thus we often find situations quite similar to the "conversion" process in religion. In other words, due to the stimulus of certain experiences, the subjects would, in a very short period of time, show the signs of change in national identity, from "Chinese identity," which they embraced while in Taiwan, to "Taiwanese identity," which they possessed after going abroad. However, since Tsing-fang had about 1700 pages of diaries he wrote in the initial periods after going abroad, through the first-hand data (instead of memoir written afterwards), we are able to take a closer look at the complexity of the very process of his identity change.

Starting in October 1963 when Tsing-fang left Taiwan, until 1970 when he started to get involved in the activities of Taiwanese Association, in this period of about seven years, he apparently had some changes in terms of national identity. If we use the viewpoint of racial/ethnic identity development model to analyze this process, obviously, we can see that during this period, he gradually parted from "Chinese identity," which he embraced during the "pre-encounter stage," and started to enter the "encounter stage" and the "immersion-emersion stage." We shall discuss the "encounter stage" first, and then discuss the "immersion-emersion stage" in the section that follows.

(8.4.6.a) First of all, if we use the important events in his life history as the analytical material, the "*campus spy event*" that happened in March 1964 --- discovering that a fellow student, who lived at the same dormitory with him, was a campus spy with stipend provided by the KMT --- seemed to be the key factor that contributed to his entering the "encounter stage" in his identity journey. To some extent, this event not

only broke the KMT's myth of self-proclaimed "great and competent government," but also challenged the very notion of "Chinese identity" itself, which was vigorously promoted by the KMT authority. In his diary on March 10, Tsing-fang's furies seemed to jump off the pages:

They said that the land reform²⁹⁰ was extremely successful. Fuck (I use the four-letter word for the first time)! Facing other people's properties, they showed their generosity at the expense of others. Who else could not do that? They sowed discord between landowners and tenant farmers who used to be friendly to each other, and profited from both of them. Moreover, they blew their own horns in their propaganda and offered to help other countries.

It was Chen the Detective,²⁹¹ no, Chen the Ghost, Chen the Eavesdropper. That morning I was in the dormitory when someone phoned me up. He did not call me downstairs to take the phone. Instead, he answered the phone for me. My goodness, all of a sudden it came to light that he was eavesdropping and monitoring.

When would the bitter destiny of Taiwanese be ended?

..... If the other side [Communist China] comes over, Taiwan would be more miserable. However, keeping the status quo is not in the prognosis, either. There is only one road --- as a second Switzerland, and with international

²⁹⁰. The so-called land reform refers to a series of measures related to land ownership carried out by the KMT between 1949 and 1953. The series of measures can be divided into three stages: the "37.5% reduced rent" starting in 1949, the "allocation of public land" in 1951 and the "land to the tiller" in 1953 (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 306-7; Zheng Xiao and Jia-chang Wu 1987, 114).

Noticeably, the KMT's land reform in Mainland China failed, and the reasons that the KMT's land reform in Taiwan succeeded, according to Hua-yuan Hsueh (1996, 51), can be summarized as: (1) the KMT had no conflict of interest with regard to the land of Taiwan; (2) the KMT needed the support from the farmers in Taiwan to consolidate its control; (3) the KMT had powerful authority to enforce the land reform. The results of the land reform were, on one hand, the landowner class was weakened; on the other hand, since farmers were given land, the KMT won the hearts from the farmers and the legitimacy of the regime was built to some extent (Hua-yuan Hsueh 1996, 51; Haggard 1990, 248).

²⁹¹. This Chen was another Chen serving as the campus spy, not Tsing-fang himself.

supervision and recognition, Taiwan can establish itself as a permanent neutral nation, and become the Eastern Park (*dongfang de gongyuan* 東方的公園) of the world.²⁹² Taiwan will be a peaceful and happy land after some constructions. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 164-5)

(8.4.6.b) One of the key reasons that Tsing-fang was so furious at this “campus spy event” was that it was a “*personalizing event*,” as called by Cross (1995, 105).

According to Cross, the so-called “encounter” must personally affect the individual in a powerful way. As a matter of fact, in the course of a year, let alone a lifetime, just about every Black person is exposed to information or some sort of racist situation that has the potential of an “encounter,” but unless the person, for whatever reason, personalizes the encounter, his or her ongoing worldview or attitudes about “race” may go unchallenged.

Using this point of view to examine Tsing-fang’s “campus spy event” is actually very appropriate with insight. We have reason to believe that, while he was still in Taiwan, as a middle school and college student during the white terror in the 1950s, he was very likely to have heard the stories that the KMT recruited students as campus spies. However, even if he had heard of the stories, they were “from others’ mouths,” not what

²⁹². In the TIM-related discourse in the 1980s, “Switzerland” became a very important metaphor. Nan-jung Deng (*Zheng Nanrong* 鄭南榕), the publisher of *Free Time Weekly* (*Ziyou Shidai Zhoukan* 自由時代周刊) who burned himself for the sake of speech freedom in Taiwan, used to publish a pamphlet entitled *Constructing Eastern Switzerland: An Exploration of the Nation-Building Blueprint for Taiwan*, which explored the ideas proposed by George T. Chang, the former chairperson of WUFI, regarding the social systems Taiwan should adopt after becoming an independent country (see George T. Chang 1991).

In the preface of the pamphlet, George T. Chang said, “Switzerland is densely populated with insufficient arable land and natural resources. However, with its diligently working people and excellent social systems, Switzerland has been constructed as a well-recognized paradise in the world. The natural environment of Taiwan is similar to that in Switzerland, and the development in human resources is very promising. We have sufficient confidence to build Taiwan as the Switzerland in the East, where new Taiwanese culture scintillates with glory.” I am not sure if Tsing-fang had mentioned that Taiwan could be a “second Switzerland” in his published works, nor am I sure if George T. Chang was influenced by Tsing-fang in terms of the notion of “second Switzerland.” However, the fact that Tsing-fang mentioned

he experienced in person. Accordingly, the “campus spy event” that happened in 1964 was such a shock to Tsing-fang since it was a thoroughly personalizing event. No wonder he would deplore, “What a pity, Taiwan. How could I ever mourn over the sorrow in total darkness” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 164)?

(8.4.6.c) In addition to this “campus spy event,” in fits and starts, Tsing-fang also encountered *other events* that, to some extent, had impact on the “Chinese identity” he had embraced originally. Take the year of 1964, the first year of his arrival in France, for example. In January, the French government decided to establish diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 129, 131). In June, when Tsing-fang wanted to apply for an Italian visa, he found that with the Republic of China passport, he had to wait for one month to get a response. “In the case of Japanese citizens, there will be no such trouble, since they can go in and out freely without a visa” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 294).

In July, Tsing-fang’s old friend Rong-de Lin applied for a passport so that he could go to study in Germany. After eight months of waiting for a reply, the process was still not completed yet. He expressed his angry in his diary: “Where else a democratic country would test its citizens’ patience to such an extent” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 348)? In October, China successfully tested its first atomic bomb (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 430). Also in October, Tsing-fang read in the newspaper that Ming-min Peng and two of his students were arrested due to their proposition of Taiwan independence (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 446). Obviously, all of these events, big and small, either news he read from the

in his 1965 diary that Taiwan could become a “second Switzerland” shows that he might have the potential to be a harbinger in “Taiwan independence theory.”

newspaper, or what he experienced personally, all posed some threat to the legitimacy of the KMT government again and again.

8.4.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

No matter from what perspective, after experiencing these events, big and small, Tsing-fang entered the “immersion-emersion” in identity journey, and started to explore the possibility of constructing an alternative identity for himself. The length of time that he was involved in the “immersion-emersion” stage was quite long. Up to the time he started to take part in the activities of Taiwanese Association in 1970, a six-year-long period could be classified as the “immersion-emersion” stage of his identity journey. With regard to Tsing-fang’s national identity in the “immersion-emersion” stage, I have the following observations:

(8.4.7.a) To Tsing-fang, a foreign student studying in Paris at this stage, the Western society’s respect for *freedom*, *democracy* and *human rights* were, obviously, an important reference point in his search of a new national identity. If we compare Tsing-fang’s Paris diaries with his college diaries, we can find that the Western society, according to his college diaries, was described as a world with literature and art, a life of lotus eater, and a place with romantic imagination. It was a world constructed by his own imagination actually. However, in the diaries written during his Paris days, in addition to the description of literary and art activities, we can also find that through the potpourri of daily life, Chen started to gain a better understanding of the social systems and political institutions, the more realistic facets, of the West. “Freedom” became an important theme that kept popping up in his diaries. He even came to this conclusion:

“Allowing oneself to develop freely, and also allowing others to develop freely, is a precious advantage of the French people. That is also the reason why they often lead in the fields of arts, literature and thought” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 720). On April 28, 1966, Tsing-fang eloquently described the atmosphere of freedom in Paris in the following way:

..... Here nobody tells you how you should do, but you will ask yourself how to do; here nobody gives you a thinking pattern, but you will think and figure out. Here thinkers, artists, scholars and free people are everywhere, but nobody is greater than “yourself,” with more deserving protection and respect than yourself. Here authorities are everywhere, but you have the right to oppose them, and you have the right and the opportunity to make yourself the authority (people)²⁹³ you aspire to. No, let us say “people [rather than authority]!” The “people” here is a master, because yourself is a master, such “self’s self,” naturally, will respect “other’s self,” due to the fact that from other’s point of view, the other is also “self’s self!” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 948)

On April 16, 1966, Tsing-fang also wrote in his diary, “The French social system is beneficial to everybody. A good government is just like a post office, and public servants are just like postmen, serving people under sound systems and regulations, *not oppressing people and showing an arrogant attitude*” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 935; emphasis added).

(8.4.7.b) The freedom provided by the new environment in Paris not only offered Tsing-fang a ready reference point in social systems, but opened a window to his learning about *Taiwanese history*. While in Paris, he had the opportunity to read many books and magazines related to the TIM which were not accessible in Taiwan. In a recent article,

Tsing-fang (2003, 2) recalled his reading experience while he was in Paris, “When I was in Taiwan, I read *The Scars* (*changba ji* 瘡疤集) and *The Fig* (*wuhuaguo* 無花果) by Cho-liu Wu (*Wu Zhuoliu* 吳濁流).²⁹⁴ Indifferent to politics, I read them only as literary works. After going abroad, I started to realize that they were more than literature. Then, I read the magazine *Taiwan Youth* which was sent from Japan, *Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek* (*Taiwan yu Jiang Jieshi* 台灣與蔣介石) by Yi-zhou Yang (*Yang Yizhou* 楊逸舟), *Formosa Betrayed* by George Kerr, and *Independence and Nation-building of Taiwan* by Lung-chu Chen, and I finally understood the truth about the February 28 Incident and the anguished history of Taiwan, allowing myself to walk out of the ‘ivory tower of art’ slowly.”

(8.4.7.c) Since he had the opportunity to compare the KMT government with the Western governments (especially French government), and since he also had the

²⁹³. The original wording of this phrase is “*quanwei (ren)* (權威(人)).”

²⁹⁴. Cho-liu Wu (1900-1976), one of the key writers in Taiwan, was born in Xinbu (*Xinbu* 新埔), Hsinchu and son of a doctor. After graduating from the “Normal Section of Government General National Language School (*Zongdufu Guoyu Xuexiao Shifanbu* 總督府國語學校師範部),” he became an elementary school teacher. In 1940, he resigned and became a reporter in Nanjing with *Mainland New News* (*Dalu Xinhao* 大陸新報). He came back to Taiwan in 1942, and worked as a reporter for *Everyday New News* (*Riri Xinhao* 日日新報), *Taiwan New News* (*Taiwan Xinhao* 台灣新報), *Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao* (*Xinshengbao* 新生報), *People’s News* (*Minbao* 民報), etc. In 1948, he was hired as the Director of Students at Tatung Industrial Vocational School (*Datong Gongzhi* 大同工職), and in 1964, he founded *Taiwan Literature* (*Taiwan Wenyi* 台灣文藝). In 1945, Wu officially finished *The Orphan of Asia*, depicting Taiwanese intellectuals’ depression and helplessness for not being able to grasp their destiny under the Japanese imperialist rule. His other important writings include *The Fig*, *Section Chief of Potsdam*, etc. (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 327-8).

Wu’s important writings can be seen in the six-volume *A Collection of Cho-liu Wu’s Writings* edited by Lian-ze Zhang (i.e., Cho-liu Wu 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d, 1977e, 1977f). Literary reviews regarding Wu abound, in particular, *The Orphan of Asia* is considered nowadays the leading text in discussing the formative process of Taiwanese identity. For representative reviews related to *The Orphan of Asia*, see Fang-ming Chen (1998a, 243-62); Ching (2001, 174-210); Yu-fu Guo (1998); Cheng-feng Shih (1998b); and Ong (1999b).

opportunity to get information from the opposition camp, gradually, Tsing-fang found that the “Free China” as proclaimed by the KMT government was actually a *police state* without freedom, democracy and human rights. If a good government should be the one “not oppressing people and showing an arrogant attitude” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 935), then the KMT government may not be a good government from this perspective.

For example, Tsing-fang and some Taiwanese students founded a journal entitled *Europe Magazine* (*Ozhou zazhi* 歐洲雜誌). Since it was registered as an overseas publication, the rule was that the magazine could not be circulated in the market until three issues of the magazine were monitored by the government. On June 2, 1965, he was depressed, “The measure showed that they were afraid of freedom. I knew what freedom was only after arriving in Paris. After coming here, I may not learn much except for the freedom of thought, which is the enemy of some political parties and some people at some places” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 582). On April 8, 1966, with an infuriated emotion, Tsing-fang chastised the “thought control” system:

Over there,²⁹⁵ an individual is not recognized, and individual thoughts and feelings are not allowed to show. Over there, only the words, actions and thoughts of political stars are meaningful and have the power to be “learned.” In a place where everyday people have to solute some portraits, learn form some people, attend some meetings and yell some slogans, where “thoughts are distributed”, “foods are distributed” and “feelings are distributed,” where

²⁹⁵. Based on the context, “there” should refer to the Taiwan under the KMT rule. Obviously, even in his own diary, Tsing-fang was still afraid of the KMT’s ubiquitous spy web, and was unable to say whatever he really wanted. With regard to the fact that Tsing-fang seldom mentioned politics-related issues in his diaries (mostly he wrote about literature and arts), his wife Lucia Chen explained the matter in a personal letter to me, “Earlier, he [Tsing-fang] tried not to talk about politics. After all, it was the white terror period” (Lucia Chen 2003).

the existence of individual is for some people or their ideas (rhapsodies),²⁹⁶ my own writing, which pays respect to personal dignity and freedom, must be condemned as a heresy. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 948)

In his diary on April 29, 1966, Tsing-fang pondered from his diary to the control of thought by the two governments in Taiwan and Mainland China: “Many overseas students don’t dare to write diaries. Even if they do, they only write something not important, or something without personal opinions, feelings and thought. There is some rationale about the matter. In my case, unless I burned my diaries, I shall have to live in Paris and wander in a foreign land forever. Chinese population (both sides) adds up to one fifth of the world population, but among the one fifth of the world population, quite few dare to say true words. Most people simply make concessions for the sake of personal security” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 951).

(8.4.7.d) As an overseas peregrinator wandering in France, after experiencing the above situations, Tsing-fang naturally started to cast his eyesight on *Taiwan*, his homeland, took a new perspective to analyze his own homeland, and included it into the reference framework for the identity he was constructing at that time. “While still in Taiwan, I often looked down upon the old customs and traditional folk culture, and all I longed for were Europeanization, Westernization and modernization. Now I know how precious it is to protect what I originally had” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1467-8). On March 9, 1964, perhaps due to the effect of the “campus spy event,” Tsing-fang sang praises for Taiwanese culture:

²⁹⁶. Judging from the context, the idea Tsing-fang referred to was probably the KMT’s slogan “Recovery of the Mainland.”

Some Taiwanese folksongs are like gold, like crystal, and like rare metals. Together with other folksongs in any place in the world, they will last forever, and will be sung constantly in the whole globe. If there is a great musician (Taiwanese) who comes to enhance and glorify them, then the product should be more than a piece of “New World Symphony.”

Taiwanese culture should be scintillating in the world, and Taiwanese should be a respectful appellation. Taiwan will have her glorious future. Taiwan will be the Chuan-kwang Yang (*Yang Chuanguang* 楊傳廣)²⁹⁷ of the future world, in all respects. Taiwan should be the “second Switzerland” in the world, where people from everywhere always long for, where people like to visit, and where people enjoy bananas and Mount Ali (*Ali Shang* 阿里山). (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 163)

In his diary on October 6, 1964, Tsing-fang (1996a, 421) had the following recording: “[Today,] I enjoyed chatting with a Frenchman, so I haven’t started to read yet. It was so nice to talk with him. I told him many things about Taiwan and Taiwanese history. My homeland is my first concern beyond my studies.” On August 9, 1967, he wrote: “Everyone has intimate nostalgia about his or her homeland, ... I admit that I am from a small island in the East. Though small in size, the place is where I love most since it is the place I grew up, a beautiful homeland with bountiful papayas, longans, pineapples and bananas” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1266).

On October 23, 1967, Tsing-fang wrote in his diary:

Having been in Paris for four years, I have a consciousness strong enough to

²⁹⁷. Chuan-kwang Yang (1933-), a native Taiwanese, was one of the world's greatest decathletes. A silver medallist at the 1960 Olympics in Rome, he set the world record score of 9121 points in Walnut, California, in 1963. Interestingly, the world record set by Yang literally changed the record books, since Yang’s record-breaking performance forced a revision in decathlon scoring tables, with points now more evenly distributed among events (Mt. San Antonio College nd). Yang was considered a “national hero” of Taiwan in the 1960s.

view my “roots” as the fetus of my art creation now. Though I have been absorbing Western art, at this moment it looks like that I am beginning to surpass the Western road, and returning to my own self, exploring my roots, hoping to find the real spring of art which I have lost. And by using the method I have learned in the West, I hope the spring will spurt out sweet running water of art, enriching myself and sharing with the art circles around the world finally. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1357)

(8.4.7.e) Now that, on one hand, Tsing-fang started to feel disgruntled at the KMT government in Taiwan and, on the other hand, he started to praise his own homeland, then, in his journey of searching for a new identity, *the distinction between the “homeland” and the “KMT regime,” and between “Taiwan” and “China,”* was looming as a possible solution for this puzzle.

For instance, Tsing-fang watched a documentary “Another China: Taiwan (*L’Autre Chine’ Formose*),” which was presented by the documentary’s photographer Récit de Paule Bernard, on January 25, 1968. In the synopsis, the photographer noted that in the island of Taiwan “there live a group of brave people who passionately admired and missed their ancestors’ land” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1463), which Bernard meant that the Taiwanese people were still following the customs and habits of Mainland China. However, Tsing-fang pointed out in his diary, “She was wrong. In fact, *all the customs and habits from Mainland China have changed in Taiwan. There are customs and habits that uniquely belong to Taiwan.* For example, Matsu (*Mazu* 媽祖)²⁹⁸ was

²⁹⁸. Matsu, originally known as Moniang Lin (*Lin Moniang* 林默娘), was born circa 960-2 in Meizhou (*Meizhou* 湄洲) of China’s Fujian Province. Seen as a religious person, she was able to foretell people’s fortune ever since she was young. Knowing medicine, she was willing to give blessing to ordinary people most of the time. As a result, all the people around Meizhou liked to be with her and respected her like a mother. She lived up to the 60 or 70 years (Xiang-hui Cai 1989, 127-8).

regarded as a protection goddess of Taiwan for Taiwanese people, and the worship of Matsu has been the largest festival in Taiwan. But in Mainland China, they don't have such a festival. Even if they do, theirs does not hold a candle to ours" (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1463; emphasis added).

Take another example. Through his interactions with those Mainland-born artists who also came from Taiwan, Tsing-fang gradually found that the motherland in their minds was different from that in his mind. They set their affections on the Mainland across the Strait, while Tsing-fang's major concerns was his homeland Taiwan. On January 26, 1968, he wrote in his diary:

Peng²⁹⁹ said that he was overwhelmed by the tradition and soul of the whole Chinese people, and if he did not express himself, he would feel extremely painful. However, I had never so vehemently felt that kind of pain. *I was not born in Mainland China; my homeland is Taiwan.* Last night, when I saw Taiwan's folk arts, temples, festivals, sceneries, social scenes and people,

Though the belief of Matsu originated in Mainland China, it was only a regional belief with limited influence right there. After the belief was brought to Taiwan, however, Matsu's image was changed and soon the belief was spread all over the island, making it one of the most popular beliefs in Taiwan. "When in southern Fujian of China, 'Matsu' was the 'Sea-bound Matsu (*chuhai Mazu* 出海媽祖),' a goddess of protection only for the fishermen. But in Taiwan, Matsu became the 'Sea-crossing Matsu (*guohai Mazu* 過海媽祖)' and, historically, she had become the goddess of protection for those emigrants who left the Mainland and prayed to her for a peaceful journey while leaving for Taiwan. The Matsu in Taiwan had been deeply localized, becoming a Taiwanese goddess independent of the Matsu in China" (De-lin Zhang 2003, 3). This argument has been praised and promoted by the TIM activists and, to some extent, is supported by the academia as well, see Fang-yuan Dong (2003, 61-4) and Bing Su (1992, 31-2). Tsing-fang mentioned the argument in his diary back in the 1960. His insight should not be despised.

²⁹⁹. Peng refers to Wan-chi Peng (*Peng Wanchi* 彭萬曄), an artist born in Guangyuan (*Guangyuan* 廣元) of China's Sichuan Province. Graduated from the Department of Arts, National Taiwan Normal University, he and Yuyu Yang (*Yang Yingfeng* 楊英風), Duo-ci Sun (*Sun Duoci* 孫多慈), Kuo-sung Liu (*Liu Guosong* 劉國松) and Chi-chun Liao (*Liao Jichun* 廖繼春) founded the "May Painting Club (*Wuyue Huahui* 五月畫會)," and built up quite a reputation. In September 1965, he went to Paris to study painting. Next year, he had his first one-man show after going abroad. His early works were primarily following the style of Abstract Expressionism. However, in 1969, he participated in the Paris Biannual Exhibit with a substantially different painting style, using Surrealism to express his philosophy toward the life and criticisms of contemporary politics (Yun-da Yang nd).

I did have painful feelings. I had a strong desire to express them and make them part of world culture and art treasures. The feelings of such pain were similar to those of homesickness. It was simply part of the human nature.

Last night I was the only Taiwanese over there. I sensed that what they longed for was the China on the other side because Taiwan was not their homeland. That's why in their conversation I found the object of their homesickness was on the other side. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1472; emphasis added)

(8.4.7.f) However, to Tsing-fang at this stage, it seemed that the distinction between “Taiwan” and “China” was a relative, rather than absolute, dichotomy at best. In fact, though he did not treat “Taiwan” and “China” as the same thing as he did in Taiwan, he did not completely deny that the so-called “*Chinese culture*” was a critical source of “Taiwanese culture.” When Tsing-fang struggled to regress back to his “mother culture,” on one hand, he realized the possible difference between Taiwanese culture and Chinese culture, yet on the other hand, he also acknowledged that Chinese culture was still an important part of Taiwanese culture.

My this observation was not only demonstrated in Tsing-fang's “hieroglyph” painting (after all, these “hieroglyphs” were ancient Chinese characters) which he developed after 1968, but was also clearly revealed in his most important academic work during this period --- his Ph.D. dissertation “Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary Art.” In the 100-page preface to his dissertation, the major point Tsing-fang tried to express was the great trend that eventually Eastern culture and Western culture would converge (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 3). When discussing about the nature and characteristics of Eastern culture, he directly adopted the concept of the “yin-yang diagram (*yinyang*

tuxiang 陰陽圖像)” in Chinese culture as the symbol of Eastern culture. He explained the rationale he made for this choice in the following way:

I had to compare the “yin-yang diagram,” which represents Chinese culture, with the “cross,” which represents Western culture. Though Chinese culture is the mainstay of Eastern culture, in the East, beyond Chinese culture, there are still Indian culture as well as Japanese culture, while the former represents an ancient civilization, the latter used to absorb Chinese culture and flourish as a result. *However, in the East, it is still reasonable to treat Chinese culture as the best representative of Eastern culture.* First of all, Chinese culture makes up the most part of Eastern culture proportionally. Second, Chinese culture has lasted five thousand years and continues to exist, as shown in the proverb that “though Zhou³⁰⁰ is an old country, its life keeps reinvigorating (*Zhou cui jiubang qi ming weixin* 周雖舊邦其命維新).” Third, Chinese culture assimilated part of Indian culture and nourished Japanese culture. Thus, even though it is not perfect to use Chinese culture as the representative of Eastern culture, it is still more appropriate than using Japanese culture or Indian culture to represent Eastern culture. (Tsing-fang Chen 2000a, 79; emphasis added)³⁰¹

(8.4.7.g) In sum, at the stage of immersion-emersion, though Tsing-fang increasingly felt suspicious of the “Chinese identity” instilled by the KMT, and attempted to look for a substitute identity as a possible outlet, he obviously did not entirely accomplish the

³⁰⁰. Zhou is a dynasty in Chinese history starting from late 10th century BC to late 9th century BC and being replaced by the Qin dynasty in 256 BC. The Zhou dynasty lasted longer than any other dynasty in Chinese history.

³⁰¹. Tsing-fang’s Ph.D. dissertation was not formally published, and I do not have the ability to read French, either. Thus, I have to cite the arguments from his book *Taiwan in the Twenty-First Century: The Cradle of A New Global Renaissance*, which was published in 2000. According to his own explanations, the second part of this book (which is the source of this quotation) was “mostly written in 1974 while I was in Paris and published in the *Homeland News* which I served as the editor-in-chief” (Tsing-fang Chen 2000d, 253). The long article written in 1974 was originally entitled “The Historical Mission of Taiwanese: The Five-dimensional World Culture,” and was “in the first place a theory written in French and published in Chinese later with some revisions” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4-5). Therefore, my citation here should not be much different from the original ideas in his dissertation.

mission at this stage. Basically, his identity was still swinging among several alternatives, and was in *a state of confusion*. If we use his Paris diaries as the analytical material, as far as the identity-related terms were concerned, we could find that terms like “Chinese,” “Taiwanese,” and “Taiwan/China” were used interchangeably by Tsing-fang when he referred to himself or people from Taiwan.

Overall, the labels he used most often were “Chinese” and other phrases with a “China” prefix. For example, when describing the audience of a concert he attended, he said, “There were about 40 Frenchmen and about 50 Chinese” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 276).³⁰² Take some other examples, when talking about students from Taiwan, he used the phrases such as “Chinese overseas students (*Zhongguo liuxuesheng* 中國留學生)” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 881, 884, 923) or “Chinese students (*Zhongguo xuesheng* 中國學生)” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1041) to describe them; when mentioning painters from Taiwan, he used the appellation “Chinese painters (*Zhongguo huaajia* 中國畫家);” when discussing about Taiwanese society, he used the words “Chinese society (*Zhongguo shehui* 中國社會)” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 837); and when describing the severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and France, he used the phrase “Sino-French (*Zhongfa* 中法)” relations (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1467).

In some parts of the diaries, Tsing-fang also use “Taiwanese” and other related labels with a “Taiwan” prefix to position himself. He used to use “Taiwanese people (*Taiwan renmin* 台灣人民)” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 163, 164) to refer to the people living in

³⁰² Tsing-fang also used “Chinese” to describe people from Taiwan in some other scenarios, see Tsing-fang Chen (1996a, 949, 957, 1368).

Taiwan; used the term “Taiwanese art circles (*Taiwan yishujie* 台灣藝術界)” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1280) to describe the art community in Taiwan; used “Taiwanese sojourner” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1421) to say about a Taiwanese who came from Japan to Paris to study painting; used “an overseas student from a beautiful island faraway” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1503) to mention himself; and for several times used “Taiwanese” to refer to himself:

At the corner I painted a piece [of painting]. An architecture student from the art school watched all the way and asked me three questions. A lawyer was also watching. Later the lawyer treated me with a cup of coffee. He thought I was Japanese. *I said I was Taiwanese studying literature at the Sorbonne.* (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 331; emphasis added)

Sartre was awarded this year’s Nobel Prize, though he declined [to accept the award]. I want to know more about him, but for the time being, I have to pay attention to my studies so that I can make up what I should know about French literature. *I am probably the only Taiwanese who has this rare opportunity to study modern French literature in Paris,* how could I afford not to work hard? (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 440; emphasis added)

Finally, in some parts of the diaries, Tsing-fang used “Taiwan” and “China” interchangeably when he referred to Taiwan. Here I give two examples:

The job of introducing French literature [to Taiwan] depends on those of us who are studying liberal arts in Paris. Our efforts will expedite the modernization of Taiwan (China)(*Taiwan (Zhongguo)* 台灣(中國)). The revolution in spirit and thought relies on hard working by some people. I wish I have superior energy and talent [to do the job]. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 269)

Mid-Autumn Festival belongs to China, especially Taiwan. In Paris, there is no any trace of idyllic atmosphere [for this festival]. (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 409; emphasis added)

8.5 Participating in the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (1970-1980)

In 1970, Tsing-fang began to participate in the overseas Taiwanese activities, starting with the Taiwanese Association of France, then with the European Federation of Taiwanese Association, and finally with the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (WFTA). From 1974 to 1980, he also served as a professional staff with the WFTA. This was the “internalization stage” of his national identity development.

8.5.1 Organizing the “Taiwanese Association” in France

When the 1960s faded into the 1970s, in the Taiwanese history, unfortunately, it was a time full of adversities. “The [ROC’s] seat in the United Nations was shaky, the diplomatic ties with other countries continued to deteriorate, the U.S. economic aid was terminated, and Communist China became much more aggressive after its successful nuclear test. Besides, the Vietnam War kept escalating, and the international situations became more capricious. Everyone was made nervous and frustrated under the circumstances. It was indeed a time filled with fear” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 25). Nonetheless, it was the worst of the time, and it was also the best of the time. Faced with the tense domestic and international situations, the TIM at home and abroad, after years’ brewing, was on the verge of taking actions. In a recently finished article, Tsing-fang reflected on the events during this period:

In January 1970, Professor Ming-min Peng, who was jailed and later put on house arrest, successfully escaped from Taiwan. In the same month, the World United Formosans for Independence was established. In April, the “April 24 Incident,” in which Chiang Ching-kuo was shot by Peter Huang and Tsu-tsai Cheng, happened in New York. In February of the following

year, Tsung-min Hsieh and Ting-chao Wei (*Wei Tingchao* 魏廷朝), who jointly drew up the manifesto “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” with Professor Peng, were arrested again after their release. In March, Min-xin Wu (*Wu Mingxin* 吳明信) and Chong-wen Guo (*Guo Chongwen* 郭崇文) were arrested due to their connection with the TIM. Soon after, Yusuke Abe (*Abu Youfu* 阿部祐輔) brought 20 packages of dynamite to Taiwan and was arrested, and then Masaki Kobahashe (*Xialin Zhengcheng* 小林正成) released leaflet-carrying balloons [on behalf of the TIM] in Taipei and was also arrested. In August, when the game of the Little League Baseball were in session in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, a small airplane carrying the slogan of TIM circled and cheered for the Taiwanese team in the sky. On September 18, a Taiwanese rally in New York City drew more than 1,200 people. Soon afterwards, the KMT government’s seat in the United Nations was vetoed. Though there was a possible way to stay in the United Nations, the government decided to withdraw from this highest international institution based on the principle that “the righteous government does not stand together with the bandits (*hanzei bu liangli* 漢賊不兩立).” On December 29 of the same year, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan announced a proclamation entitled “Statement on Our National Fate (*guoshi shengming* 國事聲明)”³⁰³ (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 3)

In such environment, Taiwanese Association --- the grassroots organization of overseas Taiwanese --- was gaining some momentum, especially in Japan, the United States and Canada where the TIM had a stronger foundation. Tsing-fang described the situation at the time in the following way:

The overseas students, though staying abroad, had their hearts attached to their homeland. Once they were away from their homeland, just like apart from their parents, their feelings of love and respect toward their homeland kept increasing, and their worries about their country kept deepening. When

³⁰³. The formal Chinese title of this document was “*Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui dui guoshi de shengmingyu jianyi* (台灣基督長老教會對國是的聲明與建議),” see Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (1971).

the homeland was fluttering in the wind and rain, the overseas peregrinators awoke from their worries, and channeled their concerns into actions.

Of course, the Taiwanese in Japan played the important role as inspirers of the overseas TIM at that time. On the one hand, through the well-edited *Taiwan Youth*,³⁰⁴ the idea of Taiwan independence spread to Europe, the United States and Canada successfully. On the other hand, under the leadership of Kuan-min Koo, not only the Taiwanese in Japan demonstrated [for the cause of TIM] on the streets of Tokyo, but also the pictures of these demonstration arose romantic passions and heroic admiration among the overseas Taiwanese in other countries as well. In the United States, the establishment of Taiwanese Associations was on the rise (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 25-6)

Nor only was the thought of Taiwan independence spread to Europe, the United States and Canada through the well-edited *Taiwan Youth*, but also under the leadership of Kuan-min Gu, the Taiwanese in Japan demonstrated on the streets of Tokyo, and the pictures arose romantic passions as well as heroic admiration among the overseas Taiwanese. In the United States, the establishment of Taiwanese Associations was on the rise (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 25-6)

In Europe, in April 1970, Hsiu-yi Lu (*Lu Xiuyi* 盧修一),³⁰⁵ Kang-mei Ho (*He Kangmei* 何康美) and other Taiwanese students founded the Belgium Taiwanese

³⁰⁴. *Taiwan Youth* was the official publication issued by Taiwan Chinglian Associates, which transformed into the WUFI --- Japan Headquarters (*Taidu Lianmeng Riben Benbu* 台獨聯盟日本本部) after the establishment of WUFI in 1970 (Shu 2001a, 105-12).

³⁰⁵. Hsiu-yi Lu (1941-1998), born in Sanzhi (*Sanzhi* 三芝), Taipei, was a former legislator of Taiwan's Legislative Yuan. Former student of Leuven University in Belgium, Lu finally earned his Ph.D. in political science from University of Paris, France. While serving as the department chairperson at Chinese Culture University, which is located in Taipei, he was arrested by Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters on suspicion of the TIM-related activity, and was sent to have reformatory education in jail for three years (Yu-xiu Chen 2002a, 253-61). His major publication was *A History of the Taiwanese Communist Party under Japanese Rule* (1990), which was adapted from his Ph.D. dissertation. For further information about Hsiu-yi Lu, refer to Yu-xiu Chen (2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002a, 2002b) and Independent Taiwanese Association (1998).

Benevolent Association at Leuven University in Belgium. This was the first so-called Taiwanese Association (*Taiwan Tongxianghui* 台灣同鄉會) in Europe (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4; Yu-xiu Chen 2002a, 19; Independent Taiwan Association 1998, 1).³⁰⁶

Immediately after that, the Taiwanese students in Paris were trying to change the name of the KMT-controlled “Chinese Student Association” into “Taiwanese Association.” At that time, Wei-chia Chang (*Zhang Weijia* 張維嘉) and Qi-bin Qiu (*Qiu Qibin* 邱啓彬) were pondering how to occupy and paralyze the “Chinese Student Association,” and then establish a new “Taiwanese Association.”³⁰⁷ In 1970, the kernel members preparing to organize the Taiwanese Association won the election of the Chinese Student Association with nine directors, and appointed Long-xiong Xu (*Xu*

³⁰⁶ Tsing-fang (2003, 4) mentioned the name of this organization as “Belgium Taiwanese Association (*Bilishi Taiwan Tongxianghui* 比利時台灣同鄉會).” However, in *Reed and Sword*, a book in memory of Hsiu-yi Lu and introducing the development of political movement in Taiwan, Yu-xiu Chen named the organization as “Belgium Taiwanese Benevolent Association (*Bilishi Taiwan Tongxiang Huzhuhui* 比利時台灣同鄉互助會)” instead of “Belgium Taiwanese Association.” Besides, after Hsiu-yi Lu passed away, in a commemorating article written by his old friends in Belgium, the name of the organization was also listed as ‘Belgium Taiwanese Benevolent Association’ (Independent Taiwan Association 1998). Since Hsiyi Lu was one of the founders of this organization, I believe the data provided by Yu-xiu Chen (Lu’s wife) and his old friends were more accurate than that of Tsing-fang’s.

³⁰⁷ At that time, Wei-chia Chang and Qi-bin Qiu were enthusiastic kernel members of “World United Formosans For Independence --- Europe Headquarters (*Taidu Lianmeng Ouzhou Benbu* 台獨聯盟歐洲本部)” (formerly “European Union (*Ouzhou Lianmeng* 歐洲聯盟)” and “Union for Formosa’s Independence in Europe”) (Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 42; Shu 2001a, 109). In the existing documents, Tsing-fang did not mention that he joined the WUFI, but while reflecting on his life in Paris, he said, “In art, at that time, Shiou-ping Liao (*Liao Xiuping* 廖修平), Li-fa Xie (*Xie Lifa* 謝理法) and I were called the ‘Three Musketeers of Paris,’ but with respect to the concerns about the politics of Taiwan, Qi-bin Qiu, Wei-chia Chang and I often got together” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 2).

Since both Chang and Qiu were the nuclear members of the WUFI, it was very likely that Tsing-fang also joined this organization. Cheng-feng Shih (2000b, 42) had the following observation: “Because most Taiwanese students in Europe were difficult to survive after graduation, thus, most of them were not inclined to reveal [their WUFI status] for fear that they would have trouble going back to Taiwan and getting a job [in the future].” Based on this rationale, Tsing-fang was very likely to have joined the WUFI, but he did not openly acknowledged the matter. However, this is only my “guess” based on the unsurfaced connection in the existing documents, there is no precise written evidence regarding the matter.

Longxiong 許隆雄) as the president (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 172; Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 42-3). At the same time, the “Taiwanese Association of France (*Faguo Taiwan Tongxianghui* 法國台灣同鄉會)” was also in the process of preparation, with Tsing-fang Chen, Qi-bin Qiu, Jia-zhe Chen (*Chen Jiazhe* 陳嘉哲), Bo-zhou Chen (*Chen Bozhou* 陳伯舟) and Qing-tang Li (*Li Qingtang* 李慶堂) as its core members. After four meetings, the organization was formally established in January 1971 (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4). The “transformed” “Chinese Student Association” hardly held any activities, sparing no opportunity for the KMT to influence the Taiwanese students. On the other hand, most students went to participate in the activities sponsored by the newly established “Taiwanese Association” (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 172).

Encouraged by the establishment of the Taiwanese Associations in Belgium and France, the Taiwanese Associations in other parts of Europe followed suit. Within one or two years, in Germany, the Taiwanese Associations were established in Berlin, Northern Germany, Central Germany, Southern Germany and Western Germany.³⁰⁸ Also, one after another, the Taiwanese students in Austria, Switzerland, Italy and Spain established their own Taiwanese Associations. In October 1971, all the Taiwanese Associations in different countries of Europe were consolidated in Frankfurt, Germany, as the “European Federation of Taiwanese Association” (hereafter “EFTA”) (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4; Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 172-3; Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 42-3).

Soon after the “Belgium Taiwanese Benevolent Association” was established, those

³⁰⁸. For an introduction to the history of the “Taiwanese Association in Germany (*Lude Taiwan Tongxianghui* 旅德台灣同鄉會)” (renamed “Taiwan Association (*Taiwan Xiehui* 台灣協會)” in 1994), refer to Shi-qing Lian (1999).

enthusiasts also started to issue *Homeland News* (*Xiangxun* 鄉訊) as their official publication. The first three issues were edited by Hsiu-yi Lu (Yu-xiu Chen 2002a, 19). According to Ming-cheng Chen (1992, 171), “This publication, which covered Taiwan’s political, economic and social problems and were written by the overseas [Taiwanese] students in Belgium, was published by those supporting the cause [of the TIM]. They engraved steel plate, oil-printed, solicited readers and mailed the final products. With substantial contents, the publication soon became the spiritual food and inspiring magazine for the overseas students all over Europe. Meanwhile, they also exchanged with the overseas students in the United States and Japan for their publications such as *Taiwan Youth*, *Mayflower*, and etc.”

The publication *Homeland News* was later transferred to Paris from Belgium, becoming affiliated with the Taiwanese Association of France with Tsing-fang as its editor-in-chief.³⁰⁹ After the establishment of the EFTA, the publication became its official publication, with a circulation number between five and six hundred copies (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4; Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 42). Tsing-fang recalled the situation while he was editing this publication:

In the beginning, I emphasized on thought construction and soul reform. In the second annual EFTA conference, which was held in March 1972, I introduced my perspective on culture [in a lecture], and later starting to publish it in *Homeland News* with a new title “The Historical Mission of Taiwanese: The Five-dimensional World Culture.” The theory was originally written in French [as part of my dissertation] and translated into Chinese by myself with some revisions. Essentially an expansion of my

³⁰⁹. Ming-cheng Chen (1992, 171) mentioned that Wei-chia Chang was also one of the editors of this publication.

theory on culture with more depth, this long article was published continuously in 19 issues. Besides, using the penname “Yi-mu (*Yimu* 義牧),” I translated Yi-zhou Yang’s two-volume *Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek* into Chinese for introducing the truth of the February 28 Incident in about 10,000 words per issue in the *Homeland News*. With the ardent contributing articles from the association members, *Homeland News* soon was expanded from about 20-30 pages to 80-90, and even over 100 pages. It was edited, copied, set, and designed in Paris, and then sent to Vienna for printing and distribution. Each issue was published timely. It was beautifully edited with plenty of news and profound contents, and the readers all over Europe were indeed very excited to receive it. It was in this atmosphere that the stage was set for organizing the World Federation of Taiwanese Association. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4-5)

In 1973, though spending most of his time in the Taiwanese activities, Tsing-fang also made an important breakthrough in his painting, eventually and formally establishing what Jeppson (1978, 17) called the painting style of “Neo-iconography,” finishing “The Real Moon,” his first “Neo-iconography” signature painting (Jeppson 1978, 29; Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 7).

8.5.2 Organizing the World Federation of Taiwanese Association

Since the establishment of the European Federation of Taiwanese Association, the core members of this organization started to actively contact other Taiwanese Associations around the world, hoping to organize the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (hereafter WFTA). In October 1973, the Preparatory Committee of WFTA was formally established with the following nine people as its members: Kang-mei Ho from Belgian; Zun-he Wu (*Wu Zunhe* 吳尊和) from Austria; Jing-lu Chen (*Chen Jinglu* 陳敬睦) from Switzerland; Ci-xiong Wu (*Wu Cixiong* 吳次雄), You-yuan Zhao (*Zhao*

Youyuan 趙有源), and Heng-zhao Ji (*Ji Hengzhao* 紀恒昭) from Germany; and Shin Cheng (*Zheng Xin* 鄭欣), Zhong-ci Liu (*Liu Zhongci* 劉重次) and Tsing-fang Chen from France. Also, Shin Cheng, who was serving as the third director of the EFTA, was elected as the chairperson of this committee (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 4)

To echo the “Formosan Christian for Self-determination (*Taiwan Renmin Zijue Yundong* 台灣人民自決運動)”³¹⁰ championed by the overseas Taiwanese Christians, in February 1974, the Reverend You-yuan Zhao convened the “Conference on Salvation of Today’s Taiwanese (*Jinri Taiwanren De Zhengjiu Dahui* 今日台灣人的拯救大會)” in Wuppertal, Germany, drawing Taiwanese from everywhere in Europe to attend. The Preparatory Committee of WFTA took the advantage of this conference to get together and discuss the progress of the preparation. In the meeting, the Committee decided to send delegates to other continents for accelerating the preparation process of WFTA. Tsing-fang and Shin Chen were assigned to go to North America for negotiating the matter (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 5).

On September 7, 1974, after intense communication between continents for more than three years, the efforts came to fruition. The WFTA was formally established in

³¹⁰. The so-called “Formosan Christian for Self-determination” was initiated by the Rev. Shoki Coe (then the director of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches), the Rev. Choan-Seng Song (*Song Quansheng* 宋泉盛) (then a staff of the Reformed Church in America), the Rev. Wu-dong Huang (former General Secretary of Presbyterian Church in Taiwan), and Dr. Tsung-yi Lin (then the consultant to the World Health Organization) in December 1972. In March of the following year, “An Announcement of Self-determination Movement (*Zijue Yundong Xuanyan* 自決運動宣言)” was proclaimed in Washington, D.C. Basically, the movement was to echo the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan’s “Statement on Our National Fate,” a pronouncement opposing the United States, China and other international powers to sell out Taiwanese people, and demanding an all-out reelection of the representatives to the highest government bodies in Taiwan (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 158-60; Chi-hsiang Yeh 1995, 9). For more detailed description about the movement, refer to Wu-dong Huang (1986, 303-20) and Choan-seng Song (1988).

Vienna, Austria, composed of the Taiwanese Association of Brazil (*Baxi Taiwan Tongxianghui* 巴西台灣同鄉會), the Taiwanese Association in Japan (*Zairi Taiwan Tongxianghui* 在日台灣同鄉會), the Taiwanese Association of America, the Taiwanese Association of Canada (*Jianada Taiwan Tongxianghui* 加拿大台灣同鄉會), and the EFTA. At the conference, Rong-jie Guo (*Guo Rongjie* 郭榮桔), president of the Taiwanese Association in Japan, was elected as the first chairperson of WFTA. After the establishment of WFTA, the Taiwanese Associations in Argentina, Australia, South Africa and Costa Rica also joined this Federation in later time. The purposes of the WFTA, as described in its by-laws, were: “(1) contacting Taiwanese, enhancing friendship and, through mutual cooperation and efforts, establishing a greater family of Taiwanese; (2) protecting the human rights and privileges of Taiwanese, and consolidating every effort for a bright future of Taiwan”(Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 5-6; Quan Fu 2003).³¹¹ On the night the WFTA was established, Tsing-fang took charge of the performance program of “The Taiwan Night (*Taiwan Zhiye* 台灣之夜):”

I was in charge of “The Taiwan Night” at the WFTA’s establishing conference. In addition to singing, vaudeville, and improvised dancing, I presented “Taiwanese Music Epic.” At that time, I recorded, in chronological order, Taiwanese folksongs and popular songs as the background music, and had the 400 years’ Taiwanese history recited in an epic format in the order of time sequence. It was performed in 30 minutes. Among the overseas Taiwanese community, this was the first time to have a show in this format. The effects were excellent. In particular, when the anguished Taiwanese

³¹¹. With regard to the nature and historical background of WFTA, see Freedom News Agency (1985) and Jing Lin (1993b). While both works were full of articles attempting to stigmatize the overseas TIM, the former was an anthology from the KMT’s perspective, and the latter was an essay collection of a Chinese scholar from the CCP’s perspective.

history was presented to and experienced in person by the people coming from Taiwan, their feelings were especially painful. When the show was in process, the emotions of the audience went up and down like tides. One moment, the audience were soundless, and the next, there were whimpers and sighs. Obviously, the power of art touched the audience, and the solemn sorrow of history permeating at the conference would instill into the minds of the Taiwanese, helping them deep in their hearts to face their own history as well as their own destiny. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 6)

After Rong-jie Guo was elected as the chairperson, seven people were assigned to take care of WFTA's administrative business. However, due to academic or family considerations, most of them retreated from the responsibility, except Sheng-zong Qiu (*Qiu Shengzong* 邱勝宗), Guo-xing Zhang (*Zhang Guoxing* 張國興), and Tsing-fang. While both Qiu and Zhang were from Japan and served at the WFTA's secretariat department right there, Tsing-fang was the only professional staff of WFTA working in place other than Japan (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 7). After the established of the WFTA, it was decided to publish *Taiwan Quarterly* (*Taiwan Jikan* 台灣季刊) as the official publication of this organization, with Tsing-fang as its editor-in-chief. In retrospect, Tsing-fang talked about the content of the first issue of *Taiwan Quarterly*:

All the lectures, reports and debates during the WFTA's meeting were tape-recorded. As one of the person in charge of the WFTA's business, I transcribed all the material and put them in the first issue of *Taiwan Quarterly*, a 118-page-volume with colorful illustrations. The content of this issue included "Guest Lecture" by Hung-mao Tian, "Taiwan's Economy in Transition" by Zong-ding Zhang (*Zhang Zongding* 張宗鼎), "The Legal Problems of Taiwanese Women" by Zhi-seng Xie (*Xie Zhisheng* 謝芷生), "The Communist China's Policy of Taiwan Liberation: Talking from Xue-hong Xie's (*Xie Xuehong* 謝雪紅) Purge in China" by Peter Huang, "Taiwanese and the KMT" by Deng-da Lin (*Lin Dengda* 林登達), and the

debate about “Taiwan’s Present and Future” participated by representatives from the KMT, Communist China and the TIM. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 6)

When editing *Taiwan Quarterly* busily during these days, Tsing-fang happened to meet Lucia Ho who became his future wife. She graduated from Taipei Normal College. As a new student majoring in music at the University of Paris, she met Tsing-fang for the first time at her brother-in-law’s home shortly after the beginning of her new life in Paris (Lucia Chen 1996, 26-7; 2000, 254; Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 50). “Our first date was at the Louvre Museum Afterwards, he frequently, without a word, stood in front of me while I was going to eat after class. He would hold an umbrella and come to escort me at the rainy days. I liked to go to art shows or concerts as long as he was in company with me”(Lucia Chen 1996, 27).

In 1975, as a professional staff of the WFTA, Tsing-fang flew to North America and traveled 18,000 miles with a \$220 Greyhound bus ticket in two months. He carried the documentary of the first WFTA meeting as well as the recording tape of “Taiwanese Music Epic” with him. During this period, he visited 43 chapters of Taiwanese Association in the U.S. and Canada, participated in four rallies, attended two conferences sponsored by Taiwanese Association, had 50 small meetings with local members of Taiwanese Association, presented 50 times of the WFTA documentary, met more than 6,000 Taiwanese, and gave more than 50 speeches (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 7; Lucia Chen 1996, 27). While recalling the process of this “long march,” Tsing-fang (2003, 7) said, “Through the practice of introducing WFTA’s idea and activity at the grassroots level, I realized that, beyond being an artist, there was ‘another self’ in which I could work for a good cause.”

8.5.3 Moving to the United States

North America was the place with the largest number of chapters of Taiwanese Associations as well as the largest concentration of overseas Taiwanese. After careful considerations, Tsing-fang decided to forgo his Paris base of 12 years and move to New York City, so he could do a better job for the business of WFTA. Accordingly, Lucia Ho had to give up her unfinished studies and moved across the Atlantic with Tsing-fang in September 1975. At the end of the same year, Tsing-fang married Lucia Ho and began his new life in New York City (Tsing-fang Chen 2000a, 258; Lucia Chen 1996, 27-8). Tsing-fang recalled their early life right there in the following way:

In September 1975, after arriving in New York City, we rented a house on 148th Street in the north of Harlem. Our living room became the office of WFTA, though there was still nothing in it at all. Thus, we went out to pick up desks, tables, chairs, furniture and even mattresses discarded on the streets, and brought them back to set up in our new home. Gradually, there were more and more Taiwanese coming and going, and our home became a “people’s commune.” To help inspire more Taiwanese, we remodeled the living room as a salon. We got some metal milk containers discarded by the supermarket, put them upside down, cushioned them with sponge, covered them with cloth, and aligned them along the walls, making a capacity for 40 people. Then we continuously invited well-known Taiwanese, such as the Rev. Wu-dong Huang, Professor Ting-Kai Chen (*Chen Tingkai* 陳廷楷), Wen-zong Qiu (*Qiu Wenzong* 邱文宗), and etc., to give speeches at our new living room. As a result, in addition to [Taiwanese] church, our “culture salon” became another popular gathering place for Taiwanese [residing in New York City]. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 7)

And Lucia recalled their life during this period:

From 1975 to 1980, we were full-time volunteers, and our home became the

meeting place of Taiwanese for political, religious and cultural occasions. Many expatriate Taiwanese and those who escaped from Taiwan frequently used my home as a liaison center. What I did during my honeymoon was sewing hundreds of flags of different sizes --- to be used in the demonstration protesting against U.S. President Ford's decision to visit Peking and his disdain toward Taiwan (Lucia Chen 1996, 28)

In 1976, Chen's son Ted was born, and the next year, daughter Julie was born. At that time, the WFTA served as the liaison among all the overseas Taiwanese organizations, and demonstrations, protests and meetings for the cause of TIM became routine in Tsing-fang's everyday life. When the two babies were born, he was not at his wife's side. Not only that, due to their strict financial situation, Lucia also had to give both births at the hospital in a poor district (Tsing-fang Chen 2000a, 258; 2003, 8; Lucia Chen 1996, 255).

During this period, Tsing-fang did not have much time painting, and for a long time, he did not have any art show. However, his thought and confidence kept growing. He said, "It was not lip service about ideals. Rather, it was actions with full throttle. Through the process of practice, I, a bookish person, felt the pleasure of being a hard-working farmer. We cultivated inch by inch, believing that a spark could trigger a wildfire. All the efforts we had invested would timely culminate in great success. The annual WFTA conference, for example, became a huge festival for the overseas Taiwanese"(Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 29).

In 1980, Rong-jie Guo, who had been chaired the WFTA for six years, stepped down and was replaced by Mark Chen, then the president of Taiwanese Association of America. Due to the changeover, Tsing-fang decided to leave the job and returned back to his painting world (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 9).

8.5.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Tsing-fang's decision to serve as the professional staff for the WFTA, no matter from what perspective, signified an important turning point in his national identity journey. If we contend that the initial period of his Paris days (i.e., before earning his Ph.D. in 1970) was his "encounter stage" and "immersion-emersion stage," in which he was still searching for an alternative identity beyond "Chinese identity," then, his behavior of participating in the Taiwanese Association after 1970 certainly revealed that he had entered the "internalization stage," as far as his national identity was concerned. Not only had he walked out of the "Chinese identity" that he embraced during the "pre-encounter stage," but he, to some extent, also had accomplished the construction of his Taiwanese identity.³¹² The followings are my observations regarding his national identity during this stage.

(8.5.4.a) First of all, it was at this stage that Tsing-fang formally accomplished the construction of his "Taiwanese identity." While at the "pre-encounter stage," he embraced the "Chinese identity" (though he basically belonged to the "low-salience race attitude" in terms of identity type); then, at the "encounter stage" and the "immersion-emersion stage," he abandoned the old identity, but the new identity was not yet

³¹². This is my observation about his life history, but Tsing-fang himself seemed to have the same feeling. He said, "Actively participating in the WFTA activities was the second phase of my Paris days. It came so naturally. The first stage was about my awakening" (Tsing-fang Chen 2003,1). In another article co-authored by Tsing-fang and Lucia, they said in the third-person perspective in the following way, "From 1963 to 1970, this was a period he pursued his studies, practiced his painting, and started to join democratic movement as a result of his awakening in political consciousness. From 1970 to 1980, it was another period that he actively participated in organizing the regional Taiwanese Association first, and then the WFTA, even served as a professional staff with this organization. Also during the second period, he developed the theory on 'Five-dimensional World Culture: Taiwan's New Renaissance'" (Chen and Chen 2003, 3-4).

constructed; finally, at the “internalization stage,” he eventually constructed his new identity, one that treated Taiwan as its major concern. *From China to Taiwan* was exactly the most concise description with respect to Tsing-fang’s process of identity change. In Jeppson’s book published in 1978, the author described Tsing-fang’s national identity at this stage in the following way:

*Culturally Chen identified himself as Formosan instead of Chinese. Again, he did not perceive this until he discovered the Orient in France. The esthetic outlook on Taiwan differed from the [M]ainland. The mainland culture has been stable and conservative. “The Chinese don’t move much; they don’t like to be influenced,” Chen explains. “Formosans are like the Malays and the Oceanics. They can embrace everything. Like the water that surrounds us we can take everything in. Like the typhoons we are open and sometimes too excited.”*³¹³ (Jeppson 1978, 16; emphasis added)

(8.5.4.b) Second, at this stage, Tsing-fang not only “found” his new identity, but also

³¹³. There exists a theory on the nature of Taiwanese culture emphasizing on the “ocean” side of this culture, while seeing the nature of Chinese culture as a kind of “mainland” culture. In fact, in Taiwan after the 1990s, the concept that contrasting Taiwanese culture with Chinese culture as the relationship between “ocean culture (*haiyang wenhua* 海洋文化)” and “mainland culture (*dalù wenhua* 大陸文化)” was not only one with political correctness, it has also become one of the mainstream discourses in the Taiwanese academia. Though Tsing-fang did not point out the clear outline of this theory, it is not incorrect to interpret this quotation as revealing the implication of this theory.

The theory that Taiwanese culture is an “ocean-type culture” was first raised in a 1976 article by John King Fairbank, a famous American scholar of China study from Harvard University. Later, it was quoted by Chun-hung Chang (*Zhang Junhong* 張俊宏) in Hsin-liang Hsu’s book *The Sound of Wind and Rain*. In 1983, in an article shown in the magazine *Taiwan Literature*, Ching-jen Cheng further connected and theorized this statement while interpreting the development of Taiwanese history, gradually making it one of the main discourses in the opposition movement in the late 1980s. In the beginning of 1992, the *Commonwealth* magazine prompted a wave of the so-called “Discovering Taiwan (*Faxiang Taiwan* 發現台灣).” In April 1994, Hsueh-yung Shen (*Shen Xueyong* 申學庸), then the Commissioner of the Council of Cultural Affairs of Taiwan’s Executive Yuan, presented the concept that “Taiwan is the convergent point of mainland culture and ocean culture” in a Sun Yat-sen Monthly Memorial Meeting at the Presidential Building. The concept of ocean culture in turn affected Lee Teng-hui, who, in 1995, presented the slogan of “establishing a new middle kingdom (*jianli xin Zhongyuan* 建立新中原).” Since then, the concept of “ocean culture” has become a platitude in describing “Taiwanese culture” in Taiwan. In the 1996 presidential race of Taiwan, Ming-min Peng, the Democratic Progressive Party candidate, even depicted the Taiwanese culture as “blue whale ocean culture (*Lanjing haiyang wenhua* 藍鯨海洋文化)” (Chien-kuo Lai 1997, 176-7).

had a staunch “*commitment*” to this new identity. As a passionate painter as well as an academia with a Ph.D. in art history, Tsing-fang actually had very limited time.

Nevertheless, once his new identity was constructed, he would like to sacrifice himself, not only for the burdensome work as the editor-in-chief of *Homeland News* (and, later, *Taiwan Quarterly*, the official publication of the WFTA), but also, unflinchingly, for the low-paid job as the only professional staff of the WFTA. To further the cause of TIM, he even moved out of Paris where he had lived for 12 years, and started a new life in the United States. In an article of retrospect, Tsing-fang talked about the situation at that time:

Since I was little, I had been prodigiously ambitious and determined to become a remarkable artist in history. I was so lucky to have the opportunity to study in Paris in the 1960s. When the WFTA was established, I just finished my studies and had found my own road in painting. While taking my professional career into consideration, it was definitely a critical time for me to focus on art and make my long time dream come true. However, once the WFTA was born, there must be somebody to do the work. Chairperson Rong-jie Guo, a respectful entrepreneur, was too busy to take care of the everyday business of the WFTA. Since I had got deeply involved in the preparatory process of the WFTA, almost from nothing to its fledging stage, I decided to take the job as the professional staff for this organization. I always liked to carry out whatever I promised, at least I would spare no efforts. In some [Taiwanese] meetings, I had found that although there were a lot of talking and suggestions, most people hightailed from the scene and put many nice projects on the shelf when it came to doing the work. I strongly believed that “if I have ideals, I should start from myself,” and “if I expect a better society, I should start from myself.” Starting from 1964, I had felt that I was responsible for “Taiwanese culture,” and the situation in Taiwan was not to be procrastinated. Thus, with “Taiwan first, art second” in mind, I resolutely accepted the heavy burden as the professional staff of the WFTA. (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 7)

(8.5.4.c) At this stage, though Tsing-fang had a firm commitment to the TIM, in terms of self-positioning, with the aim of “Taiwanese Renaissance (*Taiwan Wenyi Fuxing* 台灣文藝復興) in mind, he felt what he was doing was a *cultural movement* rather than a political movement. “As an artist, I had no political ambition, nor had I any political instinct. I criticized the government and participated in the demonstration simply out of my sincere concerns toward the homeland as well as my own conscience as an intellectual” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 28). “In the first place, I was not playing politics. I only cared about the homeland and wanted to carry out [our own] cultural confidence”(Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 33). In a recent article, he emphasized the importance of “culture” in political movement:

I always consider culture as the basis of everything. Any activity without [the spirit of] humanities tends to be vulgarized, especially in political movement, which often leads to radical campaigns and ends up struggling for power and money, a far cry from the initial ideals. A good command of the humanities enables one to look far beyond, keep an open mind, and emphasize more on the search of ideals rather than the pursuit of gains for achieving the goals. How else could the journey of art be different from that? (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 7)

8.6 Returning to the Painting World (1980 -)

In 1980, due to the replacement of WFTA’s chairperson, Tsing-fang ended his six-year-long career as the professional staff of WFTA, and returned to his art world. In 1984, in the name of holding a one-man show, Tsing-fang finally returned to his homeland, where he had been absent for 21 years, and stayed there for 28 days. In 1986, he created 100 paintings as a tribute to the Liberty Statue’s Centennial Celebration and,

again in 1990, he painted 100 works for Vincent van Gogh at the 100th anniversary of his death. All these works won high praises from the international art community successfully. In 1996, the T. F. Chen Cultural Center (*Chen Jinfang Wehuaguang* 陳錦芳文化館), the largest private cultural center in New York City, opened in the So-Ho district of that city. In 2000, Tsing-fang proposed a large-scale project of concept/action/display art, which he titled “Jade Mountain as Holy Land, Liberty and Democracy (*Yushang shengshang ziyou minzhu* 玉山聖山 自由民主),” as an art feedback to his homeland.

8.6.1 Returning to the Kingdom of Art

During the time devoting himself to the cause of TIM, Tsing-fang had almost deserted his “real” profession, painting, in the previous ten-year-long period. Accordingly, after his role as the staff of WFTA ended, he picked up his brushes immediately and concentrated on his painting again (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 10). “Though slow in start, with all the stars aligned, I was riding high on a wave of good luck, successfully introducing the new painting style [of “Neo-iconography”] to the art world” (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 7-8).

Tsing-fang’s wife Lucia planned to open an art gallery. “At that time, we were penniless, but we had some paintings. We decided to borrow from our Taiwanese friends, and overnight we borrowed \$30,000. It was really a miracle to raise so much money via phone calls in a single night, since most of our friends were students or those who just started their careers. We even said that ‘we don’t know when we can return the money.’ But, within three months, we paid back all the money, and we generated more

money than we did in the previous five years (including occasional sale of paintings)” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 10).

In November 1980, as recommended by an Indian representative to the United Nations, Tsing-fang was invited to attend the ninth “International Conference on the Unity of Sciences,”³¹⁴ which set a goal for “world peace.” At the conference, Tsing-fang presented his paper and introduced his theory of “Five-dimensional World Culture” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 30; 1991g, 149). “To my surprise, my paper became the focus of attention at the conference, attracting most praises as well as criticisms. Later, the paper was translated and published in Japanese, French, and etc.” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 30).

In 1981, Tsing-fang held a large-scale art exhibit at Johns Hopkins University in Maryland, showing two hundred pieces of his works. He also gave two speeches for this exhibition. In September 1983, Tsing-fang was granted U.S. citizenship. In November of the same year, Tsing-fang was given the Humanity Award,³¹⁵ which was dubbed as the Taiwanese Nobel Prize, by the Taiwanese American Foundation (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c).

³¹⁴. The so-called “International Conference on the Unity of Sciences,” which started in 1972, was spawned by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon of the Korean Unification Church. The purpose of this conference was to provide an academic tribune where scholars from diverse disciplines can come together and discuss mutual interactions in their work as a multidisciplinary attack on global problems (International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences 2000).

³¹⁵. The “Taiwanese American Foundation” was established in 1982 by Kenjohn Wang, a Taiwanese American businessman residing in California. The purpose of the foundation was to “award and recognize those who love Taiwan, identify Taiwan as their homeland, and who have achieved on outstanding accomplishment in their own fields” (Taiwanese-American Foundation 2003b).

8.6.2 Returning to Taiwan for the First Time

In June 1984, Tsing-fang moved his family from the suburbs of Washington, D.C. to the So-Ho district in New York City, where Lucia continued to open Lucia Gallery, and Tsing-fang had all his paintings exhibited at the gallery (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 32; T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c).

In the fall of the same year, the “Spring Gallery (*Chun Zhi Yilang* 春之藝廊)” of Taiwan invited Tsing-fang to have a one-man show back in Taiwan. “At that time, it was not long after the death of Wen-cheng Chen. Everybody persuaded me not to go back.³¹⁶ However, I believed that whatever I had done was out of a sincere heart to love Taiwan, and I was not ashamed of anything I had done. If I were arrested because of that, I would not regret either. Meanwhile, I did believe that ‘life and death are destined, and wealth and power are determined by god (*shengsi you ming, fugui zai tian* 生死有命 富貴在天),’ not to mention that during the past 21 years, my parents passed away, yet I was unable to attend their funerals because I was blacklisted”³¹⁷ (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 10). Though the gallery had arranged the show schedule and sent the invitations out already, Tsing-fang was still unable to obtain his visa from the KMT government. “At last, I had to guarantee over and over again that my trip was purely for the purpose of art

³¹⁶. Tsing-fang (1991d, 34) himself wrote, “Yes, I was perhaps the first ‘sensitive personality (*mingang renwu* 敏感人物)’ who came back after the Wen-cheng Chen Incident. When I told my relatives in Taiwan about my intention to go home, the response I received was ‘absolutely do not come back.’ A good friend of mine did not dare to write, so he asked someone in Japan to tell me why [I should not come back].”

³¹⁷. Since Tsing-fang was put on the blacklist, he was unable to attend the funerals for both his father and mother. In the dedication of his *The Dream of A New Renaissance* published in 1991, he painfully wrote, “I sincerely dedicate this book to my parents whose funerals I was unable to attend” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991a, Dedication).

activities, and I would never take part in any political activities. I was finally allowed to go home right one week before the art show opened”(Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 34).

Tsing-fang eventually stepped on the homeland, which had been in his dreams for the past 21 years, and stayed there for the very 28 days allowed by the visa. He not only had two art shows in Taipei and Tainan, but was interviewed by reporters from newspapers, radio stations and TV stations. In addition, he gave speeches at two art schools, and had other speeches in Kaohsiung and Tainan (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 139-40). During this period, “I was constantly followed [by the KMT’s secret agent], and was ‘arranged’ for lunches or dinners. When I was making a speech in Hoklo, a row of police kept stepping on the floor. However, the audience embraced me. When the show was held in Tainan, the prodigious number of flower baskets was beyond imagination, and they said ‘it is a demonstration (*zheshi shiwei* 這是示威)’” (Tsing-fang Chen nd)! In an article he wrote after the art shows in his homeland, Tsing-fang described his feelings of going home:

I really came back. “Did he really come back?” There were still people who did not believe the news. Why didn’t I come back? Anyway, this is my homeland! Whatever I had done was due to my concerns about my homeland and based on the conscience of an intellectual. I had never felt that I would not come back or I could not come back. I had kind of intuition that when it was time for me to come back, I would come back. As for what was the time that I should come back, that should be up to my intuition, perhaps an artist’s obsession. This time I did not feel pensive as I was close to home. Instead, I felt so calm and thought it was the right time to come home, the right time to have art shows here. Though my daily schedule was full and busy, I still had all my ducks in a row. After these 21 years, my love toward my homeland remained the same, my expectations for the homeland remained the same, my thought and my lecture contents remained the same, and my vision toward the land remained the same, then, why

should I change? (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g, 147-8)

In sum, the trip “was an adventurous, exciting and mind-boggling process. I used art and culture to connect with the crowd, who embraced me with passions and hopes. I realized that the crowd in Taiwan was just like a fertile land, waiting for hardworking farmers to sow quality seeds” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 10).

8.6.3 The Spirit of Liberty Series

1986 was the centennial celebration of the Statue of Liberty in New York City. “The towering goddess, who stands in New York Harbor and holds a torch of freedom, is a world-renowned ‘icon.’ With a sense of serendipity, I started to create, using my “Neo-iconography,” 100 artworks entitled “The Spirit of Liberty Series” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 45). Tsing-fang explained the motivation of his this series of creation as follows:

In the past 100 years, the “Statue of Liberty” has become the symbol of America, or even the spiritual bulwark of the whole world. For decades, new immigrants came in droves, passed under “her” feet, and landed on the new continent. To those millions of immigrants, she is a symbol of the “mother of the diaspora (*liulizhe zhi mu* 流離者之母).” With an admiring and affectionate mind, Chen came across the welling inspiration that led him to finish the 100 artworks of the “Statue of Liberty” series. (quoted from De-chang Cai 1986)

Once the 100 artworks were in exhibit, CNN came to Tsing-fang’s studio and made a thirty-minute-long special report. The program was aired over and over again. The *New Yorker* magazine also selected Tsing-fang’s painting and published it together with works by the masters like Andy Warhol and Robert Rauschenberg. Not only did the

Presidents of the United States and France sent letters of greetings to Tsing-fang, David Wolper, the ceremony master and famous producer, also came to see Tsing-fang's show in person and purchased five pieces on the spot (Tsing-fang Chen 1991d, 45-6).³¹⁸ For "Greetings from the East," one of this series of artworks, refer to Figure 8.4.

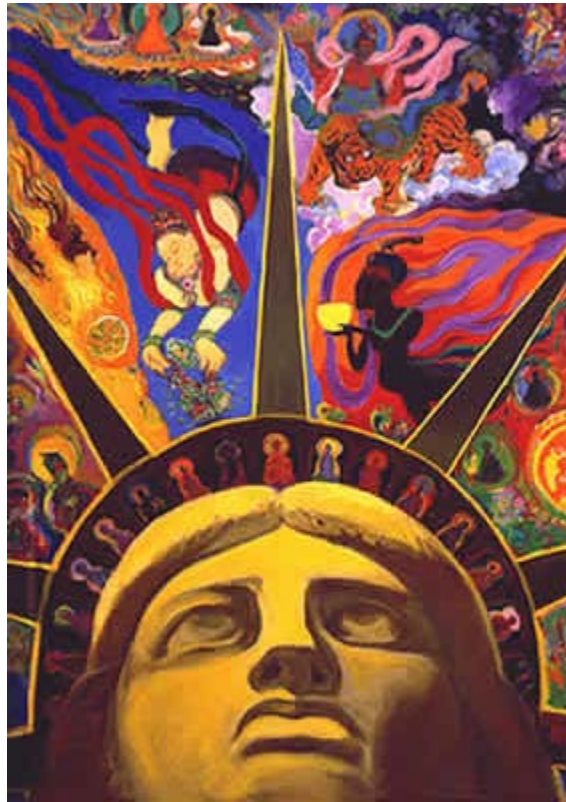
(Figure 8.4 about here)

From the financial perspective, the "Spirit of Liberty Series" was an important turning point in Tsing-fang's painting career. For the first time Tsing-fang used his artworks to generate a handsome amount of revenue, \$500,000 (Baker 1997, 61). With the money, he was eager to move one more step forward, hoping to open another gallery at his homeland. In an article reflecting on his painting career after 1980, Tsing-fang wrote:

In 1986, when Taiwan was still under martial law and "Free China" was used as a diplomatic terms in international propaganda, I consulted with my wife and, in the first month of the 101st year of the Statue of Liberty, we moved some of the artworks to Taiwan. We bought a floor on a street next to the Apollo Building on Zhongxiao East Road, which was the gallery district of Taipei. The floor was converted to a gallery, and became the landing base of my "Spirit of Liberty Series." Since my college days, I had been enjoying Anton Dvořák's *New World Symphony*, and so I decided to name the gallery as "New World Gallery (*Xinshijie Hualang* 新世界畫廊)," hoping to establish a new world through art. *Freedom is the mother of creation, and the essence of creation is to explore a new world. When freedom is connected with the world, they form the most formidable enemy of martial law.* I stroke while

³¹⁸. The series of artworks were later published into a painting album by the gallery run by Lucia, which was entitled *The Spirit of Liberty*, see Tsing-fang Chen (1986).

Figure 8.4
“Greetings from the East” by Tsing-fang Chen (1985)



Source: Tsing-fang Chen (1985)

the iron was still hot, continuing to show the “Statue of Liberty” everywhere. When these artworks arrived in Kaohsiung, the exhibit reached its climax. (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 9-10; emphasis added)

After having his own gallery in Taipei, Tsing-fang began to shuttle between New York and Taipei, with approximately 40% of the time staying in Taiwan and 60% painting in New York City. He also went to many places in the world to show his artworks, attending international conferences, and looking for opportunities to do cultural diplomacy (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 11).

8.6.4 The Development after 1987

In 1987, the martial law, which that had been ravaging the fundamental human rights in Taiwan for 38 years, was lifted. One year later, Chiang Ching-kuo passed away, Vice-President Lee Teng-hui succeeded as President pursuant to the stipulations of the constitution, becoming the first native-born President in Taiwanese history, and signifying the coming of a new era. All of a sudden, “in politics, economy, society and culture and virtually every other aspect in Taiwan, upheavals went on the rampage like rushing floods. I happened to jump on the bandwagon, and my ‘homecoming art activities (*guixiang yidong* 歸鄉藝動)’ also presented the possibility of multicultural perspective to the volatile island” (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 10). Under the new circumstances, this “new Taiwan” not only foreboded a possible democracy politically, but also marched toward a new stage with every field in bloom culturally. Tsing-fang described the development of Taiwan in this stage in the following way:

That was the beginning of a new era in Taiwan. The government and the oppositions interacted ferociously and confronted mercilessly. While the street demonstrations appeared one wave after another, the incessant protests eventually forced the permanent members of the National Assembly to retreat and get out of the scene. After the re-elections of legislatures of Legislative Yuan and representatives of National Assembly, the political arena was infused with new blood, bringing in new spirit to Taiwan.

The new phenomenon was also reflected in the cultural and art fields. In the media, newcomers seemed to bloom overnight; and in the arts, new styles showed up to grab the spotlight. TV and radio stations were deregulated, newspaper publications were open to new competitions, and the burgeoning wave in the publication industry brought up new impetus to the production and performance of songs, dances, dramas and plays. The dynamic

performances by Cloudy Gate (*Yunmen* 雲門), Lanling (*Lanling* 蘭陵), and other experimental and vanguard groups, as well as the static exhibits such as painting, calligraphy and sculpture, could be equally found at the local cultural centers. Gradually, in arts, Taiwan was getting in sync with the international community. (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 10-11)

It was in this exciting environment that Tsing-fang, who had been busy shuttling between the United States and Taiwan, expressed, “I was getting more and more momentum and my inspirations kept welling up” (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 11). 1990 was Vincent van Gogh’s 100th anniversary of death, and in the Netherlands, the largest van Gogh exhibit in history was held. “Van Gogh ignited my art embers. On the occasion of his death centennial, a desire to create 100 ‘Post-van Gogh Series’ in honor of him sprang up from my mind naturally” (Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 11). “After the first batch of works went on display in New York City in April, I was immediately invited to Amsterdam to have a synchronized show with van Gogh. Though all celebrating programs were scheduled two years before, arranged ad hoc by the art enthusiasts in Holland, my works were put on display. That was indeed a bouquet for van Gogh from Formosa” (Tsing-fang Chen 1991, 46). For “Early Bird,” one of the 100 works of “Post-van Gogh Series,” refer to Figure 8.5.

(Figure 8.5 about here)

This “Post-van Gogh Series” and the “Spirit of Liberty Series” established Tsing-fang’s privileged position in the circle of “postmodern art.” His name was shown in the world-renowned textbook *Arts and Ideas* (Fleming 1995), his paintings were also shown in more than 100 textbooks and related books in more than 30 countries

(Tsing-fang Chen 2001, 4).³¹⁹ In fact, the artworks created through “Neo-iconography,” which uses other painters’ works to synthesize, vary, interpret and create, is similar to the that of current “computer art,” which superimposes, juxtaposes existing graphics with some variations. Thus, Tsing-fang, who created this art style off the beaten track in 1969, was considered a pioneer in “postmodern culture” and a forerunner of “computer art” (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, d). He said, “It turned out that the painting style I created in 1969 became the representative image of composition graphics in computer art. But in 1969, there were no computer yet (if there were,

Figure 8.5

“Early Bird” by Tsing-fang Chen (1990)



Source: Tsing-fang Chen (1990b)

³¹⁹. The loyalty for the books and other related merchandise (such as T-shirts, posters, cards, etc.) was more than \$50,000 in 1997 (Baker 1997, 60).

computers were still in the developmental process with a size as large as a factory)” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 10).

In 1990, at the invitation of the Provincial Taiwan Museum of Fine Art (*Taiwan Shengli Meishuguan* 台灣省立美術館),³²⁰ Tsing-fang had his 100 signature artworks exhibited at the museum from September to October. The museum also published a painting album, entitled *The Art of Tsing-fang Chen: The Neo-Iconography*, to celebrate his artistic achievement (Tsing-fang Chen 1990a). In June 1991, Tsing-fang published an anthology entitled *The Dream of A New Renaissance* (Tsing-fang Chen 1991a), in which he collected his representative articles written at different stages of his life, including “A Trip to Florence” written in 1965 (Tsing-fang Chen 1991e), “The Narrow Gate to History” written in 1972 (Tsing-fang Chen 1991f), “Returning Home to Have the Exhibition” written in 1984 (Tsing-fang Chen 1991g), and etc. From August to September of the same year, 80 pieces of Tsing-fang’s artworks were displayed at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum (*Taipei Shili Meishuguan* 台北市立美術館). President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan went to see the show in person (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c).

In 1994, Tsing-fang and Lucia started the project to construct a new fine art center with their own funds in the So-Ho district of New York City. The project was finished in June 1996 and was named “T. F. Chen Cultural Center/New World Art Center (*Chen Jinfang Wenhuaquan/ Xinshijie Wenhua Zhongxin* 陳錦芳文化館/新世界文化中心).” The building has six stories with a basement, 3,500 square feet per floor, and has been used for exhibits, seminars as well as auctions. It is the “largest private cultural center

in New York City” (Tian-yu Fu 1996).

In Mid-September 1999, Tsing-fang climbed to the top of Jade Mountain, the highest in East Asia, which is located in central Taiwan. After returning to New York City, he created a series of Jade Mountain artworks (approximately 160 pieces). In 2000, he returned to Taiwan and designed the concept/action/display art which he named “Jade Mountain as Holy Land, Liberty and Democracy,” “hoping to integrate the images of the second popularly elected President and the reconstruction after the September 21 Earthquake,³²¹ transform political activities into cultural retrospect and art creation, and, through the promotion of Jade Mountain as Holy Land, re-consolidate Taiwanese consciousness” (Tsung-yi Lin 2000, 4). In March, he published poem and painting album *Jade Mountain and Her Variations* (Tsing-fang Chen 2000b). In May, he started to promote the soul construction activity in the name of “Mt. Yu as Holy Land, Liberty and Democracy.” In July, while the activity started to circulate around Taiwan, he also launched to organize the “Jade Mountain Summit Foundation (*Yushan Gaofeng Jijinhui* 玉山高峰基金會)” and “Jade Mountain Summit World Peace Forum (*Yushan Gaofeng Shijie Heping Luntan* 玉山高峰世界和平論壇)” at the same time (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c). Tsing-fang interpreted the meaning of Jade Mountain to him and to Taiwan as following:

³²⁰. The name of this museum was changed into “National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (*Guoli Taiwan Meishuguan* 國立台灣美術館)” in 1999.

³²¹. September 21 Earthquake was an earthquake measuring 7.6 on the Richter scale at 01:47 local time September 21, 1999, in Taiwan. The epicenter was located 12.5 km west of Sun-Moon Lake in rural Nantou County in Central Taiwan, and has been followed by a series of aftershocks. The earthquake caused extensive damage. Over 2400 people were killed and numerous roads and bridges were damaged (USAID 1999).

I have spent most of my life overseas, and have never climbed Jade Mountain, but Jade Mountain has been the refuge of my peregrinating soul and a symbol of the greatness of Taiwan in my mind. Taiwan is small, but it can be a giant in spirit. A mountain does not have to be high; it will be divine if there is a god (*shang buzai gao, you shen ze ling* 山不在高 有神則靈), not to mention that the pinnacle of Jade Mountain is the highest point in Northeast Asia, majestically standing at a holy balcony at 3,952 meters between heaven and earth, 200 meters higher than Mt. Fuji, the holy mountain in Japan. I ponder, isn't it another miracle of Taiwan? If, in addition to thanking god for the gift, the residents of the island can make themselves, in soul reform and spirit construction, as majestic and resolute, as pure and stable, and as high-reaching and far-seeing as Jade Mountain, then Jade Mountain will be the symbol of "Taiwanese soul" and a glorious label of the beautiful and precious island. (Tsing-fang Chen 2000c, 10)

In December 2001, Tsing-fang was honored by the United Nations with the "Global Tolerance Award" of the year, and was assigned as the "Cultural Ambassador for Tolerance and Peace," and would, together with the related organizations of the United Nations, initiate "World Art Circulating Activities," hoping to build a "culture of love and peace" through art (T. F. Chen Cultural Center nd, c).

8.6.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Though Tsing-fang had finished the construction of his "Taiwanese identity" already at this stage, it was still possible for him to partially "change" the content of his national identity. As correctly pointed out by Parham (1989) in his discussion of the Nigrescence process, even if one has reached the "internalization stage" in identity development, he/she will still encounter some racial or cultural experience, big or small, positive or negative, which somehow partially challenges the Black identity that has been

constructed. The insight provided by Parham enables us to continue to analyze Tsing-fang's process of identity transformation at this stage. The followings are my observations regarding his national identity during this period.

(8.6.5.a) First of all, after the “internalization stage” during the previous period, the foundation of Tsing-fang's “Taiwanese identity” had been established at this stage. Accordingly, it seemed that there was not much space for Tsing-fang to change his national identity qualitatively. In other words, following the Taiwanese identity at the previous stage, at the current stage, he still considered himself a *Taiwanese* in terms of national identity. In a recent interview, Tsing-fang told the interviewer, “I am always proud to be a Taiwanese, ... Taiwan is a precious island with beautiful scenery. Since I could go back, I have traveled to everywhere to do landscape painting, creating the “I Love Taiwan Series” to present the beauty of Taiwan. And for the current exhibit, I use Taiwanese scenery and ‘Neo-iconography’ as the contents” (Tsing-fang Chen nd, 5).

In *Jade Mountain and Her Variations*, Tsing-fang not only collected 124 artworks with Jade Mountain as the theme, he also matched them with poems and short articles, praising the majesty and beauty of Jade Mountain. One of the poems, which is entitled “Determined to Create History (*shibi chuangzao lishi* 誓必創造歷史),” is shown below:

Unable to resist the beckon of the ocean and freedom
 Unable to resist the beautiful and bountiful lure
 Right on the borderline between the continent and the ocean
 A lonely island
 In the turbid waves that scrape the sky
 Insist on striking an uncompromising and heavenly pose

 We the Taiwanese masters
 In the same life community

Insist on the pursuit of truth, the realization of love
Determined to create history! (Tsing-fang Chen 2000b, 26)

The lines “We the Taiwanese masters/In the same life community” showed exactly the Taiwanese consciousness to its fullest from deep in Tsing-fang’s soul.³²²

(8.6.5.b) However, though Tsing-fang was embracing “Taiwanese identity” basically, he seemed to realize that he was also a *Taiwanese American* or even a citizen of the world at the same time. He said, “I have been out of my country so long, and with the marching of time, I feel that I am not only Taiwanese, I am also Taiwanese American as well as a citizen of the world at the same time. [I believe] I can integrate all of them into one piece” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 11). As a matter of fact, the idea of “world citizen” could be traced back to his thought in the earlier stage (before earning his Ph.D. in 1970). In his diary on August 9, 1967, Tsing-fang had the following words:

I had a mysterious yearn for other people’s homeland, and that was why I had the impulse to wander around the world, *making the whole world my homeland*. This was actually an expansion and extension of my love toward my homeland. At least in spirit, I am like standing at the crossroads, opening myself to all possible directions. In my whole life, such spirit will make me affectionately love this world, and affectionately love this inalienable globe! (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 1266; emphasis added)

It was with this kind of feelings that Tsing-fang walked toward Paris from Taiwan and tried to embrace the whole world in the 1960s. However, due to the establishment

³²². In fact, in the process of constructing Taiwanese identity, some scholars taking the position of TIM have already written in their academic papers with an intention, arguing to connect “Jade Mountain” with “Taiwanese identity.” See Pao-tsun Tai (2001) for example.

of native consciousness and Taiwanese identity since the Paris days, Tsing-fang realized that he should be a Taiwanese first before becoming a citizen of the world. Otherwise, the so-called world citizen, an impractical mirage in nature, was only a subterfuge to avoid the attachment with his won homeland. Consequently, during the “internalization stage,” Tsing-fang no longer had the luxury and affection to embrace the idea of being a citizen of the world. Instead, he tried to contribute wholeheartedly all his time and energy for his suffering homeland.

Nevertheless, after marching into the “post-internalization stage” in 1980s, Tsing-fang again came up with the affection of being a world citizen. This “new” realization, on the one hand, had something to do with his new citizenship and, on the other hand, the changes of his perception toward art. With respect to the former cause, Tsing-fang was granted the U. S. citizenship in September 1983, and legally he had pledged allegiance to the U. S. flag and become an “American” or a “Taiwanese American.” As for the latter cause, at this stage, Tsing-fang plunged into the painting world again and found that he had evolved from “art for art” to “art for mankind” in terms of his philosophy of painting. Based on his style of “Neo-iconography,” he “used art to care about the major issues faced by humankind today: war, peace, freedom, human rights, environmental protection, poverty and wealth” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 11). Under such circumstances, it was very natural for him to derive the identity of world citizenship. In fact, this was also the reason that he was presented with the “Global Tolerance Award” and was assigned the “Cultural Ambassador for Tolerance and Peace” by the United Nations in 2001.

8.7 Conclusion

In this section, let's review the developmental process of Tsing-fang's national identity. He was born in 1936 when Taiwan was still a colony of Japan. However, due to the lack of relevant information, we are unable to grasp the content regarding his national identity during this period. All we know is that he liked to draw and showed some talent in fine arts since he was a child.

In 1945 when Tsing-fang was nine years old, World War II ended, and Taiwan was handed over from the Japanese colonial government to the KMT government headed by Chiang Kai-shek. Before going abroad to study in Paris in 1963, he stayed 17 years in Taiwan under the KMT rule (excluding one year when he joined the MRA and made a trip around the world). Though born poor, Tsing-fang worked hard and was able to pull off academically, attending the best schools from childhood to adulthood. Graduating from the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, he served as a reserve officer for one and a half years, and then got an unusual opportunity to travel around the world with the MRA in 13 months.

During this period, Tsing-fang was a typical youth strongly interested in art and literature. He liked to draw, read all kinds of novels, listen to Western classic music, and dream about going to Paris to study painting and thoroughly embracing Western culture. Thus, Tsing-fang could be classified as "low-salience racial identity" as called by Cross. And since he paid more attention on other things, he did not put national identity on his priority list of identification. However, since the KMT government used the state-controlled educational system to heavily promote "Chinese identity," Tsing-fang, though not quite interested in the matter, tended to accept the designation of "Chinese

identity” passively.

In 1963, after passing an examination, Tsing-fang was awarded a scholarship by the French government. He bid farewell to his family as well as the island in which he had lived for 27 years, flying to Paris, studying at the University of Paris, and learning painting at an art school in Paris at the same time. It was during this period, due to the stimulus of the new environment (e.g., experiencing the atmosphere of freedom in person, and discovering that a fellow student living in the same dormitory was a campus spy subsidized by the KMT, etc.), the “Chinese identity” embraced by Tsing-fang in his previous life stage, to some extent, was severely challenged. After his “Chinese identity” was emaciated, he roamed among some possible alternative identities, hoping to construct his new identity as soon as possible.

To some extent, Tsing-fang’s pursuit of a new identity was parallel to his pursuit of a new painting style. When he was in Taiwan, he longed for Western culture eagerly. But after coming to Paris for a period of time, he found that some aspects of Eastern culture had been seriously ignored by him in the past. After some stagnant period in his art creation, Tsing-fang finally solved the anxiety on the direction of his painting at the theoretical level, realizing the trend that “Eastern culture and Western culture should converge,” and developing his theory on “Five-dimensional World Culture.” However, if we zero in on the content of his national identity in this period, we can clearly find that it was his “encounter stage” and “immersion-emersion stage” in identity development. Though he had strong doubts about the appropriateness of the old identity, the new identity was not yet constructed, and he was still in a murky situation of identification, sometimes considering himself “Chinese,” while other time “Taiwanese.”

In 1970, Tsing-fang finished his dissertation *Chinese Calligraphy and Contemporary Art*. At the same time, he started to participate in the overseas TIM, engaging himself in the activities of Taiwanese Association of France, European Federation of Taiwanese Association and World Federation of Taiwanese Association. In 1974, he even became a professional staff of the WFTA, temporarily forgoing his painting career, and sparing no efforts for the cause of TIM. To promote the activity of WFTA more effectively, in 1975, he decided to move out of Paris where he had lived for 12 years, and moved to set up a beachhead for the WFTA in New York City in the United States. Obviously, at this time, Tsing-fang changed his national identity again, formally entering the “internalization stage” of identity transformation and completely finishing the construction of his “Taiwanese identity.”

In 1980, Tsing-fang left his professional staff position with the WFTA and returned to his painting world. In terms of national identity, he entered the “recycling stage” in identity development as called by Parham and, to some extent, partially revised his Taiwanese identity constructed during his “internalization stage.” Though he still highly embraced the Taiwanese identity, the content of this Taiwanese identity had some changes. Tsing-fang returned to the idea of “world citizen” developed before his “internalization stage,” considering himself not only as a Taiwanese, but also a Taiwanese American, and even a citizen of the world.

Chapter Nine

Case Study (5): The Process of National Identity Formation of Strong C. Chuang

It looked like someone ripped from his eyes a black blindfold, which had been stuck there for such a long time that it had mingled with his eyes, though he did not understand when, for what reason, in what fashion, and by whom the blindfold was bound there. Certainly, there was a strong feeling after the blindfold was abruptly ripped off. Once the blindfold was torn apart, his blood and tears seemed to erupt simultaneously. The confusion whether Taiwanese are Chinese --- which had puzzled him for such a long time --- suddenly turned clear and did not become a problem anymore. Meanwhile, the anxiety and depression that had come along with the confusion vanished completely!

--- Shuang-bu Lin, *Late Autumn, The Man in Exile:
The Quiet Strong C. Chuang*

9.1 Introduction

To those who are familiar with the overseas TIM, it should come as no surprise that Strong Chuang (1938-) is chosen as a subject for this study. First of all, he is *a typical example* of overseas TIM activist --- from southern Taiwan, with a background in engineering, studying in the United States in the 1960s, having never participated in any political activities before going abroad, with a doctorate, and having accomplished significantly in a professional field. In a sense, the exploration of Strong's case is not only to study himself, but also to examine a kind of typical overseas TIM activists. As put by Cheng Wu (1994, 241), a noted Taiwanese writer as well as Strong's brother-in-law, "There are so many outstanding [overseas] Taiwanese who have the

minds and situations just like those of my brother-in-law's.”

The second reason to choose Strong can be attributed to his *commitment* and *enthusiasm* towards the TIM. In 1966, one year after coming to study in the States for advanced degree, he joined the United Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI), the forerunner of WUFI. Though not a top leader, for nearly forty years, he had devoted himself to the organization financially, physically and spiritually, and had remained a member to date (Many other subjects I have encountered in this study used to join the WUFI, yet no longer keep their membership nowadays). The fact that a person has kept the membership of an organization for forty years, and is still sparing no efforts for the cause of the organization until now is itself a fascinating story. To students of social movements --- many of them are interested in the topic of “commitment” --- this is surely a nonpareil case.

Third, to study the life histories of the overseas TIM activists, there is no reason to ignore the six books by Shuang-bu Lin (i.e., Shuang-bu Lin 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2000d; 2000e; 2000f), which are based on the oral history interviews conducted by Lin himself. Since Lin is a novelist, not an academician, his viewpoint and way of presentation are, of course, not necessarily in tandem with the life histories presented from the perspective of social sciences. Nevertheless, if we want to study the overseas TIM activists, it is imperative that at least we should select one biography out of the six books. Among the six books dealing with nine biographees, I consider Strong the most *representative*. In fact, Lin's project of oral history is partly a brainchild of Strong's, and Strong's biography, which is the longest among the six with almost four hundred pages, easily attracts attention from me, a researcher of the overseas TIM.

Last but not least, there is one more reason to choose Strong as the subject for this study. Among the TIM activists in the United States, Strong has been a *diligent writer*. He published his first book, *The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home*,³²³ in 1993, and had a sequel of this book in 2002. The first book is his anthology of essays on the TIM written from 1965 to 1991; the latter covers articles he finished after 1990, including reporting stories, political essays, and people profiles. Given the value of both books, when juxtaposed with the biography by Shuang-bu Lin, they could definitely provide us a better picture of how Strong's national identity developed through his various life stages. For a glimpse of Strong's appearance, refer to Figure 9.1, which is his recent self-portrait.

(Figure 9.1 about here)

In the following analysis and discussion, I divide Strong's life history into five stages: (1) childhood under Japanese rule (1938-1945); (2) the period under the KMT's rule (1945-1965); (3) the initial period during study in the United States (1965-1966); (4) the period after joining the WUFI (1966-1988); and (5) the period during Taiwan's democratization (1988-).

9.2 Childhood under the Japanese Rule (1938-1945)

9.2.1 Family Background and Childhood Years

Strong Chuang, a Hoklo, was born in Xuejia (*Xuejia* 學甲) (now a township), Tainan County, on December 31, 1938, when Taiwan was still a Japanese colony. As

³²³. The edition on my hand is a 1994 reprint.

Figure 9.1
Self-portrait of Strong C. Chuang:
The Pleasure with Grandson (2002)



Source: Strong C. Chuang (2002b)

the fourth child of the family, Strong has two older sisters, one older brother, and three younger sisters. For the important events in Strong's life history, refer to Table 9.1.

(Table 9.1 about here)

Strong's great grandfather was a landowner with more than three hundred hectares of land. His grandfather, the eldest, inherited the family business. His father, De-zhao

Table 9.1
Major Events in the Life of Strong C. Chuang

Year	Event
I. Childhood under the Japanese Rule (1938-1945)	
1938	Chuang was born in Xuejia, Tainan County. His great grandfather was a landowner and his father worked at the credit department of the local farmers association.
1945	February: He started studying at Zhaigang Public School. August: End of World War II.
II. The Period under the KMT's Rule (1945-1965)	
1946	Chuang transferred to Xuejia Elementary School.
1947	His father quit the job at the farmers association and decided to invest and run business. March: The "February 28 Incident," which broke out from Taipei, started spreading to southern Taiwan. His older brother was stuck in Taiwan due to the block of KMT soldiers. Thus, his mother left the house at midnight, walking thirty-five kilometers to bring his older brother back to home with scraggly hair at dusk the next day.
1950	His father's business fell through. Their last land was also requisitioned by the government's "outlandish land to the tiller" policy. His father disappeared since then. His mother had no choice but to take kids to rent a house at Xuejia, peddling along the streets and selling odds and ends to support the family.
1951	He graduated from elementary school first in his class and passed the examination to get into the junior section of Chang Jung Middle School.
1952	Due to the poor family background, he could not pay the tuition and had no choice but to withdraw from school.
1954	He passed the examination to get into the Nanguang High School with a diploma equivalency certificate.
1956	The military instructors started recruiting senior students to join the KMT. He refused the recruitment.
1957	He passed the examination and got into the Department of Civil Engineering, National Taiwan University. His mother bought a two-story townhouse in Qianjin District, Kaohsiung, and brought his sick father home.

Table 9.1 (Cont.)

1958	His father passed away because of a horrible tuberculosis.
1961	He graduated from college, starting the military service in Matsu, a small island lying off the coast of Fujian Province.
1961	He heard of the term “Taiwan Independence” from his fellow soldiers for the first time.
1962	He was discharged from the army. After that, he began to work for the Bureau of Public Project, the Provincial Government of Taiwan. He became good friend with his colleague Andrew Y. Lee.
III. The Initial Period during Study in the United States (1965-1966)	
1965	August: He left Taiwan and went to the Kansas State University for his Master’s degree. Right after arriving at the campus, one Taiwanese student brought him some books about Taiwanese history. He was so touched by these books. November: He met with Hung-mao Tian, one of his classmates at Chang Jung Middle School, through the channel of the Taiwanese Association.
IV. Joining the WUFI (1966-1988)	
1966	January: Due to a campus movie show regarding Taiwan, the Chinese and the Taiwanese at KSU had a serious confrontation, with both sides sending letters to the editorial of the campus newspaper. He was acquainted with future wife June: He joined the newly-reorganized United Formosans in America for Independence alongside seven other Taiwanese students at KSU.
1967	February: He earned the Master’s degree. After that, he engaged to future wife, going to Purdue University for his Ph.D. degree. May: He founded the Purdue Taiwanese Association and voluntarily served as the first president of this organization. June: He got married.
1968	October: He found that both he and his wife were impossible to go back to Taiwan forever, since both of them were on the KMT’s blacklist.
1969	August: He attended the UFAI’s national meeting for the first time. December: His daughter was born.
1970	January: The World United Formosans for Independence was founded in New York City. May: He was awarded the Ph.D. degree.

Table 9.1 (Cont.)

1971	He started working for Procter and Gamble, whose headquarters is located in Cincinnati, Ohio. He was assigned to work at the manufacturing department of toilet tissue, in charge of temperature and moisture control in paper drying. June: His son was born. July: He was in charge of the WUFI biennial conference. At the conference, he was assigned to take care of the In-Island propaganda business. September: He finished the design of WUFI's logo. December: His mother came to the United States to see him whom she had not seen for more than six years.
1972	June: He bought a house for the first time in his life, ending his renting days.
1973	July: He was in charge of the WUFI biennial conference again. During the meeting, he was elected as a member of the WUFI Central Committee for the first time.
1976	September: The WUFI solemnly presented "Our Propositions," a kind of mission statement for this organization. This statement was drafted by him.
1979	December: The "Formosa Incident" broke out in Kaohsiung, Taiwan.
1981	July: The "Wen-cheng Chen Incident" broke out. Together with his wife and children, he drove more than four hours to Pittsburgh to attend a memorial service for Chen.
1984	January: Cary Hong declared to withdraw from the WUFI. Autumn: He invented a new dehydration method for manufacturing the toilet paper. Procter and Gamble applied and obtained a patent for his new invention, naming the machine "Strong Roll" after his name.
1987	July: Pei-horng Kuo was elected the youngest chairperson of WUFI.
V. The Period during Taiwan's Democratization (1988-)	
1988	August: He used a phony name to get a new passport and sneaked into Taiwan to attend the 15th annual meeting of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations.
1989	July: He transferred his job to Kimberly-Clark due to the company's solicitations. Thus, he left Cincinnati and moved to Chadds Ford, Delaware, for the new job. August: His daughter and son went to the WFTA meeting in Taiwan on behalf of him.
1990	The WUFI passed a resolution, deciding that within two years the organization would relocate its key members back to Taiwan, with a view to shatter the KMT's blacklist policy.

Table 9.1 (Cont.)

1992	October: He went back to Taiwan to attend the WUFI's first central committee meeting in Taiwan. The "Taichung Justice Building Incident" broke out. His older brother was hit and arrested by the police.
1993	His first book <i>The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home</i> was published.
1995	June: Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui went back to his alma mater, Cornell University, to give a speech. He found an opportunity to ask the first question after Lee's speech. October: The WUFI's chairperson Robert Tsai passed away. The central committee decided that vice-chairperson Peter Chang to succeed as chairman. Meanwhile, he was recommended as vice-chairperson of the WUFI.
2000	His biography <i>Late Autumn, The Man in Exile: The Quiet Strong C. Chuang</i> by Shuang-bu Lin was published.
2002	His second book <i>The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home (Continuance)</i> was published.

Source: Made by author

Chuang (*Zhuang Dezha* 莊德昭), born in 1906, was easygoing with a smiling face all day long. "After De-zhao finished public school (*gongxuexiao* 公學校), his father argued that, as a Taiwanese, there was no need to get more Japanese education, and would not let him to continue his study. Inexorably, De-zhao sneaked to Tainan and passed the entrance examination of Nanying Commercial College (*Nanying Shangye Xueyuang* 南英商業學院) with flying colors. Once he was admitted, De-zhao's father had no choice but to fulfill his dream. After graduation, he came back to Xuejia, and worked at the credit department of the local farmers association" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 19-20).

Strong's mother, Xian Li (*Li Xian* 李嫌), a year younger than his father, hailed from

a peasant family in a village on the outskirts of Xuejia. Ever since her childhood, she had developed a weak and sensitive body. When exposed to sunshine too long, her skin would turn red and swollen, and her head aching. Given this situation, she definitely was not appropriate for field work on the farm. Her parents had no choice but to send her to school. “Xian Li excelled at school. She liked to read books as well as listen to classic music. Meanwhile, she enjoyed singing and playing organ. After graduating from public school, she continued to study for two more years. Then, she also got a job at the same local farmers association [with De-zhao], working at the textile department. Propinquity bred romance. She was destined to attract De-zhao’s attention” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 20).

Though poor in health, Xian Li looked like a cantankerous iconoclast. Here is how she described her own experiences under Japanese colonial rule:

When I was young, the Japanese required that we wear the Japanese-style wooden sandals, the ones with a reverse “Y” belt held between the big toe and the second toe. They forbade us to wear the Taiwanese-style, the ones with a band holding all the toes. A recalcitrant, I simply didn’t care much about what they said. I just liked to wear our Taiwanese-style. Walking on the streets of Xuejia, I was even busted by the Japanese cops, and my sandal bands were cut off. Japanese liked to occupy others’ territory, ordering to do this, ordering to do that. They were simply disgusting. Living on earth, we need to have some opinions, our own opinions. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 209)

De-zhao continued to work at the farmers association after getting married, while Xian Li stayed at home as a housewife. “To work was not for economic reasons, but for a status. A man must keep some kind of status. Though De-zhao personally did not care much about his status, his father did. Other than maintaining some status, there

were other reasons to work. Working provided more fun than staying at home. With a chance to fraternize with colleagues, he could extend his horizon of life. De-zhao was not at all concerned about any economic reasons or status, instead, he was immersed in *joie de vivre*” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 22). Thus, while having bouts with the bottle, he frequently took a fancy to visiting and drinking at Taiwanese-style geisha houses, escorted by bar girls with heavy make-up. Once in a while, he would gamble. Besides, he also joined a poetry society, enjoying writing poems with his friends interesting in literature.

Poor health seemed to run in this family. Like his mother, Strong Chuang had had poor health since his childhood. “He could never grew up and become strong. He always walked slowly and easily got a headache under the sun” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 23). However, he indulged himself in doodling. In particular, he took delight in sketching the ghosts on the walls of temples in Xuejia. “After asking for some stationery from his older siblings, Strong would go to the temple to draw ghosts. He could hardly hold a pen, yet he would grab one and start to scribble. His oldest sister bought him a box of crayons, making it possible to have colors on his drawing paper. More often than not, he would while away the whole afternoon, squatting inside the temple to draw ghosts” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 25).

When the American planes started to bombard the southern part of Taiwan at the end of World War II, Strong’s grandfather passed away, and the sons divided the family properties. De-zhao got a land at Zhaizigang (*Zhaizigang* 宅仔港), just to the northeast of Xuejia, right on the shore of the Jishui River (*Jishui Xi* 急水溪). “It was basically a nineteen-hectare-rice-field, with a dilapidated mud-brick hut sitting on a corner of the

field, and a rectangular pond at the end of an open yard outside the hut” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 27). After the household division, no longer having any place to stay in Xuejia, they had no choice but to move to live in the hut on their own property.

After moving to the hut, Strong’s parents quarreled frequently. “Often time, De-zhao did not come home. But once he was back, he started to argue with Xian Li. Whether they started to quarrel while they were still in Xuejia, Strong was not so sure. Anyway, since they moved to the hut, they quarreled more and more --- of course, the frequency his father did not come back was also getting more and more. Whenever the parents quarreled, his oldest sister and brother always furrowed their brow mightily, walking out of the hut without saying a single word. One time Strong followed his oldest sister out, and she told him quietly that their father was having an affair, which their mother had found out. The other woman was a bar girl of geisha house located in Xuejia. According to his oldest sister, whenever their father did not come home, he was staying with the woman. Their mother got very angry. In an effort to get her husband back, she either persuaded him, or scolded him, but always ended up crying and arguing, just like the bombarding from the [American] planes” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 30).

Pursuant to the regulations of the Taiwan Government-General, Strong entered Zhaigang Public School (*Zhaigang Gongxuexiao* 宅港公學校) in February 1945, starting to get Japanese education. However, the length of his Japanese education did not last long. A few months later, Japan surrendered, and the war ended. The rulers on the island of Taiwan also changed.

9.2.2 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Before the KMT took over Taiwan in 1945, Strong's national identity looked like in a spontaneous and natural status, which we may label as a kind of "naïve we-group identity." Naturally, it was by no means Chinese identity (since the KMT had not developed its education system in Taiwan yet), nor was it Japanese identity. After all, Strong had received Japanese education for only less than a year at public school (not to mention that during this period, classes were often cancelled due to numerous air raids); it was quite unlikely for him to "become" a Japanese in this short period.

There were three factors that affect Strong's national identity at this stage: physical and mental maturity, the community environment in which the Hoklo was a majority, and the influence from his family.

(9.2.2.a) First of all, there was a limitation of biological age. Before the age of seven, it was difficult for Strong to develop a conspicuous national identity, since he was *not physically and mentally mature enough*.³²⁴

(9.2.2.b) Second, Strong's *growth environment* belonged in a relatively underdeveloped countryside, where the Hoklo were a majority, and the ruling Japanese were rarely seen (actually the Japanese people were hardly mentioned in Strong's biography by Lin). Under such circumstances, Strong was more likely to develop a positive identity towards his own ethnic group (i.e., the Hoklo).³²⁵

³²⁴. For a detailed explanation regarding the matter, refer to the discussion on Ming-min Peng's childhood in chapter Five.

³²⁵. In the research on Asian-Americans by Kim (1981), she finds that people living in communities with more presence of Asian-Americans during their childhood tend to have more positive identity towards their own ethnic group, as compared to those who lived in communities where the majority is white during their childhood.

(9.2.2.c) Third, to a child at this age, the family (especially the parents) is obviously the most significant source of the child's general process of socialization, including political socialization. Both Strong's parents seemed to have very firm Taiwanese consciousness, especially his mother, who terribly resented the way the Japanese oppressed the Taiwanese, as mentioned in Strong's life history (i.e., Shuang-bu Lin 2001, 209). In this situation, Strong should have learned the *naïve we-group consciousness* from his parents to certain degree.

9.3 The Period under the KMT's Rule (1945-1965)

In August 1945, Japan surrendered. Having obtained Japanese education for only a couple of months, Strong started to have Chinese education managed by the KMT, Taiwan's new ruler. In 1951, Strong graduated first place in the class, and successfully passed the entrance examination to the junior section of Chang Jung Middle School (*Changrong Zhongxie* 長榮中學). Three semesters later, due to the financial straits at home, he was unable to pay the tuition and had no choice but to withdraw from school. Together with his older brother, he went to work at a nearby factory. Later, with an equivalent degree, he was admitted to Nanguang High School (*Nanguang Zhongxie* 南光中學), a quite privileged private school. In 1957, Strong triumphed in the entrance examination and got into the Department of Civil Engineering, National Taiwan University, where he had four resourceful years. After graduation, he served as a reserve officer in Matsu (*Mazu* 馬祖) for one year. After being discharged, he became a civil servant for three years at the Bureau of Public Project, the Provincial Government of Taiwan, where he was responsible for the public water system, until he went to the

United States for advanced study in 1965.

9.3.1 Zhaigang Elementary School and Xuejia Elementary School

The KMT took over Taiwan after Japan surrendered in 1945. The name of Zhaigang Public School was changed to Zhaigang Elementary School (*Zhaigang Guomin Xuexiao* 宅港國民學校), and the contents of textbooks also looked different. His mother explained the reason for the changes to Strong, “All these changes resulted from the fact that the war had ended. The Japanese were defeated and they had to get out of Taiwan” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 35). Nevertheless, why would the Japanese have to go after they were defeated? Strong was always befuddled. “Nevertheless, it did not matter at all. To Strong, neither Japanese textbooks nor Chinese textbooks would cause any problems. In any case, they were not the focus of his life at all” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 37).

After the summer of 1946, Strong transferred to Xuejia Elementary School (*Xuejia Guomin Xuexiao* 學甲國民學校) as a grade two student, and had to walk to and fro for more than two hours between home and school a day. “According to his mother, Zhaigang Elementary was too small for Strong and he had not many competitors accordingly. For a kid with excellent school performance, it would behoove him to have more competition and incentive. Xuejia Elementary was much bigger. As an alumni of Xuejia staying there for eight years, his mother knew all too well that there was much more competition and incentive right there” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 37).

Taiwan’s economic environment was depressing, and Strong’s family had to constantly deal with their own financial crunch. Though his father had salaries from the

farmers association, he seldom came home. His mother frequently had a difficult time; all she could do was just trying to make ends meet. “One time not long ago, Strong saw in person that his mother was at a corner of the dirt yard, where the kids often used as their toilet, since the hut had no electricity, no running water, and no toilet. When nature called, the kids usually went to the corner, which was right beside the pond. She picked up something, piece by piece, and then washed them in the pond before throwing into her mouth. Curious and disgusted, Strong asked what she was swallowing. She said they were peanuts, which the kids had swallowed without chewing thoroughly and thus were released. It reminded him that, on that day, he did have peanuts, so rarely served, yet so sumptuously fried” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 39).

Early in 1947, his father came back to the hut and stayed for a period of time. “That was the longest ever since they moved to Zhaizigang. His mother told Strong in private that his father had quit the job at the farmers association, since there were many Chinese newcomers who were difficult to get along with, and things were also getting more troublesome” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 40). His father decided to sell the rice field so that he could invest and run business. “His father planned to do two kinds of business. One was to buy sugar in Taiwan, export to Japan and bring back bicycles. This business was shared with some friends, who were eager to contribute their money and efforts for a range of business. The other one was to go to outback Taitung, plant spicy grass, extract oil and sell it, also working together with some friends” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 41).

In early March of the same year, the “February 28 Incident,” which broke out from Taipei, started to spread to southern Taiwan. His oldest sister, who was attending high

school in Tainan, suddenly came back. “With dust all over her body and a shocked face, she said that Tainan was in a turmoil. Taiwanese and Chinese were fighting each other right on the streets. Schools were closed, and students were ordered by their principals to go home to take refuge. Worse yet, bus services were cancelled, and she had to walk from her school all the way to home, at least thirty-five kilometers in all” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 41).

Strong’s oldest brother, who was also in Tainan attending junior middle school, did not come home, though some of his roommates did. “It was one of his classmates, whose father was a physician in Xuejia, came to the hut with the news. This physician, a De-zhao’s friend, dispatched his son to send the message. According to the source, the Chinese soldiers raked from their barracks, and bullets flied over the North Gate (*Beimenliao* 北門寮) area. The students living in the dormitories were scared to death. While having no choice but to hole up inside their rooms, they did not dare to go out at all. The physician’s son said that he thought about the situation over and over again, and realized it was not a good idea to stay there, since there was nothing to eat. Thus, he risked his life and escaped home. Before leaving for home, he tried to locate Strong’s older brother, Qiu-feng Chuang (*Zhuang Qiufeng* 莊秋峰), yet to no avail. Once home, he told his father what had happened. The physician considered it very serious, and thought De-zhao should be informed as soon as possible” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 42).

Upon hearing of the news, De-zhao’s indignation against the Chinese government, which had taken over Taiwan from the Japanese, suddenly burst out of control.

“De-zhao said that after the dogs left, the pigs came,³²⁶ and he would not be surprised that such incident had happened. Then he began to chew out the Chinese, starting from his old acquaintances in the farmers association, to those soldiers shooting at North Gate in Tainan” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 42). His wife thought that instead of useless scolding, actions must be taken. “Xian Li left the house at midnight, walking and running alone the whole way to Tainan. At dusk the next day, with scraggly hair, she brought her oldest son back to home” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 42).

Strong’s health had been debilitating. “He was still thin and feeble with around thirty kilograms. While walking, he wobbled and seemed to drag his soles on the ground. When under the sun too long, his head began to ache. Even if he was not exposed to sunshine, once in a while, he would have pains here and there” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 44). However, an outstanding student at school, he was a pet of his teacher, Qing-hong Xiao (*Xiao Qinghong* 蕭慶鴻). Xiao advised the students to follow Strong’s example, not the pains at midnight, though. Sometimes at noon, his teacher,

³²⁶ In the past, Taiwanese hated Japanese for their discrimination against native Taiwanese, and called them “dogs (*goze* 狗仔).” After the war, they found that the so-called “mother country” they used to welcome wholeheartedly was anything but scumbags, thus they called the “Mainlanders” who came from the Mainland as “pigs (*zhuze* 豬仔).” Why would they call this way? The February 1947 issue of *Taiwan Culture* (*Taiwan Wenhua* 台灣文化) has the following explanation: “Taiwanese described Japanese as dogs because dogs are fierce animals, and Japanese oppressed Taiwanese as fiercely as dogs bite people. That is why they called Japanese ‘dogs.’ At first, Taiwanese respected Mainlanders, but later they found some Mainlanders acted just like pigs, because pigs are ‘dirty’ (*bujie bujing* 不潔不淨), and they just ‘eat without doing anything’ (*guang shi er bu zuoshi* 光食而不做事). ‘Being dirty’ refers to corrupt, and ‘eating without doing anything’ refers to ‘doing things irresponsibly’ (*zuoshi bu fuze* 做事不負責), no sense of responsibility at all. Frankly speaking, there were numerous Mainlanders of this type” (quoted from Hsiao-feng Li 1991, 213).

Given the fact that there was an implicit tense relationship between the Taiwanese and the Mainlanders, Emily Martin Ahern (1981), an American anthropologist, even refers to the popular ceremony of “Thai Ti Kong (*sha zhugong* 殺豬公)” (meaning “killing jumbo pigs” literally) in folk belief as a symbol representing the rebellion of the oppressed Taiwanese against the Mainlanders. In another research

who lived next to the school and always had lunch at home, would bring Strong home for lunch” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 44).

His father’s business seemed to fall through, so his mother had to support the family by raising chickens and ducks for sale. By the fall of 1950, his mother declared that they had to leave Zhaizigang. She said that his father went bankrupt in effect. After selling the rice field in fits and starts, together with the outlandish land to the tiller policy, their last lot, including the hut and the pond, was no longer theirs to keep. As put by his mother:

The land was requisitioned by the government. Our land was requisitioned by the government forcibly. That is, it was robbed by the government to the tenant farmers. It was no longer ours. We are no longer eligible to live here. Though in return we were given some bonds and stocks, they would not shelter us from the wind and the rain, and they were not edible! *We were robbed through and through, robbed by the piggy government³²⁷ through and through!* (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 47; emphasis added)

After that, his father disappeared. His mother said a failed man is ashamed to return to his hometown. “At the age of forty-three, his mother had to move heaven and earth for the family --- a burden much heavier than before. His mother took Strong, twelve, together with three daughters, who were seven, three, and one, respectively, back to Xuejia to rent a house. The house was very small without any open yard or pond and, of course, not appropriate for raising chickens and ducks. To support the family, his mother had to peddle along the streets, selling odds and ends --- toothpastes, brushes,

exploring the relationship between ceremony and rebellion, which is based upon empirical data from Taiwan as well as China, Weller (1994) also agrees with the explanation proposed by Ahern.

³²⁷. The appellation of “piggy government” is consistent with the way Taiwanese called Mainlanders “pigs,” which has been elaborated in the last footnote already.

towels and other necessities, lipsticks, powder and other cosmetics, and whatnot” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 48). Day in, day out, they tried to survive.

9.3.2 The Days in the Junior Section of Chang Jung Middle School

In June 1951, Strong graduated from the elementary school, first place in the class, with which he won the county executive’s award. He then took the entrance examination of the junior section of Chang Jung Middle School, passing without breaking a sweat. “To accommodate Strong’s education at Chang Jung, his mother moved to Tainan and rented a house. Still, she peddled along the streets selling odds and ends, which allowed her to do anywhere, even more conveniently in Tainan because she had fewer acquaintances right there” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 49).

Unable to provide advanced education for two kids at the same time, his mother discussed with his older brother, persuading him not to go to college temporarily and, instead, get a job first. Later, his brother got a temporary job at a nearby hemp fiber factory, starting to share their mother’s burdens. “His mother was still doing peddling, but sometimes she would go to the factory with her oldest son to do some odd jobs. Once in a while, his father would come to visit. Most of the time, however, Strong did not know where his father was” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 50).

The principal of Chang Jung Middle School was Ming-fu Dai (*Dai Mingfu* 戴明福). In a flag-hoisting ceremony, he introduced himself as from Taitung, and used to be the principal of Taitung Middle School (*Taidong Zhongxue* 台東中學). “Strong was not so sure. Not that he did not believe that Dai was the principal at Taitung Middle School, but that Dai was from Taitung, since he liked to speak Mandarin with a rolled-up tongue

--- even for those sounds that do not require to roll up the tongue, he would endeavor to do so.³²⁸ Strong had never seen any teacher or principal who liked to speak Mandarin so much and had the tongue rolled up to such an extent. Not only that Strong disliked the way Dai speak Mandarin with his tongue rolled up, Strong disliked the content of Dai's speech, either. Not only disliked, more seriously, he simply felt Dai's speech repulsive. In speeches, Dai always lavished praises on the government, saying that after the government recovered Taiwan, the livelihood of Taiwanese had been greatly improved, people of all walks lived and worked in peace and content, and as compared to the Japanese period, there had been a lot of progress. Strong thought otherwise. Ever since the government recovered Taiwan, his mother had suffered more, and their life had become much harder" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 51).

On the other hand, "Guo-ze Li (*Li Guoze* 李國澤), his English teacher, seemed quite different from the principal. Sometimes in class, Li would remind his students not to be brainwashed and poisoned by the principal. After class, some talkative students, such as Hung-mao Tien, San-li Zhuang (*Zhuang Sanli* 莊三立), Shan-tien Lin, Chung-mo Cheng (*Cheng Zhongmo* 城仲模), and etc., would divide themselves into two groups: one supporting the principal, the other the English teacher, and debate vociferously" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 51). Strong was reticent most of the time, since he "did not like to talk and actually understood not much about what others talked"

³²⁸. The pronunciation systems of Mandarin and Hoklo are not very similar. While the former includes many consonants requiring the use of rolled-up tongue, the latter almost needs none of them. Accordingly, while speaking in Mandarin, through the different accents, it is not too difficult to distinguish between the Hoklo-as-first-language speaker and the Mandarin-as-first-language speaker. Dai's tendency to speak Mandarin with a rolled-up tongue implied that he wanted to show his "Chineseness," which was seen as a kind of privileged symbol at that time, to his students.

(Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 51). Therefore, “Strong liked to get along with those who were not so talkative. In particular, Biao-en Qiu (*Qiu Biao-en* 邱標恩) became his best friend” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 52).

Since his family was too poor, after three semesters, not being able to pay the tuition, Strong could not register for the coming semester. “Though his mother and brother were on tenterhooks and had spared no efforts, they simply could not raise the money. A person of absolute rectitude and with great pride, his mother had to eat humble pie and went to ask his uncles’ favor, but still got refused” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 52). “His mother was all tears, asking Strong to withdraw from school” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 53). Out of school, Strong had to work at the hemp fiber factory with his brother. Within a week, Strong became sick.

His brother found a new job, permanent, not temporary, at Jinyihe Glass Factory (*Jinyihe Boli Gongchang* 金義和玻璃工廠) in Xinying (*Xinying* 新營), right to east of the main north-south railroad of Taiwan. Once being formally employed, Strong’s brother was assigned a dormitory. “The dormitory was in a shambles, just like an abandoned tile kiln. But the space that Qiu-feng was allotted was big enough to accommodate his mother, brother and sisters all together. Consequently, they did not have to spend extra money to rent a house” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 53). Strong also went to Jinyihe to do some odd jobs. “He used sand paper to grind glass. Perhaps his skin was too delicate, he frequently had his hands wounded” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 53).

Other than Strong’s family, in the dormitory, there were a number of discharged Chinese soldiers, all of them were singles working at Jinyihe. “Strong not only got along with the Chinese soldiers quite well, but also learned to bake cakes (*shaobing* 燒餅)

from them” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 54). His mother did not prohibit him to be with the soldiers. “However, she had never said hello to them at all. Whenever she saw the soldiers, she just kept a straight face, as though she never saw them. Strong supposed this was because there was a language barrier, as he knew his mother could not speak Mandarin at all. His brother had a different opinion, saying that it had nothing to do with any language barrier, since even a mute person knows how to greet other people” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 54). It follows that the two brothers had the subsequent dialogue:

“This is primarily because *Kajiang*³²⁹ dislikes the Chinese soldiers.”

“Did *Kajiang* ever squabble with the Chinese soldiers?”

“No. It is because *Kajiang* thought the Chinese soldiers may have killed Taiwanese during the February 28 Incident. Even if they did not, *Kajiang* still dislikes them. Not only does *Kajiang* dislike the Chinese soldiers, as long as they are Chinese, *Kajiang* simply dislikes all of them.”

“Are all the Chinese bad guys?”

“*Kajiang* told me that the Chinese are filthy, barbaric, unreasonable, and they like to elaborate on their relationship to get special favor, like to take advantage of other people. More important, they came to Taiwan to oppress the Taiwanese. Take the 37.5% rental reduction policy and the land to the till policy as examples, ostensibly, the policies were designed to help the poor, but in fact, they were used to occupy the Taiwanese land. *Kajiang* said that if the Chinese really intend to help the poor, aren’t we poor enough? According to what *Kajiang* had said, all the Chinese are bad guys.”

³²⁹. *Kajiang* means mother in Japanese.

“But, aren’t we Chinese too? My school books say so.”

“No,” looking at the clouds in the sky, the older brother, who had a tall and strapping build, declared, “We are Taiwanese.” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 54-5)

His brother worked very hard at Jinyihe and, in less than half a year, was given two raises from his boss. “His brother told Strong to continue his education, since now he could help the family. Grinding glass would not bring Strong anywhere” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 55). “His brother helped arrange a transfer examination to Xinying Middle School (*Xinying Zhongxue* 新營中學) for Strong. Absent from school for so long, Strong was unable to pull it off. His brother suggested that Strong should go to Taipei to attend a cram school (*buxiban* 補習班), so that Strong may catch up with his classmates. After that, he would bring Strong back to Chang Jung” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 55-6).

Three months later, with a diploma equivalency certificate, Strong took the entrance examinations to senior high schools. “To be near his home, Strong did not take the examination to Chang Jung. Instead, he chose the schools in the Xinying area, and successfully passed the examinations to the senior section of Xinying Middle School and Nanguang Middle School. Nanguang High School was private with a good reputation, sponsored by the nearby sugar plant and designated to recruit the children of the employees at the plant. Originally, Strong would not have had any opportunity to take the examination. But some people importuned, and finally the school gave 10% quota to children who were not affiliated with the plant. Thus, through luck and pluck, Strong caught up just in time” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 56). After discussing with his brother, he decided to get into Nanguang High School. That was in 1954.

9.3.3 The Days in the Senior Section of Nanguang Middle School

His brother's decision was right. "Nanguang was indeed a good environment for study. Its class size was small with 30 students, very convenient for the teachers to teach and supervise. Among the students, most were Chinese, especially those from Guangdong (*Guangdong* 廣東). This was quite different from that at Xuejia Elementary School or Chang Jung Middle School, where Chinese students were quite few" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 56). "Strong certainly did not mind studying with the Chinese students, but the problem seemed not whether he minded or not. As if arranged by nature, after class, the Chinese would get together, chatting, sporting and gaming, looking quite arrogant. Sometimes they would play tricks on their Taiwanese counterparts. Of course, they would do the same within their group. For those few Taiwanese students, they usually talked to their own group members, but they would never play tricks on the Chinese students" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 56). Among the Taiwanese students, Sen-xiong Zhou (*Zhou Senxiong* 周森雄), who was from Huwei (*Huwei* 虎尾) of Yunlin County (*Yunlinxian* 雲林縣), became Strong's confidant. Zhou's father worked at a sugar plant in Huwei.

"Even if there were no opportunity to make friends with the Chinese students, Strong would never dislike them. To Strong, friendship came hand in hand with joy and willingness; there was nothing to like or dislike. Sometimes students would monkey around, but that was common for those at adolescent age, not big deal at all" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 57). "He did not have many friends, but he won in the class his prestige and congeniality, largely because of his exceptional academic records. Right after two mid-term examinations, his classmates had to marvel at his performance, and nobody

would pick on him anymore” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 57).

Strong had been always interested in drawing. “His fine arts teacher, a Chinese from Shandong (*Shandong* 山東), had nothing but praise for Strong’s talent. For many times, the teacher brought Strong to sketch at Xinyin Sugar Plant (*Xinying Tangchang* 新營糖廠)” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 57). The teacher sent one of Strong’s drawings to a pan-Taiwan fine arts competition, and won him a first place in the senior high school division. “Whenever they wanted to decorate the classroom, or make posters for holiday occasions, it was always a showtime for Strong. Even his composition, which at first he did not thought he had any potential, won him encouragement and praise from his Chinese teacher. As for music, the teacher often played classic music to the class, and asked for responses. Frequently, Strong’s opinions pleased the teacher. Except his poor health, the lacking of athletic muscles, ... and the long-term low grades in physical education, Strong seemed impeccable, inasmuch as no one would consider low grades in physical education a flaw. At Nanguang, Strong was kind of breezing through with joy” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 58).

Despite of the breezing days, there were still occasions that undulating waves came into sight. During the 1956 election for the Tainan County Magistrate, the KMT nominated Bao-long Hu (*Hu Baolong* 胡寶龍) of Shanhua (*Shanhua* 善化), and campaigned fiercely against the independent Bai Wu (*Wu Bai* 吳拜), an event that stirred up waves inside Strong’s young mind. In school, not only did the military instructors help hand out Hu’s fliers, Hu was even invited to a weekly meeting to give a speech. Once Hu started to speak, all he could utter was repulsive words. “Mostly, in Hu’s speech, he kept mentioning ‘President Chiang’ almost at a frequency of one ‘President

Chiang' for every three sentences. Sometimes he even added adjectives such as 'great' or 'sagacious.' It looked like the candidate was President Chiang, not Hu himself" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 59). In his speech, Hu made unfounded personal attacks upon his opponent. Hu cried this way:

If you supported me, you would also support our great President Chiang. If you did not support me, and let Bai Wu who always attacks our government win, that would be miserable. If someone attacked the government, he would collaborate with the Communist bandits. If he collaborated with the Communist bandits, he would have our fellow Taiwanese killed. As a result, we would fail to live up to our great President Chiang's good intention to carry out democratic politics. Therefore, you must implore your parents, uncles, and neighbors to vote for me, never let the bad guy's plots prevail!" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 59)

Disgusted and outraged, Strong went home, trying to blow off some steam. He told his mother and brother about Hu's speech, and asked them to vote against him. Instantly, the brothers formed a *vinculum*, hating and fighting the same enemy. Their mother, however, was relatively calm, not as angry as her two sons. She remarked as follows:

The KMT is a piggy party (*zhuze dang* 豬仔黨) for the Chinese. Among the Taiwanese who joined the piggy party, nine out of ten are scumbags. How could *Kajiang* support them? However, I have to remind you two that when you go out, you should never say anything like that. Nor should you mind others' business, asking people to vote for someone. It is useless. They always have enough hits under the belt. The independent candidates have no hope to win at all. Furthermore, after the election, if those independent candidates were not arrested and sent to have free meals as prisoners, they would be lucky! It is the prime time for the KMT pigs at this moment. They are very mean. *When you are not home, you should always remember never say anything inappropriate.* (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 61; emphasis added)

During his senior year in high school, the military instructors started to recruit senior students to join the KMT. Strong refused, but his best friend Sen-xiong Zhou decided to join. “Strong was agitated, since he remembered that his mother said that among the Taiwanese who became the KMT members, nine out of ten are scumbags. Strong did not want his best friend to become a scumbag, and he tried to use his mother’s words to dissuade Zhou. On second thought, his mother also reminded him that such words should not be said at places other than home, and so in the end he never spoke out. Fortunately, after joining the KMT, Zhou’s behavior did not change at all. He still talked to Strong. He did not look like a scumbag, nor was there any symptom of a scumbag. Strong finally stopped worrying” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 62).

It was time to submit the choice card for the joint college entrance examination. “His mother hoped that Strong could choose medical school and become a physician in the future. Strong said he was not interested, anyway. He said he would like to get into department of fine arts and be an artist someday” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 62). His brother suggested Strong to consider choosing civil engineering as his major. Strong finally accepted his brother’s advice, and filled out the Department of Civil Engineering, National Taiwan University, as his first choice. Later, the examination results were announced, and Strong got his first choice. It was the year of 1957.

9.3.4 The Years at National Taiwan University

“In the same summer when Strong passed the college entrance examination, his mother, who happened to be 50, sold the bonds and stocks, which they received as a compensation for part of their land requisitioned under the land to the tiller policy.

Together with savings she pinched from daily expenditures, she raised NT\$140,000 and bought a two-story townhouse in Qianjin District (*Qianjinqu* 前金區), Kaohsiung. It was a used house with about 17 pings (*ping* 坪)³³⁰ per floor” (Shuang-bu Lin, 2000b, 65).

Strong’s mother had several considerations. “First of all, renting a house or living in a dormitory was by no means a good idea in the long run. In addition, her oldest son was twenty-six-year-old already. If he met an ideal girl, it was time for him to get married. To facilitate her son’s marriage, having a permanent and private residence was a must. This was another consideration” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 65). More important, Strong’s mother heard some bad news from a relay channel. “The sources said, down in luck for half his life without accomplishing anything, her husband De-zhao had been suffering from a horrible tuberculosis. More over, he had been abandoned by his live-in mistress --- not the original geisha house bargirl, rather another, or perhaps the last one with unknown predecessors. While the excruciating rage and hatred remising with age, she, setting aside her strong pride and rectitude, demanded herself to accept him and take care of him for the last trip of his life, intending to show him her being a magnanimous paragon” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 65).

They moved to the new home in August 1957. After settling down, his mother brought his father home. “Somewhat hunchbacked, a physique of his father that used to be tall and strong seemed to have shrunk. On the pale face, bewildered and obviously mortified, the gleam of his father’s eyes flickered. The gentle and open smiles were

³³⁰. *Ping*, a unit of land measurement used in Taiwan, is equal to 612 square feet.

completely out of sight. Facing his father, Strong felt unfamiliar, yet with uncontainable anger” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 66).

To avoid contagion, his mother let his father live upstairs, while she and the children lived downstairs. “There were two rooms downstairs: one for his mother and three sisters, the other for the two brothers. For every meal, his mother put his father’s bowls, chopsticks and food on a wood tray, and carried upstairs. Unless going to see the doctor, his father never went downstairs. His brother often went upstairs for a chat, but Strong never did that. His brother always came back from upstairs with a sad expression, and sometimes even with tears. Once Strong found out, he would get angry [about his father]” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 66).

When school started in early September, Strong left home and went to Taipei. “He felt relieved. He was so relieved because he no longer had to live under the same roof with his father. He should have been unwilling to part. After all, leaving home and family, especially his mother and brother who had been taking care of him for such a long time, should be difficult. However, all of a sudden, there appeared a father --- a father who had deserted his wife and children in an extremely difficult time. In a situation like that, there were no such things as parting sorrows” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 66).

Strong went down the memory lane quietly. “Due to the bankruptcy, they moved here and there, and he no longer saw his father. At first, he did miss his father. However, his mother almost never mentioned his father, neither did his brother. As days faded into month, and months into season, it seemed such a person had disappeared thoroughly from their life --- just let him disappear. As long as Strong got used to it, he should be fine. Then, suddenly his father reappeared --- with an appearance not familiar

in Strong's memory --- and abruptly lived under the same roof. Just like something burst out from underground, his anger surged" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 67).

After arriving at National Taiwan University, Strong moved into a dormitory. In fact, Strong should acknowledge that, "National Taiwan University had an ideal environment for studying. The campus was peaceful; the atmosphere was liberal; and in the library, there were endless books --- not limited to the field of engineering. For engineering courses, he took it easy. What he really enjoyed were books of literature (especially novels), fine arts, and music" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 69).

Strong's brother became a taxi driver. "The car belonged to the business owner. His brother shared the revenue with the boss. In a letter to Strong, his brother said that while the working schedule was flexible, the revenue was nice, too. His brother also told Strong to have hearty meals." (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 69). In late spring, 1958, when Strong was in the second semester of his freshman year, "his father's morbid life came to an end --- only fifth-two-year-long" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 70).

In college, Strong got along with his classmates. "The line between Chinese and Taiwanese seemed not so conspicuous in comparison with that in his Nanguang years. Except his roommate Xian-zheng Zhu (*Zhu Xianzheng* 朱獻政), most of Strong's other close friends, such as Lu-bin Zheng (*Zheng Lubin* 鄭魯彬), Le-nian Fan (*Fan Lenian* 范樂年), and etc., were Chinese. It was also quite interesting that Strong did not even particularly sense that they were Chinese. On campus, the military instructors still privately recruited students to the party, and the KMT students also had their public activities, yet Zhu and Strong's other close friends did not show up in real earnest" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 71).

As for his extracurricular activities, Strong liked to stay in the library and to immerse himself in the translated novels from around the world. In addition, he joined the Fine Arts Society, and “frequently had the opportunity to go sketching on the beautiful campus with other members. Sometimes they also went out of campus for drawing” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 72). In the society, Strong made the acquaintance of Bang-xiong Zheng (*Zheng Bangxiong* 鄭邦雄), a freshman from the Department of History. A graduate of Taichung First Middle School from Yuanlin (*Yuanlin* 員林), Changhua County (*Zhanghua Xian* 彰化縣), smart and articulate, Zheng liked to paint oil paintings, and often liked to tell historical stories while he was painting. Having no experience with oil painting, Strong endeavored to learn from Zheng, and enjoyed Zheng’s stories very much” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 72-3).

At the beginning of his junior year, Strong moved from Dormitory Seven to Dormitory Six, and the number of roommates was increased from eight to ten. “He was unable to sleep, since there were always some roommates talking and keeping lights on. In a room with ten people, it was difficult to keep totally quiet and dark at night. Strong became very nervous and temperamental, and had problems with his roommates” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 73). As a matter of fact, Strong inherited from his mother a sensitive body. Ever since his childhood, he had always got nervous easily. “He had a bad temper and looked like a social outcast. At home, sometimes when he was not in a good mood, he would reprimand his younger sisters and even talked back to his mother” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 74). “He went to the campus dispensary to see a doctor. The doctor checked with the stethoscope, took his blood pressure, asked some questions, and concluded that there was nothing matter, except that he was under high pressure and all

he needed was just to relax” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 74).

In the summer of 1961, Strong graduated from college. Meanwhile, he passed an examination and obtained a certificate enabling him to serve as a professional civil engineer in the future.

9.3.5 Military Serve in Matsu

At the end of the year, Strong was recalled to activate his military duty. “A reserve officer of Air Force, he was assigned as an anti-aircraft artillery officer for one year” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 79). “All the Chinese soldiers in the barracks --- whom the young Taiwanese soldiers called “old taros (*lao yuze* 老芋仔)” --- were hail-fellow-well-met with Strong. They smoked, drank and chatted together, making days easier to get by” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 79).

It was in Matsu, a small island lying off the coast of Fujian Province (*Fujian Sheng* 福建省), that Strong heard of the term “Taiwan Independence” from his fellow soldiers for the first time. Here is the story:

An old taro named Rui-li Wang (*Wang Ruili* 王瑞立) was very funny. A squad leader, he was in his forties with very dark skin and a short and chubby body, always putting on a smiling face. Intuitively, Strong felt that he was a black-faced Maitreya [the laughing Buddha]. The “Maitreya” attended a KMT group meeting at the company office every week. His smiling face, however, always disappeared for about a quarter after each meeting. Meanwhile, with a cigarette in hand, he always cursed:

“Motherfucker I-te Chen, what the hell you are doing with Taiwan Independence!” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 79)

At that time, Strong was quite befuddled by the term “Taiwan Independence.”

Shuang-bu Lin had the following description about Strong's response after hearing the phrase:

Are Taiwanese Chinese? For a long time, such a question had been lingering on Strong's mind. Though the question had never bothered Strong, it had never been well defined either. The reason that it had not bothered was that, in the daily life, there was always something more material, more imminent, and more urgent, or at least there was something with stronger focus of concern. It was not that the question did not exist; instead, it was because he had never tried to think about it seriously. Without thinking about the question sincerely, he would never get it well defined, and the question would always be there. However, when the question crossed his mind occasionally, he still felt annoyed. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 83; emphasis added)

... Having graduated from college already, yet he himself was still not sure to which country he belonged, or whether he had a country. Wasn't that ridiculous? (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 83)

"Are Taiwanese Chinese? Am I, Strong Chuang, Chinese?" Since his childhood, all the textbooks had said clearly that all of us are Chinese. Taiwanese are part of "all of us" and, therefore, are Chinese. If anyone was doubtful, he or she must be an idiot. However, outside the textbooks, including his parents, oldest brother and sister, and other ordinary people Strong knew, people obviously did make a precise distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese in their daily life and conversation. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 84-5)

The question regarding whether Taiwanese are Chinese remained in his mind during this period. "For a year in Matsu, where he embraced the immense sea for long days, he kept pondering in depth [regarding this question]. Yet in the long run, the knot in his mind remained inextricable" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 88). Then, in the summer of 1962, he was discharged from military service.

9.3.6 Starting to Work as a Public Servant

In August 1962, Strong, then a twenty-four-year-old, was employed by the Bureau of Public Project, the Provincial Government of Taiwan (*Taiwan Sheng Zhengfu Gonggong Gongcheng Ju* 台灣省政府公共工程局). “There were three departments at the Bureau of Public Project: tap water, sewage and urban development. Strong was assigned to work in the Department of Tap Water” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 88).

Among his colleagues, Andrew Y. Lee (*Li Youyi* 李友義), who was from Taipei, and Strong hit it off well with each other, and soon they established a strong friendship. “Andrew had a sense of humor and a very good memory fraught with funny Taiwanese colloquial expressions and nursery rhymes. At leisure time after work, Andrew liked to smoke and, at the same time, recite those colloquial expressions and nursery rhymes to Strong. According to Andrew, he memorized all the nursery rhymes from the adults and children at the local temple during his childhood. For the first time, Strong discovered that the Taiwanese language had some kind of music rhyme in it. Strong liked them very much and, time after time, he learned all of them from Andrew sentence by sentence, stanza by stanza” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 89-90).

Strong’s work performance was notable. First of all, he designed a filtering pond at Guantian (*Guantian* 官田) in Tainan County to improve the quality of tap water in southern Taiwan. Later he was sent to Keelung to design the whole water system for the city. Andrew still worked with Strong, but the time he could allocate was quite limited since then. “After the New Year’s Day, Andrew would leave the Bureau of Public Project, and then went to study in the United States. ‘I don’t like to be a public servant

all my life just like that,' Andrew told Strong" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 94). As a matter of fact, Andrew was not the only one to do that. At the bureau, most young people came and left. "Most of them came here to work for one or two years, and then they would take the TOEFL and the examination for studying abroad, apply for graduate schools; afterwards, they went abroad for further studies. In about two years, Strong had seen many colleagues left one by one" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 94).

Strong had to confess that each time he saw his colleagues went abroad, he was filled with envy mixed with jealousy. If they could, why should he be left behind? In terms of academic performance and work abilities, he was by no means second to them. The slogan --- "Come, come, come, come to National Taiwan University; go, go, go, go to the United States" --- though sarcastic in tone, had been spread all over, and might have some fascinating power. The United States was not only a familiar country in his imagination and dream, but also the leader of the democratic world in reality. Who could resist the urging "go, go, go?" Most of Strong's classmates had "gone, gone and gone." Even at the Bureau of Public Project, his colleagues did likewise. Though not necessarily "come, come, come, come to National Taiwan University," they did "go, go, go," then why couldn't he? Why would the slogan end halfway for him? Strong had never felt ashamed of or complained about the financial straits of his family. However, since he had seen so many people going abroad, while he was left behind, his bad temper was aggravated and he was unwilling to succumb to the status quo --- especially for the time being, his confidant and work partner Andrew was also about to "go, go, go!" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 94-5)

With Andrew's encouragement, Strong began to prepare for the TOEFL and the examination for studying abroad. "Soon Strong had good news. He got what he wanted: Kansas State University --- a remote college somewhere in the United States --- offered him a scholarship of \$250 per month" (Shuang-bu Lin, 2000b, 96). Strong's brother told him to go ahead, promising not only to support him financially, but also to

take care of their mother and younger sisters.

9.3.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Starting from 1945, the year the KMT took over Taiwan, to 1965, then Strong left Taiwan and went to study in the United States, this long period covered a total of almost twenty years. Strong's national identity during this period can be further divided into two stages. In the first stage, roughly before he was fifteen, due to the influence of strong Taiwanese consciousness from his parents and brother, he was inclined to have Taiwanese identity basically. In the second stage, probably after he was fifteen, thanks to the influence from his school education, he was gradually inclined to have Chinese identity. I shall discuss the first stage in this section, and the other stage will be discussed in the following section.

Regarding Strong's national identity before he was fifteen, I have the following observations.

(9.3.7.a) First of all, during this period, though facing the KMT's education system, which was deliberately designed to fit the ideology of her party-state, Strong seemed to still embrace a kind of *naïve Taiwanese identity* in terms of his national identity. For instance, when he was studying at the junior section of Chang Jung Middle School, he did not like the principal Ming-fu Dai, who liked to speak Mandarin and praise the KMT government, at all. "Not only that Strong disliked the way Dai speak Mandarin with his tongue rolled up, Strong disliked the content of Dai's speech, either. Not only disliked, more seriously, he simply felt Dai's speech repulsive. In speeches, Dai always lavished praises on the government, ... Strong thought otherwise. Ever since the

government recovered Taiwan, his mother had suffered more, and their life had become much harder” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 51).

(9.3.7.b) Furthermore, Strong’s *mother* seemed to play a major role in the formation process of his Taiwanese identity. In fact, as compared to the mothers in other cases of this study, the role of Strong’s mother was very special, and her influence on every aspect of Strong was obviously more powerful than that of the mothers of other subjects. First of all, Strong’s mother studied at the public school for six years, and then continued for two more years at the advanced section. Thus, her education seemed to be higher than that of the mothers in other cases.³³¹ Second, since Strong’s father had been absent in the family, his mother had to move heaven and earth, and had to shoulder the responsibility of educating the children.

Third, Strong’s mother seemed to be very decisive and capable. For example, in 1947, when the February 28 Incident broke out, Strong’s brother was holed up at school without anything to eat. While Strong’s father could only scold the Chinese that came to Taiwan after the war, Strong’s mother thought it useless unless some actions were taken. Therefore, she “left the house at midnight, walking and running alone the whole way to Tainan. At dusk the next day, with scraggly hair, she brought her oldest son back to home” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 42).

Finally, Strong’s mother had a strong sense of antagonism as well as a fervent Taiwanese consciousness. During the Japanese colonial period, she was brave enough

³³¹. Ming-min Peng did not mention his mother’s educational achievement. However, since Peng’s mother came from a landowner family, and Peng’s father was a physician, her education should not be too low. As for the mothers of Mu-sheng Wu, Trong Chai and Tsing-fang Chen, none of them had ever gone to school. Therefore, in general, compared to other women in that period, with eight years’ education, Strong’s mother should be considered highly educated.

to go against the Japanese regulation, wearing the Taiwanese-style wooden sandals. She was even arrested by the Japanese police and her sandal tapes were cut off (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 209). In 1950, when the family's land and house were requisitioned by the KMT government, she berated, "We were robbed through and through, robbed by the piggy government through and through" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 47)! Besides, when they were living in the dormitory provided by the glass factory, she had never talked to the Chinese soldiers, because she felt that "the Chinese are filthy, barbaric, unreasonable, and they like to elaborate on their relationship to get special favor, like to take advantage of other people. More important, they came to Taiwan to oppress Taiwanese" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 55).

(9.3.7.c) In addition to Strong's mother, both his *father* and his *brother* seemed to have a strong Taiwanese consciousness, too. His father's dislike toward the Chinese seemed to derive from the working experience with the Chinese at the farmers association. Feeling that the Chinese were difficult to get along with and work with, his father even quit the job in 1947 (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 40). Besides, the February 28 Incident, which broke out shortly after his father quit the job, certainly had some influence upon the formation process of his father's Taiwanese consciousness. During the Incident, Strong's brother was unable to get out of school, since the Chinese soldiers were shooting from their barracks. Upon knowing the news, his father's indignation against the Chinese government burst out of control. "He began to chew out the Chinese, starting with his old acquaintances in the farmers association, to those soldiers shooting at the north gate in Tainan" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 42).

As for Strong's brother, Qiu-feng Chuang, who was seven years Strong's senior, the

formation of his Taiwanese consciousness was primarily influenced by his mother.

Once Strong was chatting with his brother, while discussing the topic whether Taiwanese are Chinese, his brother replied, “No, ... We are Taiwanese” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 55).

(9.3.7.d) Lastly, the *ordinary people* Strong had contact with, as well as the potpourri in his daily life, seemed to play certain role in the formation process of his Taiwanese consciousness. In this regard, Shuang-bu Lin has the following description: “Since his childhood, all the textbooks had said clearly that all of us are Chinese. Taiwanese are part of “all of us” and, therefore, are Chinese. If anyone was doubtful, he or she must be an idiot. However, outside the textbooks, including his parents, oldest brother and sister, and other ordinary people Strong knew, people obviously did make a precise distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese in their daily life and conversation” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 84-5).

9.3.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

Nevertheless, with more education, the influence of family on political socialization was no match for the potent influence exacting from the education system, which was designed specifically for the KMT party-state. As a result, a model student under the KMT’s education system, Strong gradually changed his national identity to Chinese identity, roughly after he started his senior high school. The following points are my observations with regard to Strong’s national identity between 15 and 27.

(9.3.8.a) In this period, the most influential factor with respect to the formation of Strong’s national identity, undoubtedly, should be the “*formal education system*” which was enforced in full swing after the KMT government took over Taiwan. As a matter of

fact, under the control of the KMT apparatus, the ultimate goal of the whole education system was to instill students “to be a Chinese” and “Taiwanese are Chinese” (Pen-juin Chen 2000; Rosenberg 1970; Richard W. Wilson 1970). Consequently, not only was Mandarin, which had nothing to do with Taiwanese, adopted as the official language, but also it was used as the formal medium language at school. No matter whether it was in the electronic media, at school, or on all the formal occasions, the native languages of Taiwan (at least included Hoklo, Hakka, and various aboriginal languages) were strictly restrained, or even prohibited to use. According to the official political propaganda, if Taiwanese used their native languages in their daily life, they would be considered “outdated,” or even “unpatriotic” (Mau-kuei Chang 1993, 143-4).

In addition, the KMT was very circumspect to the contents of textbooks used in school education. All the textbooks were the standard editions edited and provided by the state apparatus, and all the entrance examinations were based on these textbooks. The contents of the textbooks were filled with nationalism, patriotism, Chinese culture, and *The Three Principles of the People*. From Grade one in the elementary school to college, Chinese history, Chinese geography, and Chinese literature were profusely taught, while Taiwanese history, Taiwanese geography and Taiwanese literature were intentionally ignored. Even if Taiwanese history was mentioned occasionally, it was illustrated under the context of Chinese history (Jyh-jia Chen 2003; Hsiao-feng Li 1995a; Pao-tsun Tai 1993;).

(9.3.8.b) Though the carefully designed indoctrination project of the KMT might have some effect on Strong (in fact, to those students of the KMT education system, there were quite few who could completely refrain from its effect), it would be an exaggeration

to say that this project could thoroughly “transform” Strong, making him the so-called “dignified and imposing Chinese (*tangtang zhengzheng de Zhongguoren* 堂堂正正的中國人).” Rather, though Strong basically agreed to the viewpoint of Chinese nationalism, considering “Taiwanese are also Chinese,” he had *never* completely accepted this proposition.

On the one hand, to Strong, the statement “whether Taiwanese are Chinese” was still an unsolved puzzle. Superficially, he seemed to have accepted the answer provided by the school education, agreeing that the correct answer to the question was “yes.” However, he had been befuddled by this simple and direct answer (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 83). For example, in Strong’s senior year at high school, the military instructor wanted to recruit him to the KMT, but he refused the recruitment (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 62). Take another example, when in the military, the first time he heard of the phrase of “Taiwan independence,” he described himself in the following way: “Having graduated from college already, yet he himself was still not sure to which country he belonged, or whether he had a country. Wasn’t that ridiculous” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 83)?

On the other hand, to Strong, even if he accepted the proposition “Taiwanese are Chinese,” he seemed not to have pushed the proposition to its extreme form and seen Taiwanese as something totally “stigmatized.” In this extreme version, the members of the subordinate ethnic group are not only suppressed by the dominant group, they also tend to internalize the value system of the dominant ethnic group onto themselves, becoming ashamed of being a member of the subordinate ethnic group.

In sum, the most important factor that contributed to this phenomenon should be the influence from Strong’s family, especially his mother and brother. In other words,

though the influence from the KMT education at school was very strong, it was never the only source of influence, and not an invincible super power, either. As far as Strong's process of political socialization in Taiwan was concerned, among those sources competing with the KMT education, family was obviously a significant mechanism not to be despised.

9.4 The Initial Period during Study in the United States (1965-1966)

9.4.1 Kansas State University

In August 1965, Strong, at the age of twenty-seven, left Taiwan and went to the United States. Upon arriving at Manhattan where Kansas State University is located, with the kind help from the office of foreign student services, he finished registration without any trouble, and found a place to stay, in the basement of a five-story building. "The person from the office of foreign student services showed Strong the place, and told him that in the basement there were several students from Taiwan" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 100). Coincidentally, Strong found that Andrew Lee, his colleague and close friend, had applied to the same school, too.

On the first night Strong moved to the basement, a Taiwanese student named Michael Chen (*Chen Xikuan* 陳希寬)³³² came to knock at the door, saying that he lived right next door. "Having been here for one year, Chen was familiar with everything.

³³². Michael Chen (1941-), born in Taipei City, graduated from the Chemical Engineering Department, National Taiwan University. Chen went to the United States to study in 1965, then earned his Ph.D. in chemical engineering from Kansas State University in 1969. After teaching at Pennsylvania State University for three years, he has worked as a system manager with a chemical factory since 1972 (The Office of Gui-quan Wang 1991, 86). In 1966, together with Strong, Chen joined the United Formosans in America for Independence. From 1971 to 1972, Chen served as the vice chairperson of this organization (more details to be provided).

He told Strong to just ask in case he needed anything” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 101). Yi Cai (Cai Yi 蔡一), another Taiwanese student, lived on the other side of Strong’s room. Cai was a quiet person. However, he lent Strong some magazines and a book entitled *Taiwan: A Depressed History*³³³ to read, to while away the time before school started (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 102). Those magazines and book, though oblivious in appearance, almost changed the second half of Strong’s life journey.

Strong had never read or heard of the name of these magazines, *Taiwan Youth*, before. As for the book *Taiwan: A Depressed History*, which was written by Ioktek Ong,³³⁴ again Strong had never read or heard of the author’s name, or penname. However, in just a few days, after carefully reading the book and the magazines, especially the special issue on the February 28 Incident [shown in *Taiwan Youth*,] he was in a sweat and so absorbed that he even neglected sleep and meals. For several times, he could not hold his welling tears. He was agitated, transfixed and utterly enraged, and suddenly he felt he had metamorphosed! (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 102-3)

³³³. This book was published in Japanese in 1964. The Chinese edition, which was published by Taiwan Chinglian Associates in Tokyo, did not appear until 1979 (see Ong 1979). Shuang-bu Lin (2000b, 102) mentioned title of this book as *A Depressed Taiwan* (*kumen de Taiwan* 苦悶的台灣) by mistake.

³³⁴. Ioktek Ong (1924 - 1985), born in Tainan City, studied literature at Tokyo Imperial University (now University of Tokyo) during World War II. In 1944, he escaped from the war and came back to teach at Tainan First Middle School, his alma mater. During the February 28 Incident, his brother Yu-lin Wang, then a prosecutor, was killed without a reason. After exiling to Japan via Hong Kong, Ong returned to study at his alma mater, being awarded the doctorate in literature based on his research on the Hoklo. He became a lecturer, associate professor and professor at Meiji University.

As one of the important leaders of the TIM in Japan, Ong founded the Taiwan Chinglian Associates and published the magazine *Taiwan Youth* in 1960 (Ong 1999a, back cover author profile). His voluminous writings cover a wide range of topics about Taiwan, including Taiwanese language, Taiwanese history and Taiwanese literature. Starting in 1999, Vanguard Press spent three years to translate and edit a 15-volume *A Collection of the Works by Ioktek Ong* (*Wang Yude quanji* 王育德全集), which includes *Taiwan: A Depressed History*; *The Taiwan Strait* (1999a); *Volume on the Research of Taiwanese* (2002a); *Soul Notes about My Life* (2002b); *The Historical Fluctuation of Taiwan Independence* (2002c); and *Ioktek Ong’s Autobiography: From Birth to Escape from Taiwan after the February 28 Incident* (2002d).

It looked like someone ripped from his eyes a black blindfold, which had been stuck there for such a long time that it had mingled with his eyes, though he did not understand when, for what reason, in what fashion, and by whom the blindfold was bound there. Certainly, there was a strong feeling after the blindfold was abruptly ripped off. Once the blindfold was torn apart, his blood and tears seemed to erupt simultaneously. The confusion whether Taiwanese are Chinese --- which had puzzled him for such a long time --- suddenly turned clear and did not become a problem anymore. Meanwhile, the anxiety and depression that had come along with the confusion vanished completely! (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 103)

After all, the question that “whether Taiwanese are Chinese” had been puzzling Strong all the time. After reading these magazines and the book, finally, this problem seemed to have a precise answer at this moment. Shuang-bu Lin had the following description:

It was basically not a question, completely not a question. How could it be a question? After reading Ioktek Ong’s writing, learning Taiwanese history, and knowing the tragic truth of the February 28 Incident, how could any Taiwanese still be doubtful whether Taiwanese are Chinese or not? Of course, most of their ancestors, long time ago, emigrated from the southeastern coast of China. However, if someone wants to argue, based on that, Taiwanese are Chinese, then that person must be an idiot, since it is as ridiculous as to argue that Americans are Britons. Unable to survive in China, completely disgusted by the corrupt politics and destitute economy in China, the ancestors of Taiwanese decided not to be Chinese any more, and so they deserted their home land, risking their lives in the and looking for a new space of life on the island of Taiwan. *The moment the Taiwanese ancestors bravely boarded their jerry-built sailboats, they were no longer so-called Chinese.* (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 106; emphasis added)

Thanks to the guidelines from the magazine *Taiwan Youth* and Ioktek Ong, Strong was finally able to break through the mist of history. After reckoning everything in the past, he felt that the way the KMT had swindled for so long time was extremely repugnant. Once he knew how the KMT government had ruined the land and the people of Taiwan, his feeling was further aggravated far beyond repugnant and disgust. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 106)

In addition to the reading experience after his arrival in the United States, Strong's process of "awakening" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 107) seemed to be reinforced step by step through the various mechanisms related to his fellow Taiwanese students. Among the mechanisms, the Taiwanese Association seemed to be the most important one.

Shuang-bu Lin had the following description regarding this association:

Among the students from Taiwan, psychologically and ideologically, there were two different, or even opposite identities: one was so-called Republic of China, the other Taiwan. The so-called "Chinese Student Association" was established on most of the campuses [in the United States]. Presumably, the staff of university administration thought all the students from Taiwan would join the Chinese Student Association. The problem was that some students, who had experienced the awakening process [in terms of national identity], did not want to join this organization. Not only that. In fact, deep inside and subconsciously, they rather disliked, or even had a hostile attitude toward the so-called Chinese Student Association. [In Kansas State University,] these students, including Strong, Michael Chen, Andrew Lee, and Yi Cai, were aware of the fact that the Chinese Student Association was not only controlled by the KMT, but also one of the organizations the KMT used to ingratiate, propagandize and monitor Taiwan students. Consequently, it would be difficult for the association to exact the function of really mutual benevolence. Furthermore, Taiwanese are basically not Chinese, why would they join the Chinese Student Association? Thus, these awakened students organized a Taiwanese Association. Judging only from the name, it was for "fellow Taiwanese (*tongxiang* 同鄉)," but 90% of the members were students, the rest were professors or graduates who were working [around Manhattan, Kansas]. Since Manhattan was basically a college town, except

for students and professors, there were quite few Taiwanese. One reason to call it the Taiwanese Association instead of the Taiwanese Student Association, of course, was to purposefully distinguish it from the Chinese Student Association. In addition, it helped to include those who were without a student status, not to mention that the Taiwanese students were also Taiwanese. Therefore, the name of the association was perfectly justified. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 113)

These students with Taiwanese consciousness were eager to know what they could do for their suffering homeland through the activity of the Taiwanese Association. But, “none of the Taiwanese students, including these at Kansas State University, knew what to do. They had no idea, but they were concerned, zealous and worried, so they liked to get together after dinner, discussing what they could do. Strong was very enthusiastic to take part in the gatherings. As long as there was a gathering, he always attended, and once he was present, he was always very concentrated. There was no way, absolutely no way, to let the evil KMT regime to continue to brutalize their beloved Taiwan. No way at all” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 110)!

In November of the same year, three months after arriving in Kansas, Strong met with Hung-mao Tian, one of his classmates at Chang Jung Middle School, through the channel of the Taiwanese Association. “Tian was sent from Madison, Wisconsin, by I-te Chen and Samuel Chou. [While the former was the leader of the emerging TIM in the United States,] the latter was a physician pursuing the doctoral degree at that moment. Not long ago, in Wisconsin, Chen and Chou held a conference on behalf of the overseas TIM. Enthusiastic Taiwanese students from the United States, Canada and Japan participated in that conference, which was named as the ‘Formosan Leadership Unity

Congress,³³⁵ in two days and one night. Since there were nobody from Manhattan, Kansas, for participating that conference, Chen and Chou dispatched Tian to Kansas to explain what had happened at the conference and ask for their support and recognition” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 111). After a formal meeting, “Tian asked Strong if he wanted to join their organization of TIM when it was expanded in later time. Strong nodded. If it was the right thing to do, Strong would not hesitate” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 112).

In January of the following year, due to a campus movie show regarding Taiwan, the Chinese and the Taiwanese at Kansas State University had a serious confrontation, with both sides sending letters to the editorial of the campus newspaper. The movie, which was entitled “A Sketch of the Free China (*Ziyou Zhongguo Sumiao* 自由中國素描),” was produced by a female American named Baker. Strong and some members of the Taiwanese Association went to see it. “After watching the movie, Strong was very angry, yet he was not so sure if others felt the same way. Judging from the fact that everybody swore on the way back to the dormitory, however, he had to conclude that everybody did hit the ceiling” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 118). According to Shuang-bu Lin’s biography,

Strong was infuriated because the whole movie was entirely a political propaganda for the KMT regime. It profusely praised the KMT regime, reiterating the Free China’s democratic politics, prosperous economy, happy life, and burgeoning society. In the meantime, it applauded Chiang Kai-shek’s successful leadership and the strong military. This movie was quite similar with the one Strong had watched ad nauseam while he was

³³⁵. The Formosan Leadership Unity Congress was also called “Madison Conference” in the existing literature about the TIM. For more details about this conference, refer to Min-cheng Chen (1992, 90-1) and Feng-chun Li (1985, 33-7).

serving as the reserve officer at Matsu, a time when his Taiwanese consciousness had not sprouted yet. Now that his Taiwanese affection had become so strong, and he had hated the KMT regime so obviously, how could he tolerate such open propaganda, open prefabrication, and open cheating? (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 118)

As a result, “the angry Taiwanese students, including Strong, of course, met at Professor Liang-shing Fan’s (*Fan Liangxin* 范良信) home and continued to scold Ms. Baker for the whole night, until sunrise. But they did nothing beyond that. It looked like they just wanted to get it off of their chests, since they did not discuss further what to do concretely” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 119). Three days later, a letter appeared in the editorial section of campus newspaper, complaining that ‘A Sketch of the Free China’ was too much on political propaganda, and many things in this movie were not correct. In addition, the letter argued that mixing Taiwanese with Chinese without any distinction was a mistake. It was signed by David McMom, who claimed to be a priest” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 119). “In the following day, there was another letter, whose author claimed to be a Taiwanese, but no name was given. The letter, on the one hand, criticized that the movie was doctored; on the other hand, emphasized on the fact that the KMT regime had been oppressing the Taiwanese” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 120).

What followed was a war of letters. “The Chinese students, led by their president Thomas B. Lee (*Li Benjing* 李本京), started to attack with a lot of letters, arguing for Ms. Baker and the KMT regime, and pummeling the Taiwanese students who supported the cause of TIM as betraying and forgetting their ancestors. The Hong Kong students, who stood by the Chinese side, also argued against the TIM. In view of the hazardous development, the Taiwanese students had to stick their neck out and get together to

discuss their responses. Finally, they decided to ask Ji-yin Lin (*Lin Jiyin* 林吉寅) and Shi-ding Huang (*Huang Shiding* 黃石定), both majoring in political science with better command of English, together with the association president Neng-hsiang Wang (*Wang Nengxiang* 王能祥), to organize their discussion contents and put in writing. After being modified by Professor Fan, the letter was sent to the newspaper to fight against the Chinese students. Thus, back and forth, the fierce sparks of war lasted for more than one month” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 120). This war had brought the opposition between the Taiwanese Association and the Chinese Student Association to the front.

Consequently,

In this period, whenever the Taiwanese students and the Chinese students met on campus, there were flares of hatred burning in their eyes. Unable to tolerate anymore, the KMT regime sent from Chicago a consul named Wei-han Zhang (*Zhang Wei-han* 張維翰) to Kansas to handle the situation. Zhang gave instructions to the Chinese Student Association president Ben-jing Li and other students, saying that the Taiwanese had all been enslaved by the Japanese, and had become slaves: “The only way to deal with the slaves is to flog them!” When the news spread out, the Taiwanese students were outrageous. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 120-1)

It was also at the Taiwanese Association that Strong came across Qian-mei Qiu (*Qiu Qianmei* 邱千美), a Hakka girl from Pingtung majoring in food industry, and launched his first and the only journey of love in his life time.

9.4.2 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

No matter from what perspective, to Strong, his experience at Kansas State University was indeed a turning point in his journey of identity development. Before

that experience, Strong had been a Chinese for 26 years. However, once stepping on the new continent from the other side of the Pacific, within one year, the whole person of Strong seemed to “metamorphose” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 103), and his Chinese identity was dramatically changed into Taiwanese identity.

As a matter of fact, such a change was by no means an easy thing. Basically, any well-developed identity is “a tried and fully tested identity that serves the person day in and day out. It helps the person feel centered, meaningful, and in control by making life predictable” (Cross 1995, 104). Though we may tolerate the changes in our external environment to some extent, it is quite difficult to imagine, and possibly nonexistent, a world in which each person reconstruct his or her identity on every single day. In other words, identity is subject to predictability and stability. Just like a filter against rapid and dramatic change, identity helps us filter incoming experiences so that the information can be “fit” into his or her current understanding of him- or herself and the world in which he or she lives. Therefore, any established identity --- not to mention an identity that has been established for almost twenty years in Strong’s case --- is difficult to change.

But, how could we explain Strong’s identity transformation? In my opinion, Strong’s experience during this period can be divided into two stages. First of all, when he just arrived at Kansas State University, his experience of reading the TIM magazines and books seemed to be the turning point of his identity development. Second, after this pivotal event, he started to use the newly explored identity as a reference, and continued to search for more information related to this new identity. Furthermore, he also began to look for persons or organizations with the similar identity as his “role model” for

further interaction. In terms of jargons borrowed from the racial/ethnic identity development model, the first stage can be labeled as the “encounter stage,” and the second the “immersion-emersion stage.” In this section, I will discuss the “encounter stage.” The “immersion-emersion stage” will be followed in the next section.

Although Strong had heard of the term “Taiwan independence” before coming to the United States, it was just overheard from his military comrades. The information was not only incomplete, but also full of negative term. Therefore, when he came to Kansas State University, the experience of reading the TIM magazines and books, which were introduced by his fellow students, was totally a new experience to him. Although the focus of these books was Taiwan and Taiwanese, the land and the people that he had lived with for more than 20 years, Strong almost never heard of the “real” meaning of so-called “Taiwan independence” before. While the KMT held a monopoly on all the political information in his previous life stage, after arriving in the United States, these magazines and books seemed to provide Strong a new way to learn about this world, opening a new window for him to certain extent. I have the following observations regarding Strong’s reading experience in terms of his national identity in this “encounter stage.”

(9.4.2.a) First of all, through this new reading experience, Strong started to cast doubt about the legitimacy of the KMT government on the island of Taiwan. Accordingly, with respect to the appropriateness of the *Chinese identity* promoted by the KMT government, he was also inclined to doubt seriously. “While in exile in the unfamiliar land, the KMT, who had escaped to Taiwan in a hurry [after 1949], had to renounce history and reality, and use the political power with a violent nature to cheat the Taiwanese in full swing. Thus, the KMT desperately destroyed Taiwan’s history,

language and culture, and at the same time, earnestly promoted the greater Chinese consciousness (*da Zhongguo yishi* 大中國意識). The KMT regime tended to mislead the ordinary Taiwanese that they were also Chinese “ (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 104).

(9.4.2.b) Second, the reading experience that prompted Strong to doubt his original Chinese identity, in the meantime, seemed to reveal the possible direction of an alternative national identity, i.e., the *Taiwanese identity*, too. According to Shuang-bu Lin's biography, after reading these books, Strong felt that way: “The moment the Taiwanese ancestors bravely boarded their jerry-built sailboats, they were no longer so-called Chinese. After settling down in Taiwan, they assimilated in blood with the Taiwanese aborigines, especially the Plain Aborigines (*Pingpuzu* 平埔族), and integrated in life with the land, the climate, the flora and the fauna of the island of Taiwan. Year after year, with émigré regimes coming and going, they shared the same historical experiences, the same tragic massacres, the same mingling life, and gradually formed the same affection and national consciousness. All these conditions formed so naturally, making them exactly different from the so-called Chinese. Not only different in language and life style, but also different in blood, culture, history, and even ideology! From inside out, the Taiwanese are totally different from the Chinese, how else could they be Chinese” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 103-4)?

(9.4.2.c) Third, though this reading experience was a kind of intellectual activity superficially, when Strong was encountered with it, deep inside his soul, there were extreme *emotionality* and *sentiment* as well. To Strong, this reading experience brought him a great deal of emotionality, and guilt, anger, and anxiety also became energizing factors in his identity transformation. He suddenly realized that the Chinese identity,

which was embraced by him for such a long time, was framed by the government and used as a tool to fool Taiwanese. Accordingly, he deeply felt that his previous identity was “wrong,” “incorrect,” and “dysfunctional,” while borrowing the terms used by Cross (1995, 105). “Certainly, there was a strong feeling after the blindfold was abruptly ripped off, a feeling of pain, a feeling of a heart bleeding, a feeling of a soul being torn apart, like an earthquake, like a typhoon, like a burning inferno” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 103).

(9.4.2.d) Fourth, how could we explain the cause of Strong’s change of his original identity, which he had lived with for 20 years already in the past, anyway? Why would this experience, reading only a few books, generate such a powerful effect on Strong’s identity and value system? In my opinion, we have to take the time background of Taiwan before 1970s --- a *police state* run by the KMT in terms of information and thought control --- into consideration. The reason that the books became so powerful bombs of thoughts was simply because these books were not available within the island of Taiwan, because the content of these books was totally different from the propaganda promoted by the KMT party-state, and because the authors of these books were all students studying abroad, someone with a same background of Strong’s. In a critique of the Strong’s first book, *The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home*, Cheng Wu, a Taiwanese writer who was also Strong’s brother-in-law, has a similar opinion regarding this issue:

Under the covering pall cast by the KMT regime, which long had monopolized the media and blockaded information, most Taiwanese students were unable to understand how dictatorship was carried out in the name of democracy. Even if they had doubts, they did not dare to touch the problems. My brother-in-law was no exception. After going to study in

the United States, he read books like *Taiwan Youth* and *Taiwan: A Depressed History*, his closed soul started to loosen up, his horizon of view started to extend, and his Taiwanese consciousness started to awaken. Frequently, he wrote to criticize the Chiang regime, and explored the ideas of Taiwan independence and nation building. Also, he channeled his thoughts into actions, and fervently took part in the activities of the Taiwanese Association. (Cheng Wu 1994, 240)

9.4.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

After having the dramatic reading experience, Strong started in real earnest to look for individuals or groups with the same “awakening” experience, so that he could have the reference group when he wanted to further explore his new identity. As Cross (1995, 109) points out, “[M]ost converts will seek and find the social support of others by joining certain organizations and groups. The groups joined provide a counterculture to the identity being replaced (the ‘Negro’ or non-Afrocentric identity) by entangling the person in membership requirements, symbolic dress codes, rites, rituals, obligations, and reward systems that nurture and reinforce the emerging ‘new’ (Black or Afrocentric) identity.” What Strong had found during this process was the so-called “Taiwanese Association.” We can see several examples to further comprehend Strong’s developmental process of national identity in this “immersion-emersion stage.”

(9.4.3.a) First of all, Strong craved for more *articles* and *books* related to Taiwan, so he could confirm the propriety of his new identity. In a letter to the editors of *Taiwan Youth* written in February 1966, he described his behavior as:

Ever since I read the articles related to TIM, I started to look for more articles and books about Taiwan. I finished reading every article hungrily and thirstily. From the reading, I obtained some understanding about Taiwan’s tragic history, as well as the evil measures the KMT government had taken

against Taiwanese. A rising tide of anger surged from my heart. Then I compared and contrasted the facts provided by your articles with what I had seen and heard while I am still in Taiwan. Starting with my school days and the period of my military service, I walk down my memory lane gradually. To me, it was like recalling a nightmare after awakening. I found the sorrow and pain where human nature was restrained, and realized the relief and joy after the liberation of human nature. (Strong Chuang 1994, 13)³³⁶

(9.4.3.b) Second, Strong was eager to contact with *other Taiwanese students* who had the same awakening experience like him. “They [the students] liked to get together after dinner, discussing what they could do. Strong was very enthusiastic to take part in the gatherings. As long as there was a gathering, he always attended, and once he was present, he was always very concentrated. There was no way, absolutely no way, to let the evil KMT regime to continue to brutalize their beloved Taiwan. No way at all” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 110)!

(9.4.3.c) Third, under the guidance of the Taiwanese Association, Strong also started to fight with the organization representing his old identity --- the *Chinese Student Association*. In fact, it is not possible to build a new identity completely in the ivory tower of knowledge. Rather, this identity should be tested and forged through incidents again and again, and then it can grow and flourish. In Strong’s case, the war of letters resulting from Ms. Baker’s movie show on campus, for example, was exactly one of the best footnotes to such struggling incidents of identity construction. The new Taiwanese identity, which was originally obtained from books, magazines and discussions, was

³³⁶. The original title of this article was “A Taiwanese Youth’s New Journey of Ideology (*Taiwan qinnian de ishi chulu* 台灣青年的意識初旅),” which was first published in the February 1966 issue of *Taiwan Youth*.

deeply strengthened after this “fighting” experience. The “correctness” of this new identity was also “verified” through this experience as well. In the letter to editor of *Taiwan Youth* quoted in previous discussion, Strong also mentioned the incident made the following reflection:

..... An anonymous Taiwanese student sent a letter to the newspaper, pointing out the fact that the Chinese had been oppressing the Taiwanese. Later, the professional students (*zhiye xuesheng* 職業學生) of KMT came out to argue the matter irrationally, and hence a war of letters in the editorial pages of campus newspaper broke out. As a solitary person, I did not contact much with other Taiwanese students on campus, because a paradox of thoughts had swum through my brain and ripped through my heart at that time. However, [after this war of letters,] all of a sudden, I found that many Taiwanese students, who shared the same feelings with me but with more enthusiasm than me, vehemently wrote to repudiate the Chinese. I was so pleased and no longer felt alone, since at least I had some fellow Taiwanese students, who were educated in the same way [in the KMT education system], having the same viewpoint with me. (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 14)³³⁷

(9.4.3.d) Fourth, with a mind eager to embrace his new identity, Strong also began to *write articles* as a catharsis. He wrote to the magazine *Taiwan Youth*, trying to show his respects to the editors. Here was what he wrote:

I am a Taiwanese student studying abroad. After escaping from the depressed Taiwan to this new paradise of freedom, I found you forerunners had worked so hard for the future of Taiwan. I was very pleased and touched by your effort, and would like to pay my highest respects to all of you. (quoted from Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 106)

Since my childhood, after receiving the Chinese education, I had been brainwashed by the KMT for a whopping 17 or 18 years. It had been my

³³⁷. The source of this quotation is as same as the previous footnote.

philosophy of life to refrain from talking about politics, and to submit myself to the will of heaven. As a result, my soul had almost died completely, and what remained was only a shell. Worse yet, I did not know that I was playing in a miserable tragedy at all. (quoted from Shuang-bu Lin, 2000b, 107)

The purpose of writing articles, in fact, was to allow Strong to “say something regarding his churning reflections and feelings” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 106). This situation is quite similar to what Cross (1995, 107-8) describes, “The new convert’s attention may be drawn to issues other than political ones, and during the immersion-emersion stage, some may experience a creative burst in which they feel ‘driven’ to write poetry, essays, plays, rap songs, novels, or literary ‘confessionals.’”

(9.4.3.e) Lastly, in Strong’s case, even *private matters* as “non-political” as pursuing girl friends seemed to have something to do with the new identity. Never having made friends with the opposite sex, Strong took a shine to Qian-mei Qiu, the vice-president of the Taiwanese Association. However,

[t]he fact was that, according to some sources, some Chinese students were pursuing Qian-mei earnestly. Most Taiwanese students, just like Strong, were conservative and flinching, and so they did not dare to pursue Qian-mei. However, the Chinese students did not think likewise. Rude, arrogant and aggressive, they simply went ahead to pursue Qian-mei. Strong flew into a rage, saying that on the ground of “gist of nation (*minzu dayi* 民族大義),” how could a Taiwanese girl like Qian-mei be pursued by the Chinese? [Strong told his Taiwanese friends,] “If you don’t want to pursue her, then don’t blame me for my not being polite.” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 127)

9.5 Joining the UFAI (1966-1988)

In June 1966, less than a year after leaving Taiwan, Strong, alongside seven other Taiwanese students at Kansas State University, joined the newly-reorganized “United

Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI),” plunging into the camp of revolution and entering into “internalization stage.” Half a year later, Strong earned his master’s degree, engaged to Qian-mei, and immediately transferred to Purdue University in Indiana to continue his doctoral program, where he also initiated the Taiwanese Association on the campus. After one semester, Strong returned to Kansas to marry Qian-mei, and then moved together to the dormitory at Purdue. In May 1970, Strong successfully obtained his doctorate, and in half a year, he found a job with Procter & Gamble in Cincinnati, Ohio, working for the toilet paper manufacturing department until he was poaching by Kimberly-Clark Corporation in 1989.

9.5.1 Joining the UFAI

In June 1966, “The consensus to reorganize the ‘United Formosans For Independence,’ which was reached in the ‘Formosan Leadership Unity congress’ held in Madison and delivered to Kansas by Hung-mao Tian, was brought to fruition. ‘United Formosans for Independence’ was renamed ‘United Formosans in America For Independence,’ and its abbreviation was changed from ‘UFI’ to ‘UFAI.’ Since then, with more members and chapters, this organization was ready unite all the enthusiastic Taiwanese youths to fight in a larger scale for Taiwan, their home country” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 129).³³⁸

To keep his promise to Hung-mao Tian, Strong joined the UFAI right after it was reorganized. “Eight Taiwanese students at Kansas State University joined the UFAI

³³⁸. For a more detailed description about this conference, refer to Section 7.4.3 of Trong Chai’s case study (Chapter Seven).

together. All of them were male. They took oath that they would never divulge any other member's identity and signed the pledge" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 129). The text of the pledge was as follows:

With the sincerity and enthusiasm to love my country and my people, I am determined to engage myself in the revolutionary task to overthrow the Chiang regime and establish an independent Taiwan. I thoroughly understand that the revolutionary task to overthrow the Chiang regime and rescue our fellow countrymen is a historical mission with tremendous difficulty; everyone who engages him- or herself in the task should possess invincible spirit, inexorable courage, and the zeal to sacrifice him- or herself to serve the society.

The totalitarian dictatorship in Taiwan, which is enforced by the Chiang Kai-shek family and their party clan, is a kind of politics with systematic colonialism (*you zuzhi xitong de zhimindi zhuyi zhengzhi* 有組織系統的殖民地主義政治). Therefore, to eradicate this evil ruling apparatus, our comrades should unite with the patriotic countrymen, and establish a strong organization. Based on the understanding, I am willing to join the "United Formosans in America for Independence," becoming a member of the organization. I hereby solemnly take an oath that my joining the UFAI is completely out of my voluntary will, and I will follow the organization's bylaw, and devote myself to the cause of accomplishing the revolutionary task. If I have any behavior betraying the organization or divulging the secrets of the organization, I am willing to accept the severest punishment. I hereby solemnly pledge. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 129-30)

The time Strong joined the UFAI was less than a year from August 1965, the time he went to study in the United States. Immediately after that, he was elected the president of the Taiwanese Association at Kansas State University. Soon afterward, "on January 1, 1967, Strong, who had just obtained his master's degree, was engaged with Qian-mei at the home of Jin-lai Huang (*Huang Jinlai* 黃金來)" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 134). The

next day after the engagement ceremony, Strong went to study at Purdue University in Lafayette, Indiana, by himself.

9.5.2 The Doctoral Program at Purdue University

The atmosphere at Purdue University was not to be compared with that at Kansas State University, as far as the Taiwan-related activity was concerned. “Strong felt that there was no Taiwanese atmosphere (*Taiwan qifen* 台灣氣氛) at all. There was no Taiwanese Student Association (*Taiwan Tongxuehui* 台灣同學會), neither was Taiwanese Association, but there was a Chinese Student Association. After starting to contact with the students from Taiwan, Strong was not surprised at the conservative situation at all. He found that the number of students from Taiwan was quite few. And worse, most of them were Chinese from an ordnance academy [in Taiwan]” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 141).

In spite of that, Strong did not forget to promote the idea of Taiwan independence, as well as to put forth the mission of establishing a Taiwanese organization right there. He kept a low profile, trying to make friends with all the students from Taiwan. He certainly wanted to befriend the Taiwanese, but he still kept in touch with the Chinese. “In May, Strong felt he could move forward, so he did some preparation, hoping to set up an organization by a single move. One Saturday afternoon, Strong invited everybody to a barbeque picnic at a park near the campus. In the midst of frolicking, Strong suddenly announced that the Taiwanese Association was formally established. Meanwhile, he handed out the copied lists of member addresses, only one piece but double-sided. All the students from Taiwan, no matter Taiwanese and Chinese, were

listed as members by Strong” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 152-3). However, since no one would like to be the president, Strong volunteered to take charge of the association temporarily.

In early June of 1967, “Strong, who had just self-claimed to be the president of the Purdue Taiwanese Association, drove back to Kansas. On June 5, Strong and Qian-mei got married at the chapel at Kansas State University. Having finished her master’s degree, Qian-mei was staying at Kansas State on Professor Jin-lai Huang’s advice, waiting for a scholarship for her doctoral program. After half a year, the scholarship did not materialize, so Qian-mei decided to get married and follow Strong to Purdue, searching for other opportunities. To a couple who had to separate far away right after they were engaged, missing each other for half a year was indeed long enough” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 155).

In the summer of 1968, Strong and Qian-mei went to visit New York City for the first time. In addition to sightseeing, they also went to visit George Chang, the head of UFAI’s Organization Department (*zuzhi bu* 組織部) as well as the faculty of the Department of Chemical Engineering, Cooper Union University. After a conversation with Chang, Strong started to ponder where to go after his graduation --- go back to Taiwan or continue to stay in the United States. Shuang-bu Lin had the following description regarding this struggle:

According to Chang, the limited resources of the UFAI should be consolidated to exact the best utility. Where should they be consolidated? Chang thought New York City would be the answer, since New York is where the headquarters of the United Nations is located, and it is also the political, economic, financial, media and cultural center of the United States, or even the whole world. If the manpower of the UFAI could be consolidated

around New York, then it can be exercised to the fullest.

“I implore that you come here to look for a job after your graduation; somewhere within two hours’ drive would be ideal. Philadelphia and Washington, DC are good, too. If we stay close, we can fight together! Please also help pass the idea [to other comrades].”

“After graduation, I am going back to Taiwan, right?”

“Do you dare to go back? Don’t you have enough secret reports on you? Aren’t you black enough? As a matter of fact, even if you dare to go back, and if you are safe after you go back, can you do Taiwan-independence-related business in Taiwan at this moment? In my opinion, eventually you’ll go back, but you don’t have to do it currently. For the time being, it would be more practical to stay and work hard for a few more years in the United States.” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 167-8)

Shortly afterward, Chang’s prediction came true: Strong was indeed impossible to go back to Taiwan, since both he and Qian-mei were on the KMT’s blacklist, and they could not get entry permits from Taiwan’s consulate. It happened when Qian-mei’s father was seriously ill, and she accordingly applied for entry permit from Taiwan’s consulate. Much to her surprise, she found that she was already on the blacklist, and Taiwan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not allow her to enter Taiwan.

After calling the KMT’s consulate in Chicago, Qian-mei was told that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan had kept the data of Qian-mei and her husband in file. Anyone who was on the file was not welcome to go to Taiwan. Qian-mei grilled what data they were, but on the other side of the phone, with a standard Mandarin accent, the person, who did not reveal his identity, said that he was not sure, either.

“Nevertheless, you should be aware of what you have done. Nobody would know better than you. If you really don’t know, and really want to know,

you are welcome to come to the consulate to find out.”

Their fear was finally verified. The fear, seemly invisible yet existent all the time, had resided in Strong's heart since he took part in the Taiwanese activities, especially after knowing that there were many professional student working for the KMT on campus. To Strong and Qian-mei, the fear was not only verified, but also there emerged a wall too high to scale, indeed, a thick and high wall that cut off their way home. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 168-9)

Why were Strong and Qian-mei on the KMT's blacklist? “On the conservative Purdue campus, news spread very quickly. According to Chia-yin Tsai (*Cai Jiayin* 蔡嘉寅), there must be some spies around Strong or Qian-mei. Without specific evidence, the KMT would not be so unreasonable. If Strong and Qian-mei wanted to find out, they had to look for someone with close relationship with them” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 170). After some investigation, they found that Ming-rui Shi (*Shi Mingrui* 師明瑞), one of Strong's Chinese friends, was an agent placed on the Purdue campus by the KMT.

In August 1969, for the first time Strong attended the UFAl's national meeting, which was held at Hammond, south of Chicago. A speech delivered by George Chang of the UFAl's Organization Department inspired Strong emotionally and gave him full courage. Certainly, Strong was totally engrossed in the speech. George Chang said:

On the strength of a common idea and a common goal, we join the rank of revolution, bringing us a noble starting point as well as a meaningful purpose for our life. The relationship and interaction among our comrades, to say the least, are more valuable than those between friends of many years. From now on, we will work harder to nurture true revolutionary affection through thick and thin, and enhance our mutual confidence among our comrades.

For the sake of justice, for the sake of ideal, and for the sake of the happiness in our home country, we would rather give up a peaceful life, shoulder the

cross of independence revolution with determination, and sacrifice our time, spirit, money, and even life to accomplish the revolutionary task. We should be proud of such a brave action, since what we are doing is the most valuable action in life, and what we are pushing is a great campaign. (quoted from Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 178)

Strong was stupefied by the speech. “In the thunderous applause, with eyes full of tears, Strong found he himself was also clapping heavily. Indeed, joining the UFAI was for the sake of justice, for the sake of ideal, and for the sake of the happiness of all the people in Taiwan, our home country! *Indeed, overthrowing the KMT and establishing a Republic of Taiwan was the most valuable, most meaningful, most extraordinary, and most dignified great task in life!* The thought hidden at the bottom of his soul was clearly spoken out by Chang, and was echoed by the deafening applause from his comrades, which, undoubtedly, showed Strong that great minds did think alike. The sensation and excitement that he had found comrades to spill guts, suddenly, catapulted the hot-blooded Strong to the highest. At this moment and at this place, if the UFAI had any assignment for him, even if it was as hard as climbing to heaven, Strong would unflinchingly accept it” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 178; emphasis added).

On December 22, 1969, Strong and Qian-mei’s daughter Rolla was born. A few days later, on January 1, 1970, the UFAI was renamed again. “‘World United Formosans For Independence,’ abbreviated as ‘WUFI,’ was established to consolidate all the TIM organizations in Japan, Europe, Canada, Latin America and Taiwan, [UFAI included]. The new WUFI had a general headquarters, under which there were national or regional headquarters. The general headquarters, which was combined with the U.S. headquarters to save manpower and money, was set in New York City. Other national or

regional headquarters had their offices at each country or region. The purpose to expand the organization, obviously, was to consolidate more organizations and more comrades to struggle for the TIM, and make it a world-wide campaign” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 182).³³⁹

On April 24, 1970, one news about the newly reorganized WUFI shocked the whole United States, or even the whole world. Peter Huang and Tsu-tsai Cheng, two members of the WUFI, were arrested after failing to assassinate Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek, at noon in front of a hotel on the Fifth Avenue in New York City.³⁴⁰ The next day, Strong was informed by the staff from the WUFI headquarters that to rescue Huang and Zheng, a lot of money was needed, and all members had to try their best to raise money. Thus, Strong gathered some students of Purdue for this emergent matter. “[They] went to a cemetery next to the campus to discuss, agreeing to raise money separately. In about six or seven days, they raised more than \$5,500. A Chinese student, who was usually very taciturn and seemed not to show any goodwill toward Taiwanese students, approached Strong and donated \$500” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 184).

In mid-May of the same year, Strong earned his Ph.D at the age of thirty-two. “The long process of study finally came to an end. Truly, he graduated” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 184).

³³⁹. For a more detailed description regarding the establishment of the World United Formosans For Independence, refer to Section 7.4.4 of Trong Chai’s case study (Chapter Seven).

³⁴⁰. This incident is labeled as the “April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident” in the existing literature. For studies regarding this incident, refer to footnote on Section 5.6.2 of Ming-min Peng’s case study (Chapter Five).

9.5.3 Working for Procter and Gamble in Cincinnati

In early June, Strong arrived in New York to look for a job. “He had no idea where to start job-hunting. He decided to try engineering consulting firms first. Based on the address in the phone book, one by one, he asked if any firm needed engineer. Anything he had learned at Kansas State and Purdue in the past five years, such as civil engineering, fluid dynamics, space and sanitation, item by item, he tried to sell. He walked for three days, but still couldn’t find a job” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 187).

Instead of looking for a job on the fourth day, Strong went to participate in a demonstration, his first-time experience in his life. He joined this protest because that, “the WUFI launched a parade to protest in front of the KMT’s consulate, in support of a comrade named ‘Wen-ching Liu.’ Liu, a member at the Japan Headquarters, was busted by the KMT with a scheme and sent back to Taiwan [from Japan finally]” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 187).³⁴¹

Unable to find a job, Strong decided to go back to Purdue first. “Purdue wanted to take back Strong’s family dormitory. Of course, since Strong had already graduated, how could he still be eligible to stay at the dormitory? Without anywhere to go, Strong had to consult with his advisor, who told him to stay temporarily as a post-doctoral research fellow” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 188). “He continued to look for a job. Under the guidance of Chia-yin Tsai and Mark Chen, Strong made some progress in techniques; no longer went to ask one by one. Instead, he sent applications through mails, and then just waited for replies. In the beginning, strictly following the rule of two hours’

³⁴¹. It is referred to as the “Wen-qing Liu Incident” in the related historical documents. For a simple description of the incident, refer to footnote on Section 6.4.4 of Mu-sheng Wu’s case study (Chapter Six).

drive from NYC suggested by the WUFI, he only applied those companies located around the NYC area. Gradually, however, he expanded the areas to include the companies in the Midwest, since Chen advised him that it was more important to find a job first, and if he really wanted to go to places closer to New York City, he could try later on. Unfortunately, even after he expanded the application areas, most of his applications were just like great rocks falling into the sea. Though he had a few interviews, there were no subsequent responses” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 188).

Half a year later, in early 1971, Strong finally found a job with Procter and Gamble whose headquarters is located in Cincinnati, Ohio. “A giant company, Procter and Gamble manufactured various consumer products such as juice, cookies, and etc. Strong was assigned to work at the manufacturing department of toilet tissue, in charge of temperature and moisture control in paper drying” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 195). In June of the same year, Strong’s son Timothy was born in Cincinnati.

In July 1971, Strong was in charge of the WUFI biennial conference, which was held at Denison University, a private college on the outskirts of Columbus, Ohio. The atmosphere at the conference was very rousing. “Ming-min Peng, a Professor of National Taiwan University who announced ‘A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation’ seven years ago, was put under the KMT’s house arrest since then but escaped out of Taiwan in success recently. Having just arrived in the United States, Peng came to attend the whole conference. Besides, Peter Huang and Tsu-tsai Cheng, two WUFI members involving in the April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident, jumped bail and escaped. The impact was not to be despised. The two events together prompted more than 90 zealous members to attend, breaking the records” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 197).

In this conference, John S. Cheng was elected chairperson, and Michael Chen, Strong's basement friend at Kansas State, vice-chairperson. "The new chairperson announced on the spot that, to devote himself wholeheartedly, he had decided to quit his company job, and be a 24-hour-a-day professional TIM campaigner, hoping to lead the WUFI and move forward at full speed. A young member named Carry Hong, from Tainan, followed suit, saying that he decided to give up his pursue of Ph.D. degree and follow the chairperson and all the comrades, dedicating wholly for the great task of the TIM. Strong was overwhelmed with amazement mixed with respect by the two WUFI brothers' determination and sacrifice. Though Strong no longer needed to consider giving up studies, he clearly knew that it was an extraordinary sacrifice in a lifetime. As for quitting a job, that was equivalent to pushing oneself to the edge of abyss, which Strong would not dare to consider. Once there was no job, there was no money, how could one provide support to his wife and children? Quitting a job and being a professional staff, certainly, enabled one to contribute more and was exactly what the WUFI wanted. However, there were no conditions that allowed Strong to do so. Partly ashamed, Strong told himself in his heart that, after work, on weekends or holidays, he would work much harder" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 199-200).

When it was time for task assignment, Strong was assigned to take care of In-Island Propaganda (*daone xuanchuan* 島內宣傳), the publicity work focusing on the people inside the island of Taiwan. On the one hand, Strong had to manage to let the people living in Taiwan know more about the WUFI; on the one hand, he also had to penetrate the idea of Taiwan independence into the Taiwanese society. For that purpose, Strong felt that it was better to design a logo for their organization. "Most famous brands as

well as most big companies, such as Procter and Gamble, have their own logos. When consumers see the logos, without reading the words, they know exactly what they are. The WUFI also needed a logo, so that whenever the people in Taiwan saw it, they knew this logo represented this organization. Furthermore, any publication with this logo meant the material provided by the WUFI. It would make publicity easy, clear, and efficient. A logo was a must” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 201).

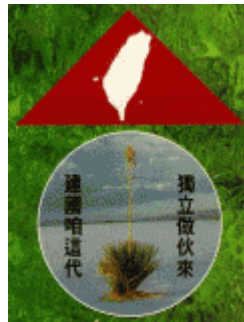
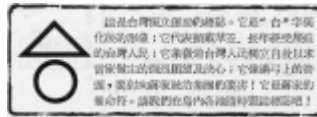
Strong started to design this logo right away. “Half a month later, a logo was drafted. It was a very simple diagram, not only simple in structure, but also simple in lines. There was a triangle with a circle underneath. The triangle looked like a farmer’s rain hat, and the circle a person’s face. The whole logo looked exactly like a Taiwanese wearing a rain hat. Besides, the diagram resembled a Chinese character ‘Tai (Tai 台)’” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 201). Strong showed the logo to some comrades, including chairperson Cheng, and everybody was very satisfied. Thus, the diagram with a “Tai” design became the WUFI’s new logo. Figure 9.2 shows the logo’s original design and other related applications.

(Figure 9.2 about here)

In December 1971, Strong’s mother came to the United States to see her son whom she had not seen for more than six years. Upon seeing Strong, her mother said she had an argument with the attendant of Bureau of Immigration (*Ruchujing Guanliju* 入出境管理局) while applying for the exit permit some time ago:

I went to the bureau office and pounded their desk. Qiu-feng was there with me, but he did not pound. They were so hateful. I reproved them, saying

Figure 9.2
Logo of WUFI Designed by Strong C. Chuang



Source: Ming-xian Lin (2003)

that robbers are more fierce than owners (*zei ka e zhuren* 賊卡惡主人).³⁴² I just couldn't hold my temper, since my application had been turned down several times. They said that my son and my daughter-in-law were in the United States so and so. They were so annoying. I don't know when it started. Anyway, after you went to the United States, within a year, the police station and the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters frequently sent people to our home to ask this and that. Of course, I did not know what you

³⁴². This is actually a proverb in Hoklo, not in Mandarin.

were doing in the United States. But I was not stupid, and I could think on my feet (*yong xigai xiang ye zhidao* 用膝蓋想也知道). As conservative and timid as you were, if you did something in the United States and the police there did not care, and it was the KMT Chinese pigs that became so nervous, then what could you have done? They kept asking, but I took them as dogs barking! If not because they did not allow me to go out of the country, I would not have argued with them, since arguing hurt. It turned out that these Chinese pigs were so useless and despicable. When I followed all the procedures to apply, they would not approve. Then I pounded their desk and scolded them as pigs, they approved. Once the application was approved, I wouldn't be polite, and so here I am! (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 205-6)

Meanwhile, Strong was extremely busy with the WUFI's propaganda business inside the island of Taiwan. "When accepting the responsibility to do In-Island Propaganda, Strong had already thought about the possible way to do the business. There were two possibilities to send WUFI-related information into the island of Taiwan: by carrying in or by mail. To carry in, the WUFI had to find reliable persons, who had to take the risk; otherwise, if found by the KMT agents at customs inspection, that would mean a big trouble indeed. Hence, only once in a while, the organization may take chance and ask someone to carry in. For comparatively routine items, which were expected to be processed for a longer period and were not so susceptible to dangers, mailing should be used. Nevertheless, mailing should be handled secretly and carefully lest the KMT regime should be suspicious or vigilant. If the mail was intercepted in the midway, money would be wasted, and the goal of propaganda would go down the drain. Strong came up with an idea that they had to set up many stations for In-Island Propaganda all over the United States, assigning members to do mailing together. Thus, one by one, Strong started to contact colleges or places like Kansas, Purdue, Wisconsin,

Cornell, North Carolina, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and San Francisco. As long as he could find a member, a station was set up. To keep secrecy, each station was given a number, which was used in all the communication. In-Island stations were thus established in fits and starts, and Strong managed to send brochures and fliers by mail or parcel service to all the stations, asking the members to mail carefully back to Taiwan, to any Taiwanese they knew. The job was very trifling; an indefatigable Strong worked day and night” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 211-2).

In June 1972, Strong bought a house for the first time in his life, ending his renting days.

9.5.4 Elected to the WUFI Central Committee

In July 1973, once again Strong took charge of the WUFI biennial conference. Starting from this conference, it was no longer “members conference (*mengyuan dahui* 盟員大會).” Instead, it was called “representatives conference (*mengyuan daibiao dahui* 盟員代表大會).” Strong chose to hold the conference at member Wen-liang Yan’s (*Yan Wenliang* 嚴文亮) home in Indianapolis. In fact, in last conference, many members disagreed with the way the WUFI handled the April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident, and the WUFI had since experienced a breakup and lost many members. Consequently, only less than 30 members attended this conference.

It was also in this conference that Strong was elected for the first time as a member of the WUFI Central Committee. “Since the number of conference participants was less than 30, those who were more enthusiastic, including Strong, were all elected as members of the central committee. As for the chairpersonship, without a second candidate,

George Chang was voted unanimously to take the WUFI's heavy burden. And Tom C. Yang was elected vice chairperson, a position supposed to do planning and training" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 223). Chang, the new chairperson, appointed Strong to continue the job of In-Island propaganda.

The WUFI's representatives conference of 1975 took place at the same place --- Wen-liang Yan's home in Indianapolis. "Both the chairperson and vice chairperson were reelected. Most members of the central committee, including Strong, remained unchanged. It took time to develop, and with time, the organization could continue to expand its scale and power. Therefore, the structure of leadership, within a short period, had to be kept without big changes" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 234). "There were smaller changes, though. For instance, Strong's mission was adjusted. The In-Island propaganda job was reassigned to someone else. To enhance the communication among members, the conference approved to circulate un-public internal newsletters only for members (*neibu mengyuan mimi tongxun* 內部盟員秘密通訊). The work needed some writing ability, so Chang assigned Strong to take charge" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 234).

In September 1976, in the name of the organization, the WUFI solemnly presented "Our Propositions (*wuomen de zhuzhang* 我們的主張)," a kind of mission statement for this organization. "The text was divided into five paragraphs, approximately 800 words. First of all, it emphasized that 'all the people who identify themselves with Taiwan, love Taiwan enthusiastically, consider Taiwan as their home country, and are willing to share the same destiny with Taiwan, are deemed as Taiwanese.' Furthermore, it expressed that the goals the WUFI strived for were to 'enable Taiwanese to fully enjoy civil rights,' and 'carry out a fair social and economic system on the island of Taiwan.' It also provided

three slogans: ‘Struggle for the liberation of the hard-working people (*wei laoku dazhong jiefang douzheng* 爲勞苦大眾解放鬥爭);’ ‘Revolution for the self-salvation of the Taiwanese people (*wei Taiwan renmin zejiu geming* 爲台灣人民自救革命);’ and ‘Obtain independence for freedom and democracy (*wei ziyou minzhu zhengqu duli* 爲自由民主爭取獨立).’ While reiterating the WUFI’s firm positions, the organization beseeched all the Taiwanese at home and abroad to support and fight together with the WUFI” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 236).

It was Chang’s idea to provide such clear statement. “Chang discussed with Strong first, and asked Strong to discuss with Yang [, the vice chairperson], over and over, until a consensus was reached. Then Chang asked Strong to put it in writing” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 236). While writing, Strong thought as follows, “The chairperson assigns this mission to me at this specific moment. This statement, which includes the goals and direction [of WUFI], is in such a clear and firm fashion. Isn’t it in his mind and judgment that the preparation for a new start is ready, and the timing and conditions [of our movement] are also ripe” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 236)?

Chang did put his shoulder to the wheel, and the conditions of WUFI were gradually stabilized. “In the representatives conference in 1977, the number of participants exceeded one hundred, and the conference scene was again boisterous, even better than the ones before the breakup. Strong was very pleased that the WUFI was again having a new start. Since it was a new start, there must be some new decision-makers to face the new challenge. When it was time to elect the members of the central committee, Strong insisted on giving the opportunity to new members” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 242). Thus, “after the conference, all of a sudden, Strong seemed to have nothing to do. He was no

longer a member of the central committee, no longer the editor of internal newsletters, no longer required to go to Indianapolis once per week [for the WUFI-related business]. His formal position at the WUFI, together with the assignment from the WUFI, disappeared. He was completely back to square one, simply a member again” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 242).

Though Strong’s status became simple, that did not mean that he had nothing to do in the TIM. “If you thought you didn’t have to do anything because you didn’t have a position, or didn’t have an assignment, then you must be lazy; if you thought you had nothing to do because you didn’t have a position, or didn’t have an assignment, then you just scratched the surface and you were not experienced” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 242). So Strong found something for himself to do, including plunging into the activities of the Taiwanese Association in Cincinnati. Using the association’s activities, especially those popular ones, like the international folkways festival, he tried to attract more Taiwanese to participate in the Taiwan-related business. He looked for every opportunity to approach Taiwanese students, trying to recruit them into the WUFI. In addition, he started to tell stories to Taiwanese children, hoping that he could stimulate the children’s Taiwanese consciousness.

The story-telling was inspired by Strong’s own experience at home. He had found that both his children liked to listen to his Taiwanese historical stories, often to the extent that they did not want to stop. Thus, it came to his mind instantly, “If Rolla and Timothy like to listen, then other children would like to listen, too. Why can’t I tell stories to more Taiwanese children simultaneously? Through the association, I can get together some children of the same age, twice week, one hour each time, with a schedule.

Rolla and Timothy like to listen, so would other children. Anyway, I am telling stories, why not tell to more children” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 245)?

After the emergence of this idea in Strong’s mind, he had concrete action right away. “Every Wednesday and Saturday, from 8:00 PM to 9:00 PM, more than ten Taiwanese children with ages around ten got together at Strong’s living room, listening to stories. At the same time, the adults, who brought the children here, gathered in the kitchen and gossiped with Qian-mei. While gossiping, Qian-mei also prepared some dessert for the children. The adults kept talking and eating, and they actually ate more than the kids. All the kids liked to come, and more and more kids joined the gathering” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 245-6).

9.5.5 The KMT’s Oppression against the Opposition Movement

Since the mid seventies, on the island of Taiwan, the opposition movement had been moving forward with vigorous strides. What the opposition movement people faced in the end, unfortunately, was the merciless oppression from the KMT regime. At the end of 1979, “In a time when chilly winds and cold rains prevailed on the island of Taiwan, first the Formosa Incident broke out in Kaohsiung. More than one hundred brave people of the opposition movement, including Yi-hsiung Lin who openly castigated the KMT as a renegade group, were arrested by the KMT. What followed was that, a little more than two months later, right on the anniversary of the February 28 Incident in 1980, Lin’s widowed mother and his youngest twin daughters were gruesomely murdered in broad daylight, at his home on Xinyi Road (*Xinyi Lu* 信義路), Taipei” (Shuang-bu Lin

2000b, 253).³⁴³

Upon hearing of the news, Strong, on the other side of the Pacific, was saddened beyond words. “He would throw a truckload of grenades, killing all the Chinese pigs (*Zhongguo zhu* 中國豬) in the KMT regime, and those Taiwanese traitors clinging to the Chinese pig group (*Zhongguo zhu jituan* 中國豬集團) to enjoy their honor and wealth! He designed a poster of Chiang Ching-kuo’s picture with a yellow background and big words: ‘Wanted: Death Penalty Criminal Chiang Ching-kuo,’ together with two rows of smaller words: ‘Kill on the spot; reward US \$100,000,’ and ‘Please post.’ He printed 30,000 copies and gave them to the comrades responsible for In-Island propaganda, asking them to send back to Taiwan promptly” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 253).

Strong really hoped to do something for the opposition movement on the island of Taiwan. However, separated ten thousand miles away, he was not sure what he could do for these activists. For a long period of time, almost every midnight, Strong and Shu-min Lin (*Lin Shumin* 林樹民), a student member of WUFI he had recruited, would go out together. “[They] were looking for residences of Chinese and then posting warning fliers designed by Strong on their doors. Lin liked to look for their cars, piercing their tires, or clogging their mufflers. That should be a way for him to vent his resentment. As far as more violent actions were concerned, Strong, who was conservative in nature, would only keep in mind and not put them in action (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 253). Additionally, Strong also became more actively involved in

³⁴³. This incident, i.e., the murders of Lin’s widowed mother and his youngest twin daughters, has come to be known as the “Lin Family Murders (*Linzhai Xiean* 林宅血案)” in the existing literature (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 180). Until now, we still know nothing about who the murder was, neither who the mastermind behind the scene was.

mobilizing Taiwanese students for the cause of Taiwan independence.

After work, Strong spent most of the time with Lin, looking for and chatting with the Taiwanese students around this area. Late at night, they would go to post fliers at the homes of Chinese. Whether it was effective to post fliers, Strong was unable to find a way to evaluate. On the other hand, whether chatting with Taiwanese students was effective, he did not need to evaluate at all, since it was later well addressed by the first annual meeting of Taiwanese Students Association of America (*Quanmei Taiwan Xueshenghui* 全美台灣學生會), which was held in May 1981. The conference was convened by Lin in his name. However, it was actually single-handedly planned by Strong, from renting conference site to providing money to support the conference. The site rented was a Catholic college near Strong's home. During the three-day-long conference, more than 20 Taiwanese students from different universities fervently discussed everything about Taiwan, proposing to develop the organization and promote the idea of Taiwan Independence. After the conference, almost all the students took an oath to join the WUFI. Strong told them to recruit more comrades after going back to their schools. If they could set up organizations, the organizations could become basic groups or sub-groups for the WUFI, together working for the cause of Taiwan independence (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 255-6).

In July 1981, again tragic news came from the island of Taiwan. "Wen-cheng Chen, only thirty-one and an Assistant Professor at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, came back Taiwan for a visit. He was interviewed by the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters and, early morning the next day, he was found dead on the campus of National Taiwan University, his alma mater. The Garrison Headquarters claimed that

Chen jumped to his death from fear of punishment. But his family maintained there was no reason for Chen to commit suicide; he must have been tortured to death by the Garrison Headquarters. The television newscasters said that, according to the initial autopsy, Chen's wounds were probably not from jumping from the building, and the Taiwan police was still in the process of investigation" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 258).³⁴⁴

On July 18 of the same year, the Taiwanese Association of Pittsburgh held a memorial service for Chen. Together with his wife and children, Strong drove more than four hours to Pittsburgh to pay their respects. "In the service, crying with lament and resentment, and severely reprimanding the KMT regime, many Taiwanese wore masks for fear of exposing their identity. This scene, along with the setup in the service, created an atmosphere so gloomy and grotesque that Timothy, who just turned 10, was so scared that he cried" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 259). Immediately after the event, Timothy had a woeful experience at school:

One day, the school [of Timothy] had an emergency call to Strong, asking him to come to school. Upon arriving, he was informed that Timothy was told to write home address, but no matter how hard the teacher pushed, Timothy still refused to write or tell. As a result, Timothy was sent to the principal's office, but still would not tell the reason. After being grilled, Timothy finally cried and said that he was afraid that if he revealed the address, the KMT would send someone to kill his father.

It reminded Strong that, not long ago, the whole family went to Pittsburgh, where Wen-cheng Chen resided, to attend Chen's memorial service. Since many people were afraid that the Wen-cheng Chen case might happen again, they wore masks in the service. Alongside the arrangement in the funeral

³⁴⁴. The incident is called the "Wen-cheng Chen Incident." For details, refer to footnote on Section 6.4.7 of Mu-sheng Wu's case study (Chapter Six).

hall, the scene of masked people made children scared. Strong remembered the event vividly. So, he explained to the principal the special political situation in Taiwan. The principal seemed rather understanding and sympathetic. (Stella Chen 1991, 96)

9.5.6 The Disturbances within the WUFI

The outside world was characterized by upheavals, and within the WUFI there were endless disturbances, too.

Among the key players in the WUFI, Carry Hong, who gave up his studies for the cause of TIM, started to brutally criticize the leaders of WUFI, especially chairperson George Chang. Hong was very fierce. Not only was his criticism carried orally, but also couched in a long article and mailed to all members. He ferociously attacked Chang, saying that Chang had long occupied the WUFI, held a monopoly on the resources, yet he could not exert professionally, and the whole development of the TIM was thus seriously obstructed. Surreptitiously, this article was obtained and published in two whole pages by *China Times*, a newspaper with a large circulation owned by a member of the KMT's Central Standing Committee. Except criticizing mercilessly in writing, Hong went further, together with young comrades Zheng-xiao Wu (*Wu Zhengxiao* 吳正曉), Pei-horng Kuo (*Guo Beihong* 郭倍宏), Ying-yuan Lee, and Shu-min Lin, organizing a five-person reform group within the WUFI, requesting that Chang step down to allow a new opportunity for the WUFI. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 27)

The five-person group led by Carry Hong did show their true colors, causing more turmoil in their wake. The representatives conference, which was supposed to take place periodically, had to be postponed. Chang came to Cincinnati to see Strong, saying that with such impact, if he did not quit, he would be really considered as occupying the WUFI.

Chang said that he had decided to support Nan-tian Chen (*Chen Nantian* 陳南天) to campaign for the chairpersonship, and asked Strong to promise to come out and be a member of the central committee again, helping Nan-tian

Chen. Strong agreed. Anything for the WUFI, for the TIM, as long as it should be done, and was within his ability, he was unable to decline.

In January 1984, the representatives conference, which had been delayed for half a year, was convened. Strong was elected a member of the central committee and he did not turn it down. Carry Hong and Nan-tian Chen competed for the chairpersonship, to be voted directly by the representatives. Chen won and Hong declared immediately that he withdrew from the WUFI. About 50 members followed him, including Shu-min Lin and Xiao-zheng Wu of the five-person group. To Strong's surprise, the other two members of the five-person group, Pei-horng Kuo and Ying-yuan Lee, stayed. After that, again, the number of WUFI's members decreased to slightly more than 100.

The great breakup was different from the situation in 1971. In 1971, those withdrew from the WUFI did not start a new organization. This time, however, after the breakup, Hong and the rest soon got connected with Hsin-liang Hsu, and organized the "Taiwan Revolutionary Party," with Carry Hong being the Secretary General, Hsin-liang Hsu and Shu-min Lin being the first and the second vice-secretary, respectively. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 272-3)

Though the internal turmoil of the WUFI did cause some headache for Strong, in the same period, he himself did have important breakthrough in his professional career.

"He had been working with the toilet tissue department for 14 years ever since he entered Procter and Gamble. In the beginning, his title was 'technician.' Gradually, it became 'technology consultant,' and after being promoted, it was called 'scientific consultant,' then it was called 'consulting engineer' after another promotion. However, no matter what the title was, in addition to more and more salary, the contents of his job did not change much. He was still doing toilet tissue paper, still reading more than 200 related journals every week, attending several conferences every month, and sometimes on

business trips. No matter whether he was reading journals, attending conferences or on business trips, there was only one purpose, to wit, how to improve the manufacturing technology of toilet paper, upgrade the quality and lower the cost at the same time” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 274-5).

In the fall of 1984, Strong invented a new dehydration method for manufacturing the toilet paper. “After several years’ dedicated research, and with the experiments conducted by his colleague Hugh Thompson, Strong finally invented a new capillary dehydration method. Using this method, wet paper could be dehydrated to only 1.5 grams of water without using wool carpet to absorb water or using hot air to dry out. It saved 50% of hot energy, made the product softer and more absorbent. Procter and Gamble applied and obtained a patent for Strong’s new invention, and had a happy celebration. The invention was instantly put into full application, and the machine developed from this capillary dehydration method was named ‘Strong Roll’ after him” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 276).

Something happened after the WUFI representatives conference in the summer of 1985. “Raymond R. M. Lee (*Li Ruimu* 李瑞木), a Professor at the University of California - San Diego and a native of Huwei, Yunlin, was elected WUFI chairperson. Lee divided the WUFI into three working groups: Students, Organization and Training, and In-Island Work, and asked each group to have their own fundraisers to raise money. Reelected as a member of the central committee, Strong was assigned to take care of the finance of the Students Group” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 283). “Responsible for the finance, of course, he had to help raise money. So, with the company of Pei-horng Kuo and Ying-yuan Lee, Strong went to everywhere to hold small fundraisers. He

understood that, in the WUFI, no one did better than old chairperson George Chang in terms of fundraising. Thus, when necessary, he would ask Chang for help. The fundraising was going smoothly, and Kuo and Lee were able to move further, starting to organize the Taiwanese Collegian³⁴⁵ and publish *Taiwanese Collegian* (*Taiwan Xuesheng* 台灣學生),³⁴⁶ focusing on students studying abroad to expand the resources of the WUFI” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 283).

Two years later, in July 1987, Pei-horng Kuo was elected the youngest chairperson of WUFI. “As a routine, both the chairpersonship and the vice chairpersonship were up for reelection in the representatives conference. Pei-horng Kuo, who worked at the Students Group, had the representatives’ support and became the youngest chairperson. The conference also passed a resolution that the comrade with the position of chairperson has to go to Los Angeles and work full-time for the newspaper *Taiwan Tribune*. Without uttering a word, Kuo quit his job as a vice president of an engineering consulting company in Washington, DC, and moved to Los Angeles together with his wife and children. With a young comrade leading the WUFI, Strong, who continued to be a member of the central committee, was very happy. He believed that with the flexibility and energy of the younger generation, the WUFI was certainly reinvigorated. In particular, the courage and determination to give up a career showed that the new chairperson had totally plunged into the work of the TIM. Strong was nothing short of touched” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 292).

³⁴⁵. Regarding the historical background of the Taiwanese Collegian as well as its development in the 1990s, refer to Chueh, Lo, and Shu (1996).

³⁴⁶. In terms of the history of the magazine *Taiwan Collegian*, refer to Shu (2001a, 121-2).

9.5.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

The decision to join the UFAT, a so-called “revolutionary organization,” and to serve as a member of the WUFI’s central committee starting from 1973, represented an important turning point in the developmental process of Strong’s national identity. In terms jargons borrowed from the racial/ethnic identity development model, he obviously had entered the so-called “internalization stage” in his national identity. The followings are my observations regarding Strong’s national identity in this stage.

(9.5.7.a) First of all, Strong, who had entered the “internalization stage” during this period, firmly believed that *Taiwan belongs to Taiwanese* and, therefore, the only choice for the future of Taiwan is Taiwan independence. He ever wrote an article as follows: “[From a historical perspective,] our homeland had been considered as an estate. When defeated, the estate was ceded to others; when others were defeated, it was claimed back again. No one ever considered that on this estate there were [real] people living there. The existence of Taiwanese had been deeply ignored, ... ” (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 19).³⁴⁷ Under such circumstances, “No matter whether from the viewpoint of time of space, or from the perspective of human nature or rationality, independence of Taiwan is the only happy road toward Taiwan’s future” (Strong C. Chuang, 1994, 32).³⁴⁸

Consequently, in the material Strong wrote for the In-Island propaganda in 1967, he made

³⁴⁷. The original title of this article was “My Opinions on the Taiwan Independence Movement (*wuo kan Taiwan Duli Yundong* 我看台灣獨立運動),” which was published in the April 1966 issue of *Taiwan Youth*, No. 65.

³⁴⁸. The original title of this article was “A General Discussion on the Taiwan Independence Movement: The Road to Independence (*fanlun Taiwan Duli Yundong: duli zhi lu* 泛論台灣獨立運動：獨立之路),” which was published in the August 1967 issue of *FORMOSAgram*.

it straight vociferously:

My fellow countrymen! Taiwan belongs to us Taiwanese (*wuomen Taiwanren* 我們台灣人)! The destiny of us Taiwanese should be arranged by Taiwanese ourselves, not Japan, not the United States, not the United Nations, and not even Chiang Kai-shek or Mao Zedong.

Now let's unite together! Down with the Chiang regime, oppose the Communist Party, and establish a free, democratic, equal and prosperous Republic of Taiwan.

Please pass the words: Taiwan is Taiwanese's Taiwan (*Taiwan shi Taiwanren de Taiwan* 台灣是台灣人的台灣)! Long live the Republic of Taiwan! (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 27)³⁴⁹

(9.5.7.b) Second, since Taiwan belongs to Taiwanese, and Taiwan should establish itself as an independent country, this means that Taiwan is *not the KMT's*, and Taiwan should be independent from the institution of the Republic of China. To Strong, Taiwanese did not like to be governed by the KMT, because the regime was corrupt and dark. He ever wrote in an article as follows: "For example, they used a mirage-like goal (*kongzhong-loge de mubiao* 空中樓閣的目標) to intentionally violate the constitution. They allowed the members of the Control Yuan and the Legislative Yuan to squander privileges, even though the provinces they represent have been lost for more than 20 years. They created a lot of unproductive institutions to place old and useless people and blocked the future of the youth. They squeezed people's tongue and throat to limit their freedom of speech. They used the highfalutin label of 5000 years' culture to poison and intoxicate the pure mind of the youth. They engaged in corruption and

extortion, indulging in extravagant social life. Any single item among these unreasonable things would warrant the necessity of Taiwan independence” (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 42).³⁵⁰

On the other hand, this was also because the KMT was a colonial regime in nature. “Just like the Koxinga regime, it is a parasite colonial regime without homeland, yet it has been clamoring its mission to recover the homeland” (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 82).³⁵¹ In the same article, Strong compared the KMT regime with its predecessor in Taiwan --- the Japanese colonial regime as follows: “The brainwashing strategy of the Chiang regime, which was through the education of greater China doctrine (*Dazhongguo zhuyi* 大中國主義), was equivalent to that of the Kominka Movement during the Japanese colonial period. Both attempted to exterminate our Taiwanese consciousness that had been nurtured ever since our ancestors immigrated to Taiwan” (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 83).³⁵² For example, the KMT regime restricted the use of the Taiwanese languages (including Hoklo, Hakka, and various aboriginal languages) on many occasions, overshadowed the native music and folk arts of Taiwan, exaggerated the history of China’s 5000 years, despised the character of Taiwanese (*Taiwanren de renke* 台灣的人格), and instilled the feudal and outdated thoughts, etc. (Strong C. Chuang 1994,

³⁴⁹. The original title of this article was “The Declaration of Independence Secretly Delivered into the Island by the Overseas Liaison Department (*Haiwai Lianluobu qian ji daonei de Duli Xuanyan* 海外聯絡部潛寄島內的獨立宣言),” which was published in the January 1967 issue of *FORMOSAgram*.

³⁵⁰. The original title of this article was “On the Necessity of Taiwan Independence (*fanlun Taiwan duli zhi biyao* 泛論台灣獨立之必要),” which was published in the September 1967 issue of *FORMOSAgram*.

³⁵¹. The original title of this article was “A Concise History of Taiwan (*Taiwan jianshi* 台灣簡史),” which was published in the February 1974 issue of *Independent Taiwan*.

³⁵². Data source same as previous footnote.

83-4).³⁵³ Every one of these measures revealed the émigré and colonial nature of the KMT regime.

(9.5.7.c) Third, the notion of Taiwan independence means Taiwan does not belong to the KMT, *nor does it belong to the Chinese Communists*. In one of Strong's articles, he made the following comments: "The condition to establish Taiwan as an independent country is sufficient; the corrupt Chiang regime is beyond cure; the atrocity of the Chinese Communists is notorious in the world. Thus, the international trends have rationally paved a way for Taiwan Independence" (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 43-4).³⁵⁴ In an article entitled "Where Is the Sincerity of Those Who Propose to Liberate Taiwan by China?" Strong listed four reasons to repudiate the so-called leftists' proposition to "Liberate Taiwan by China;" one of them is as follows:

The psychological reason to seek Taiwan independence is not for fear of China. In fact, it is those who propose to "return" Taiwan to China are afraid of China. Since they lose their self-respect and self-reliance to stand alone, they want to surrender Taiwan to China, without regard to the welfare of the Taiwanese. If they want to donate the people and the land of Taiwan to China as a sacrifice simply because they are afraid that China wants to liberate Taiwan, how could they claim that they "live for the welfare of the Taiwanese, die for the welfare of the Taiwanese, and publish magazines for the welfare of the Taiwanese?" (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 50)³⁵⁵

(9.5.7.d) Fourth, if the future of Taiwan is incumbent upon Taiwan independence, then, what methods can we use to accomplish the goal? Like most members of the

³⁵³. Data source same as previous footnote.

³⁵⁴. The original title of this article was "On the Necessity of Taiwan Independence."

³⁵⁵. The original article was published in the May 1972 issue of *Independent Taiwan*.

WUFI, Strong obviously believed that “we should use (or not exclude) the so-called method of ‘revolution (*geming* 革命)’ to accomplish the goal of this political movement. In August 1969, for the first time Strong attended the UFAI’s members conference. At that time, Chang, who was working at the Organization Department, directly defined the nature of the TIM as a “revolution.” “On the strength of a common idea and a common goal, we join the rank of revolution, bringing us a noble starting point as well as a meaningful purpose for our life.” (quoted from Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 177). Strong was much moved by the perspective and rhetoric. “Indeed, overthrowing the KMT and establishing a Republic of Taiwan was the most valuable, most meaningful, most extraordinary, and most dignified great task in life” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 178)!

In 1979 when the Formosa Incident happened, Strong was saddened beyond words, though he was far away from Taiwan. Shuang-bu Lin describes Strong’s feelings at that moment as follows: “He would throw a truckload of grenades, killing all the Chinese pigs in the KMT regime, and those Taiwanese traitors clinging to the Chinese pig group to enjoy their honor and wealth” (2000b, 253)! In 1993, in the postscript he wrote for his first book, *The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home*, he explained for the term “revolution” in the following way:

Today, it seems that most people believe that there exists no appropriate condition for revolution in the Taiwanese society at all. Nevertheless, to some people, Taiwanese should never give up the road of “revolution,” if they want to have their own way, since the nature of the KMT regime is not changed at all [until today]. In fact, a revolution is not only defined by armed revolution using swords and guns, other forms of regime transfer, as long as they are not through election procedure, are still a kind of revolution. Based on this definition, revolution, or not revolution, depends on whether today’s Taiwanese society can accomplish Taiwan independence through

election. At this junction, “Taiwan independence” is absolutely not just the change of the name of the country. Instead, it should be a paradigm shift in the whole value system in terms of politics, society as well as culture. Therefore, if the reigning KMT only changes the name of the country and declares Taiwan independence, then our goal is not accomplished yet, and the revolution is not achieved yet. From this point of view, *the nature of our movement, which aims to seek our own way, is still revolution!* (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 237-8; emphasis added)

(9.5.7.e) Fifth, no matter from what perspective, in terms of his Taiwanese identity, Strong indeed had a very profound *commitment* and *dedication*. Though by trade he was an engineer and by nature he liked to draw and write, for the goal of TIM, Strong had almost devoted all of his time after work to the movement.

Strong’s devotion to the TIM was demonstrated on almost his every facet of life. He not only pursued his girlfriend in the name of Taiwanese identity, but also named his son Tim (abbreviation of Timothy), which also means Taiwan Independence Movement in implication. Tim used to say, “My name has the meaning of Taiwan Independence Movement” (quoted from Yin-ning Wu 2002, 10). Strong liked to draw since his childhood. But, “In the beginning of the TIM, when he indulged himself in drawing occasionally, a sense of guilt would appear. The situation in Taiwan was so treacherous, how could he spend time drawing” (Yin-ning Wu 2002, 10)?

In addition, for a long period of time, every weekend he would drive more than two hours to Wen-liang Yan’s home in Indianapolis, to help print and bind *Taiwan Independence*, the official publication of the WUFI. “After buying a second-hand printer, Yan printed *Taiwan Independence* in the basement of his house. The ventilation in the basement was poor, and the ink smelt. Strong went to help almost every Saturday,

and came back late Sunday night, bringing Qian-mei and the children a body full of the pungent smell of the ink” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 228-9).

9.6 The Period during Taiwan’s Democratization (1988-)

9.6.1 Sneaking Back into Taiwan

In the spring of 1988, Shane Lee (*Li Xianrong* 李憲榮), president of the World Federation of Taiwanese Associations (hereafter WFTA), announced that in August of the year, the association would get into Taiwan to hold the 15th annual meeting, with a theme “The Rebirth of Taiwanese’s Dignity of Life (*Taiwanren shengming zunyan de zaisheng* 台灣人生命尊嚴的再生).” In the past, the annual meeting had been held outside of Taiwan, sometimes in the Americas, sometimes in Europe, sometimes in Japan, but it had never been held on the island of Taiwan. “Because of the KMT’s unreasonable, cruel and inhumane blacklist policy, among the enthusiastic Taiwanese who almost attended the meeting every year, quite few were able to get the entry permit to Taiwan. And if a meeting had only a few participants, it would not count” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 303).

However, to break through the KMT regime’s blacklist policy, Li, a Professor of political science residing in Canada, deliberately chose to hold the annual meeting at Swallow Lake (*Yanzehu* 燕子湖), just in the suburb of Xindian (*Xindian* 新店), Taiwan. “We Taiwanese want to go back to Taiwan to have our meeting. We want to see how the KMT regime is going to reject. We hope that, through this annual meeting, we can stamp out the KMT’s evil policy --- the blacklist” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 303).

When Strong got the news, he decided to attend this conference by all means. “The first idea came to his mind was, no matter what happened, he had to find a way to

go back to Taiwan to attend this historical meeting” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 299). But, unable to get a Taiwan’s entry permit, never having stepped on his homeland for 23 years, how could Strong get to Taiwan for this great meeting? Advised by his fellow members of WUFI, Strong used a phony name to get a new passport and, somewhat to his surprise, he did get a Taiwan’s entry permit, effective for five years, from the consulate office in Chicago. On the eve before his departure from Cincinnati, “Strong wrote a will and put it in the drawer of his desk” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 313).

On August 14, 1988, without further trouble, Strong came back to Taiwan, a place which had been in his dreams for more than 20 years. “The moment he was sure that he had entered the airport terminal and come back to his homeland Taiwan, Strong, at the age of fifty, just couldn’t help but sobbing with full tears in his eyes. He picked up a handkerchief, but couldn’t wipe dry the tears that kept welling down. Fortunately, the passage to the customs was very long, and he had enough time to adjust his emotions” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 315). In the terminal hall, when he saw his brother, whom he had never seen for 23 years, again his tears were beyond his control.

On August 17, Strong and his brother went to the “Rally on the Future of Taiwan,” which was sponsored by the Democratic Progressive Party, at a middle school in Kaohsiung. Immersed in the atmosphere at the scene, not only did Strong made it public on the platform that he was a member of the WUFI, but also he revealed the status that he was also a member of the WUFI central committee:

With a younger brother working for the TIM, Strong’s brother must be very proud of. Despite Strong’s opposition, his brother insisted on telling the moderator that there was a “VIP” who just came back from the United States to attend the annual meeting of WFTA. To his brother, Strong was definitely a VIP. His brother even told him just to call a spade a spade, since there was

no need to be humble if he was in the movement. It was a rarity to have an overseas VIP attending, which would definitely warm up the rally. Thus, the moderator cordially invited Strong to the platform to say a few words. With the encouraging applause from the crowd, embarrassingly, Strong had to step on the platform. He had never experienced, nor had he ever dreamed that, someday he would speak to a crowd of five to six thousand.

All of a sudden, Strong really didn't know how to start. After a moment of struggle, he decided to say something easy; the easiest thing to say, of course, was to introduce himself. So he talked about his upbringing, his connection with Kaohsiung, how he went to study in the United States, and how he cared about the future of Taiwan and then participated in the Taiwanese movement, and was thus on the KMT's blacklist, and how it took him 23 years to get an opportunity to come back to his homeland! With the contagious rousing atmosphere at the scene, Strong, who was not at home in speech, became more and more articulate, and in an uncanny way, he even said that he was a member of the WUFI! The crowd responded with thunderous applause, which in turn incited Strong to go further to announce that he was currently on the WUFI's central committee! The words just slipped out of his tongue; he suddenly felt they were inappropriate. But it was already too late. The crowd cheered in an uproar. His hope, the last small hope, was that with the uproar, the KMT agents --- if any at the scene --- did not hear clearly what he had just said, nor did the reporters. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 319-20)

The one that spoke right after Strong at the platform was someone named Chin-fu Yan (*Yan Jinfu* 顏錦福),³⁵⁶ who smashed Strong's last small hope. Impassioned, Yan opened his mouth, and seemed to use his whole life to laud Strong. This person repeated Strong's name and his position at the WUFI, asking the audience to give Strong

³⁵⁶. Chin-fu Yan (1937-), born in Chiayi, was arrested due to his connection with the TIM case of Tong-chi Su (*Su Dongqi* 蘇東啓) at his sophomore year at college. After being incarcerated for two years, he continued to finish his studies in the Department of Physics, National Taiwan Normal University. Since then, he ever taught at high school as well as did some business run by himself. After the Formosa

a hand, over and over again, to show their great respects:

“My dear fellow-citizens and elders: Ever since we Taiwanese sacrificed and struggled for the TIM, in several decades, tonight is the first time, historic and record-breaking that someone announced openly and squarely he is on the WUFI’s central committee, the first time! Mr. Strong Chuang, the one you just saw on the platform, gentle in appearance, an effeminate scholar with a U.S. Ph.D., not afraid of prison, and not afraid to die, has just announced that he possesses such important and sensitive status. He is really admirable, and we are deeply moved! Such a brave action has demonstrated that we Taiwanese, at home and abroad, with high or low education, and in all walks of life, all possess the strong determination in seeking an independent nation. Strong’s brave action also has shown that time has changed, and no one is afraid of the KMT³⁵⁷ anymore. The KMT regime is already at the end of its rope! Therefore, my dear fellow-citizens and elders, we don’t have to be afraid anymore. There is nothing to be afraid of anymore. We should step forward immediately. For the future of establishing an independent Taiwan, step forward immediately. Do you agree with me?” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 320-1)

Three days later, when the WFTA held its meeting at Swallow Lake, the TV broadcast the news that Strong appeared in Kaohsiung three days before, with a caption showing Strong’s name and his status as a member of the WUFI’s central committee. Upon watching the news, Strong’s brother-in-law insisted that Strong had to depart from the meeting instantly: “Hurry! If you don’t hurry up, you will be sorry. Now that the meeting is not over yet, the KMT may not dare take any action. Hurry! Get packed and go immediately” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 332).

Incident of 1979, he was so shocked and decided to participate in the opposition movement again. He was the DPP Legislator for four terms between 1992 and 2004 (Yi-shen Chen 2000; Legislative Yuan nd, c).

³⁵⁷. Yan deliberately mispronounced the KMT as “Goumintang (*gumiantong* 顧面桶),” which, means “take care of your wash basin” in Hoklo, with a tongue in cheek.

Afterwards, Strong kept his later itinerary in a low profile. Mostly he stayed in the southern Taiwan and went look around with the company of his brother.

He went and stopped here and there with abandon. No specific goal, no predetermined itinerary either. The August sunshine on the Chianan Plain (*Jianan Pinyuan* 嘉南平原) was hot and bright, and the blurred tree tops in the distant field kept jumping. Nothing happened. However, being safe and sound did not bring Strong a happy mind --- or just a little happy mind. He went around, and looked around, but the more he saw, the emptier he felt! He knew clearly, and knew exactly, that he was walking on the homeland which had been in his dreams in the past 23 years, and he was watching everything on the homeland which he had missed day and night for 23 years. But, why would the whole thing in the homeland look so unfamiliar? Why so dreadfully unfamiliar? Everything changed. Or, should he say everything was spoiled? The natural mountains and forests, the artificial streets and buildings, what's more, the way people handled among people, the language people conversed, and the subtle things that Strong could not describe yet he could feel, almost all of them were different from before! Without the power to make decision, a nation would not be able to preserve the original sight of the land in the country, or control the development of the land in the country. Strong understood the rationale. Facing the undesirable consequences, Strong was shocked, nervous, and flabbergasted. But, why would his feelings so strong that he could hardly bear?

The homeland had changed. Could a changed homeland still be a homeland? For many times, absent-minded, Strong even thought he was walking and watching on a foreign land, a foreign land like the United States! (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 334)

Something happened at the day he departed at Chiang Kai-shek Airport in Taoyuan. "Some people at the customs waited for him. Several of them, all well-built and tall, and they all spoke Mandarin with their tongues rolled up. A man wearing glasses with a black frame, possibly a leader of the group, took Strong's passport, and with a series of

pounding sounds, he stamped “cancelled” more than ten times on the entry visa page of Strong’s passport. Then Strong was sprayed with a series of stern scolding from the man and his colleagues. They followed Strong and kept scolding almost all the way to the boarding gate. Strong fully understood that what they were swearing were all abusive expressions and tried to ignore. However, some concise nouns and verbs such as “s. o. b,” “scumbag,” “traitor,” “go to hell,” and “get out” still penetrated into Strong’s ears. When Strong was approaching the boarding gate, he heard clearly a very loud sentence: ‘Don’t you dare come back again!’ (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 335-6)!

9.6.2 Moving to Delaware and the WUFI’s Relocation to Taiwan

In the winter of 1988, Kimberly-Clark, a paper manufacturing company located beside Philadelphia International Airport, began to take interest in Strong’s energy-saving tissue paper manufacturing method. They wanted Strong to come over and be a senior technology consultant, offering to pay much higher than Procter and Gamble, and would count his 18-year-long tenure there” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 339). Initially, Qian-mei was against moving. However, unable to resist Kimberly-Clark’s solicitations, Strong transferred his job to Kimberly-Clark in July 1989, leaving Cincinnati where he had lived for nearly 20 years, and moving to the suburb of Chadds Ford, a small town in Delaware, starting his second career in his life. Strong moved to Delaware alone first. Qian-mei did not move since she still had some personal matters to handle.

In August 1989, the WFTA held the annual meeting in Taiwan again. Kaohsiung, the biggest city of southern Taiwan, was chosen as the site for this conference. Since Strong had sneaked into Taiwan last year, he certainly could not go back this time.

Meanwhile, Rolla, Strong's daughter, happened to be awarded a \$1,000 scholarship from the Professor Wen-cheng Chen's Scholarship. Using the money, she decided to go to the meeting on behalf of her father, and piggybacked her first visit to the island where her parents were born. Her brother went with her on the trip (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 343-4). "The two young people --- both America-born Taiwanese (*zai Meiguo chusheng de Taiwanren* 在美國出生的台灣人); Americans of Taiwanese descent (*Taiwan houyi de Meiguoren* 台灣後裔的美國人); or Taiwanese Americans as claimed by other people or self-claimed --- happily went on the trip. Two months later, they came back to Cincinnati happily. Rolla said that both she and her brother made speeches in Hoklo, and no matter what they spoke, everybody applauded loudly. According to a legislator of the Democratic Progressive Party, though the two Taiwanese kids grew up in the United States, they spoke Hoklo rather fluently, and so they deserved a big hand. Even native Taiwanese who were born and raised right in Taiwan may not be able to speak Hoklo so fluently" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 344).

After the WFTA held two meetings in Taiwan, the KMT's inhumane blacklist policy was gradually drawing attention from the people inside the island of Taiwan. In the spring of 1990, the WUFI passed a resolution, deciding that within two years, or before December 31, 1991, the organization would relocate its key members back to Taiwan, with a view to shatter the KMT's blacklist policy (Shuang-bu lin 2000b, 352). For the purpose of publicizing the idea of "relocating the WUFI back to Taiwan (*qianmeng hui Tai* 遷盟回台)," Strong wrote an article entitled "The Meaning of Relocating the WUFI back to Taiwan" in 1991. In this article, he said:

We believe that the movement of establishing an independent nation is not a

privilege only belonging to the WUFI. Instead, the accomplishment of the goal is incumbent upon the awakening of ordinary people as well as the participation from the masses. To relocate the WUFI back to Taiwan is absolutely not to grab the territory of the existing opposition movement, neither to rob the resources from the existing opposition movement. On the contrary, the relocation will face the KMT's persecution right away. Through arousing the awakening and participation of the compatriots, we hope we can struggle together to establish an independent nation. (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 224)

The project of WUFI relocation was thus being carried out in real earnest. In August 1991, the then-chairperson Pei-horng Kuo of the WUFI was arrested at the airport when trying to sneak into Taiwan. One month later, Ying-yuan Lee, who had slipped into the island for some time already, was also arrested and imprisoned in Taipei. Similarly, in October, Kang-lu Wang (*Wang Kanglu* 王康陸), a friend of Strong's at Kansas State University and the secretary of the WUFI's New York office, was arrested in Taipei. In December, George Chang, the former chairperson of the WUFI, flew from New York to Taoyuan, and went into the prison directly. After these incidents, the WUFI's secret members in Taiwan publicly showed up in two waves, finally set up an office in Taipei, and announced that the task of relocating WUFI headquarters back to Taiwan was accomplished (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 359). "Separated by an immense Pacific Ocean, Strong saw his comrades were being imprisoned one by one, but he did not feel sad. Strong understood that they would not be in prison too long, since the awakening Taiwanese would not allow the KMT to imprison them too long, or even not allow the KMT to continue to exist on the island of Taiwan too long" (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 359).

9.6.3 Finale of the Story

In October 1992, the WUFI decided to hold the first central committee meeting in Taiwan. “Thanks to the long time struggle of people who were blacklisted as well as the effort made by many groups and individuals at home and abroad, this time, Strong obtained his entry visa and entered Taiwan smoothly on October 22. His brother Qiu-feng, at the age of sixty-one, came to pick him up. Already retired from the Bureau of Food, Qiu-feng said he would be Strong’s full-time driver, accompanying him anywhere” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 365).

On October 24, while on the way to attend a symposium in Taichung, Strong came across Stella Chen (*Chen Wanzhen* 陳婉真),³⁵⁸ whom he had already known in the United States, on the street. Chen was on her way to the Taichung Justice Building for a protest, so she invited Strong and his brother to go together. Cheng Wu described the process in what was later called the “Taichung Justice Building Incident.”

Not knowing what was going on, the two brothers just stood on the side watching. When the police confronted the protesting crowd, Qiu-feng was

³⁵⁸. Stella Chen (1950-), born in Changhua (*Zhanghua* 彰化), graduated from the Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University. While serving as a reporter at *China Times* (*Zhongguo Shibao* 中國時報), she reported faithfully what she saw and heard, ignoring the powerful. As a result, her stories were often expurgated or put on hold. Frustrated and thought there was nothing she could do in journalism, she decided to take part in the election of legislator in 1978. Meanwhile, she also served as a member of the Board of Directors of the *Formosa* (*Meilidao* 美麗島) magazine.

In August 1980, Hsin-liang Hsu founded *The Formosa Weekly* in Los Angeles. Hsu invited Chen, who happened to be out of country for a visit, to be the first editor-in-chief of this weekly. Chen kept the position for eight months. In April 1989, Nan-jung Deng's self-immolation, which was for protesting the KMT's charge of sedition, brought the TIM to a new stage. In May, Chen, who was on the KMT's blacklist, successfully stole into Taiwan from the United States, and unexpectedly showed up at Deng's funeral ceremony. She then started to engage in various kinds of nonconventional struggle to fight with the KMT for the cause of TIM. In May 1991, Chen and her comrades founded the Taiwan Nation-building Organization (*Taiwan Jianguo Zuzhi* 台灣建國組織), one of the most radical groups in the TIM (Stella Chen 1991, Bookcover Author Profile; Hsiao-feng Li 1994, 343-6).

worried about Strong's safety. And upon seeing Strong, who was anything but strong, was about to be bludgeoned by the police, Qiu-feng jumped to the front of Strong, spreading his arms and yelling not to hit. But in the chaos of pushing, hitting and crushing, Qiu-feng fell to the ground. In an effort to keep Strong from danger, Qiu-feng embraced the leg of the police in front of him and, as a result, he was arrested, and was hastily taken into custody and detained.

At noon the next day, we went to Taichung Detention Center to see Qiu-feng. He waddled and had to put his hands on the table to prop himself up. We felt so bad and asked if he was hit. Then he turned around, holding up his shirt and divulging a back covered with bruises. Everybody cried, and I couldn't hold my tears. Qiu-feng said that while four young police were holding and dragging him, they kept bludgeoning him on the back and hip. (Cheng Wu 1994, 243)

Though Qiu-feng's legal responsibility was not severe, to Strong himself, this incident was nevertheless a very big blow. In 1993, he wrote:

On the trip to Taiwan, at first, I was trying by best to understand the situation of today's Taiwanese society, and look for what I could do in the future if I decided to move back. Unfortunately, the October 25 Taichung Justice Building Incident happened. To protect me, my brother Qiu-feng, who took care of me and brought me up like a father, was inhumanely hit and persecuted. In the days that followed, the rescue, the hustle and the worry in Taiwan struck me heavily, triggering me a sense of helplessness beyond description toward the homeland, which I had been missing in my dreams in the past 27 years.

Before the summer, Tai-he Wang (*Wang Taihe* 王泰和), chairperson of the Formosan Association for Human Rights, invited me to join their visiting group. Wen-chin Lin (*Lin Wenqin* 林文欽) of Vanguard Press also asked me to have a book-signing party to promote my book, *The Dream of Taiwan Independence by Overseas Traveler Residing far away from Home*, in case I went to Taiwan to attend the WFTA annual meeting. Without sufficient

reasons, I declined one by one. Looking back, I guess I might have been haunted by the sense of helplessness toward my homeland. (Strong C. Chuang 1994, 246)³⁵⁹

On June 9, 1995, Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui went back to his alma mater, Cornell University, to give a speech. Before that, the Chinese government tried every effort to obstruct, and the Taiwanese Government also spared no efforts to lobby the Congress for the matter. In the long run, President Clinton of the United States temporarily agreed to allow Lee to come back, in his private capacity, to his alma mater, where he graduated 27 years ago. Since the news was covered by the media extensively, the event certainly attracted the attention of many Taiwanese organizations and Taiwanese, including Strong. These Taiwanese organizations, led by the Taiwanese Association of America, the Taiwanese Collegian and the WUFI, formed a “Coalition for Protecting Taiwan’s Sovereignty (*Baowei Taiwan Zhuquan Liangmeng* 保衛台灣主權聯盟).” On the day Lee gave the speech, they went to Cornell University to give Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui a different kind of welcome (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 374).

Strong entered the lecture hall together with many Taiwanese. After Lee finished his speech entitled “Always in My Heart,” Strong found an opportunity to ask the first question:

..... Strong asked Lee, “You said that you represent the 21 million people of the Republic of China on Taiwan. My question is, isn’t the ‘Republic of China on Taiwan’ as ridiculous as ‘the United States of America on Hawaii?’ When will you call the Republic of China on Taiwan as the Republic of

³⁵⁹. The original title of this article was “A Postscript to the ‘Postscript’ (*houji de houji* 後記的後記),” which was published in the *Taiwan Tribune* on September 4, 1993.

Taiwan?”

Strong hadn't even finished his question, the chancellor of Cornell University already asked Lee to reply. Lee's reply was very simple, "The Republic of China on Taiwan has been there for 84 years, and it will continue to exist."

An incomprehensible reply, yet there was still rousing applause from the audience. Strong felt very disappointed. (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 376)

On October 3, 1995, the WUFI's chairperson Cheng-lung Robert Tsai (*Cai Zhenglong* 蔡正隆) passed away. The central committee decided that vice-chairperson Peter Chang (*Zhang Xintang* 張信堂) succeed as chairperson. Meanwhile, Strong was recommended as vice-chairperson of the WUFI (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 376).

9.6.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

While comparing with other subjects in this study, the most noticeable point in the developmental process of Strong's national identity, in my opinion, is the nonexistence of major change after he joined the UFAI in 1966. In other cases, the biographees usually would, in the wake of the changes in the outside environment (especially the democratization project in Taiwan), more or less, make some revision regarding the contents of their national identity. However, in Strong's case, it seems not quite possible for us to find such a trend. The following two points are my observations with respect to Strong's national identity after 1988.

(9.6.4.a) First, in some cases, in response to the changes in political situation, the biographees changed the contents of their national identity after returning to Taiwan in the 1990s. The most obvious change was their position toward the "Republic of China."

When they were still in the United States, they intensely promoted that idea to describe the Republic of China controlled by the KMT as an émigré regime. But, after returning to Taiwan, they started to promote the theory that the Republic of China (or the Republic of China on Taiwan) was already a country with independent sovereignty. Ming-min Peng embraced this position, and Trong Chai basically could be classified into the same position as well. However, Strong obviously did not agree with this argument.

Instead, *he still stuck to his long-time political belief that the name of the Republic of China or the Republic of China on Taiwan should be discarded.* When Chen Sui-bian was elected Taiwan President in 2000, and the Democratic Progressive Party became the largest party in the Legislative Yuan in 2001, in an article entitled “After the Native Political Power Won the Election in 2001,” Strong had the following argument:

As far as the position of a country in international community is concerned, there is no ambiguous space at all. If Taiwan continues to use the “Republic of China” or the “Republic of China on Taiwan” as the name of the country, the international community will have to accept the idea that “Taiwan is part of China” as maintained vociferously by China. When the international community agrees that the “Republic of China” is a branched-out “renegade government,” then, diplomatically, it will be easier for China to continue to unreasonably oppress Taiwan, and China will be justified to “squench a rebellion” when it becomes stronger. By that time, even though Taiwan argues that “the Republic of China is a country with independent sovereignty,” the international community would treat Taiwan as a slave asking to be freed but unwilling to be a master, and would be unable to offer help though willing in spirit. Continuing to use the “Republic of China” as the name of the country and keep the status quo, therefore, is equivalent to living in peace with a false disguise of security, and is no different from waiting to die. (Strong C. Chuang 2002a, 205)

(9.6.4.b) Of course, one of the most important factors that Strong could

unflinchingly stick to his political beliefs for several decades is, to certain degree, he was *not a front figure* of this movement and, accordingly, did not have to be compromising about his stance. Just like what his niece Yin-ning Wu said in the preface to Strong's second book: "He was not a front figure, and he did not have to be diplomatic, compromising and eager to steal the show like a front figure. However, no one can deny that he had spent most of his life establishing a paragon as a Taiwanese fighting against authority and for ideals" (Yin-ning Wu 2002, 14). And since he was not a front figure, unlike Ming-min Peng who campaigned for President or Trong Chai for Legislator, Strong did not have to adjust his speech gauge to reflect the constituents' opinions.

9.7 Conclusion

Strong was born in 1938 during the Japanese colonial period, and had Japanese education for several months in the last year of World War II. Then, after the KMT regime took Taiwan, Strong received the Chinese education for 15 years. Due to the fact that his parents (especially his mother) and his older brother had very strong sense of Taiwanese consciousness, before the age of fifteen, Strong was not successfully brainwashed by the KMT's deliberately designed education system, and still possessed a kind of naïve Taiwanese identity.

At fifteen, Strong was admitted to Nanguang Middle School, which was originally designed exclusively for the children of the employees at a sugar plant. Three years later, he passed the entrance examination and got into the Department of Civil Engineering, National Taiwan University --- the best University in Taiwan. Having graduated in 1961, he reported for his military duty at the end of the year. Once

discharged, Strong started to work at the Bureau of Public Project, the Provincial Government of Taiwan, taking charge of tap water projects. As he grew older, the sources of political socialization other than family, such as those from schools, military institutions, and government agencies, finally “defeated” the influence of family socialization. Accordingly, like most students under the KMT education system, after the age of fifteen, Strong began to accept the idea that “Taiwanese are Chinese,” a propaganda stereotype promoted by the KMT party-state.

Noticeably, though the national education system deliberately designed by the KMT had some influence on Strong, it did not thoroughly rebuild Strong, who, at childhood, already embraced a naïve Taiwanese consciousness. For example, in Strong’s senior year at high school, his military instructor wanted to recruit him into KMT, but he refused. Take another example, in terms of the question “whether Taiwanese are Chinese,” ostensibly it looked like Strong’s answer was “yes,” but deep inside, he had been obfuscated by this too simple answer.

In 1965, Strong was offered a scholarship by Kansas State University in the United States. He said goodbye to his family and flew alone to other side of the Pacific Ocean. Once arriving at Manhattan, Kansas, he read some magazines and books regarding the TIM by happenstance, and thus changed his national identity, as well as his life journey thereafter. Inspired by the magazines and books, Strong started to actively participate in the activities of the Taiwanese Association on campus. One year later, along with seven other students at Kansas State University, he took an oath and joined the UFAI, the predecessor of WUFI.

In 1966, engaged to Qian-mei Qiu, Strong alone went to Purdue University in

Indiana to pursue his doctoral degree. It was also there that, with his initiation, the first Taiwanese Association on that campus was founded and he became its president. Half year after graduating from Purdue in 1971, he found a job with Procter and Gamble in Cincinnati, where he started to join the activities in the Taiwanese community right there. At the same time, he also engaged himself more actively in all the activities of the WUFI. During this stage, he developed his own Taiwanese identity, and firmly believed that Taiwan belonged to Taiwanese, and the only way for Taiwan's survival was Taiwan independence. Neither the KMT nor the Communist Party had the right to determine the future of Taiwan.

In 1988, using a phony name, Strong obtained a new U.S. passport and Taiwan's entry visa smoothly, returning to his homeland after the absence of 23 years to attend the WFTA annual meeting. At the end of 1991, the WUFI announced that the organization had set up an office in Taiwan and, accordingly, successfully relocated her headquarters to Taiwan. The next year, to attend the meeting of WUFI central committee, Strong "formally" went back to Taiwan for the first time. Unfortunately, Qiu-feng, his brother and volunteer driver, was entangled in a protest incident at the Taichung Justice Building. Qiu-feng, arrested by the police without proper reasons, was brutalized and seriously wounded. Saddened by the incident, Strong found himself engulfed in a sense of helplessness beyond description toward his homeland. Apparently, though many TIM activists in the United States who went back to Taiwan in the 1990s had, in response to the changes in the external environment, more or less changed the contents of their Taiwanese identity, Strong, who was never a "front figure," had stuck persistently to his original identity, still considering that the "Republic of China" or the so-called "Republic

of China on Taiwan” was an inappropriate, or even an illegitimate name for the country.

Chapter Ten

Case Study (6): The Process of National Identity Formation for Fang-ming Chen

What thoroughly awoke me from the ivory tower of knowledge was the Formosa Incident that happened in 1979. The justice and peace proclaimed by the Taiwan democratic movement went up in flames right in the smoke from the gas shells shot by the riot quell forces in the incident. The writers, friends and political activists I was familiar with suffered indescribable stigmatization, accusation and incarceration.

--- Fang-ming Chen, *The End of My Dream*

10.1 Introduction

Ya-fang Qiu (*Qiu Yafang* 邱雅芳), a young critic, once commented, “If ‘Taiwanese literature’ has been a mainstream learning, and if the three words ‘Fang-ming Chen’ are sufficient to represent the bedrock of Taiwanese history and Taiwanese literature research, then, we have to admit that the development of history is twisty and volatile” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 3). A baby boomer born in 1947, Fang-ming Chen was used to self-analysis: “My life experience straddled politics and academia, straddled history and literature, straddled Taiwan and foreign land, straddled the leftist and the rightist, looking like passing smoke and clouds, yet permanently imprinted on my mind” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 179). Put it another way, to some extent, we may say that Taiwan’s “twisty and volatile” characteristics after World War II is sufficiently reflected in miniature on Fang-ming’s body and mind. Also, because of Fang-ming’s rather intensive and special experiences, Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 3) even makes the

observation, “If we can get ahold of Fang-ming’s linking and transition in each period, then we can grasp the changing pulse of the Taiwanese society after the war, especially the mellifluous minds of the intellectuals.”

Having embraced a greater Chinese nationalism, participating in the founding of the Dragon Tribe Poetry Society (*Longzu Shishe* 龍族詩社) in the early 1970s, Fang-ming became a Taiwanese nationalist after he went to study in the United States, and was thus on the “blacklist,” exiling overseas for almost 20 years. Today, a Professor in the Department of Chinese Literature, National Cheng Chih University, with nearly 30 books published, ranging from poetry, prose, literary reviews, literary history and historical research, without a doubt, he is an important flag bearer in the construction of modern Taiwanese identity. His case is definitely the best sample to observe national identity transformation in the consciousness of the post-war-generation in Taiwan. For a glimpse of Fang-ming’s photo, refer to Figure 10.1.

(Figure 10.1 about here)

Unfortunately, to this date, Fang-ming has never published any autobiography. Except for the master thesis written by Ming-cheng Chen, “The Phenomenon of Fang-ming Chen and the Study of His National Identity,” which can be deemed a “topical biography,” no others have written other biographies of Fang-ming Chen. Nevertheless, since he is a very productive writer, and he has many writings in prose concerning his mind’s journey in the struggle and lingering of his sense of national identity, using his writings in different periods as a text, we can explore his identity development process at different stages of his life. In the following analyses, I will divide Fang-ming’s life history into four periods for discussion. They are: (1) The period before going abroad to

Figure 10.1
Photo of Fang-ming Chen



Source: National Library (2002)

study (1947-1974); (2) The initial period of his study abroad (1974-1980); (3) The period of his overseas exile; (4) His returning to Taiwan (1992-).

10.2 Before Going Abroad to Study (1947-1974)

10.2.1 Family Background

The third of six children, Fang-ming Chen was born in June 1947 in Zuoying

(*Zuoying* 左營), Kaohsiung, almost two years after the KMT took over Taiwan. He belonged to what he later called the February 28 “survivor (*xingcunzhe* 倖存者)” generation (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 238).³⁶⁰ For major events in Fang-ming’s life history, refer to Table 10.1.

(Table 10.1 about here)

From the extent data, Fang-ming mentioned little about his parents. We only know that during the February 28 Incident, before Fang-ming was born, his father was arrested without apparent reason. While waiting punishment, his mother importuned everywhere, and finally saved his father’s life by giving away a watch. Afterward, just like most of the men in Taiwan at that time, defeated by history, castrated in spirit, his father had since learned to keep silent and stay away from politics. It was fifty years after the Incident, when the two went together to see the February 28 Monument³⁶¹ located at Shoushan, Kaohsiung, that Fang-ming for the first time heard his father talk about the “February 28 Incident.” His father roughly told him what happened:

“At that time, I was arrested, too,” in a stable tone, my quiet father suddenly opened his mouth. For the first time, he talked about the incident that involved himself, with a voice seemingly coming from far away. “Without any notice, armed soldiers broke in. They took my watch first, and then overturned every box and basket in the room.” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 154)

³⁶⁰. In 1991, Fang-ming joined the newly founded “Forty-seven Society,” so called because all the members were born in 1947, the year in which the February 28 Incident happened (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 271). “‘Forty-seven Society’ is a group for the writers who were born in the year of 1947, also a group for those who luckily survived the February 28 Incident. We are the survivors of Taiwanese history.” (Fang-ming Chen 1991d, 241).

³⁶¹. The inscription was written by Fang-ming himself (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 150).

Table 10.1
Major Events in the Life of Fang-ming Chen

Year	Event
I. Before Going Abroad to Study (1947-1974)	
1947	February: The “February 28 Incident” broke out. His father was arrested without apparent reason. While waiting punishment, his mother importuned everywhere, and finally saved his father’s life by giving away a watch. June: Chen was born in Zuoying, Kaohsiung. During the Japanese colonial period, his father worked at a department store run by Japanese. After the KMT took over Taiwan, his father sold second-hand goods, set up a noodle stand, tried rice milling, and finally got into the electronics business.
1953	Chen started studying at Jiucheng Elementary School.
1959	Chen passed the examination to get into the junior section of the Provincial Zuoying Middle School.
1962	Chen graduated from the junior section, and went on to the high school section at Zuoying.
1965	After ending an agonizing first love, Chen was finally admitted to the Department of History, Fu Jen Catholic University, which is located in Taipei.
1967	Chen took part in the Combat Literature Camp sponsored by the China Youth Corps. Then, together with some poem-loving friends, he founded the “Crystal Poetry Society.”
1969	Chen graduated from Fu Jen and started fulfilling his reserve officer’s obligation.
1970	Chen entered the Graduate School of History at National Taiwan University, specializing in Song Dynasty of Chinese history. The Japanese government unilaterally claimed the sovereignty of the Diaoyutai isles, and included the isles as part of the territory of Ryukyu. Meanwhile, the United States government also announced that “The Senkaku Islands are part of the Ryukyu Islands, and will be returned to Japan together with the Ryukyu Islands in 1972.” The “Diaoyutai Incident” therefore broke out. Chen touched for the first time Cho-liu Wu’s <i>Taiwan Literature</i>, and suddenly “found it ridiculous.”
1971	January: Alongside eight poet friends, Chen founded the “Dragon Tribe Poetry Society.” He also wrote that: “The dragon represented a symbol with a profound legend, a life of eternity and an image of honor. It reminded us of the people, reminded us of the glory and the shame of China.” October: The KMT regime was expelled from the United Nations and replaced by the People’s Republic of China.

Table 10.1 (Cont.)

1972	February: President Nixon of the United States signed the “Shanghai Communiqué” with the People’s Republic of China.
	October: Japan severed its diplomatic ties with Taiwan and recognized the People’s Republic of China instead.
1973	February: Chen published his first book <i>Grass with Worry</i> , a collection of his poems.
	June: Chen finished his master thesis on Chinese Song history entitled “The Concept of Loyalty to the Emperor in the Song Dynasty.”
	Chen got married.
II. The Initial Period during Study Abroad (1974-1980)	
1974	September: Along with his newly wed wife, Chen went to study at the University of Washington in Seattle, fulfilling what he called “the most tumultuous departure in life.”
	Winter: Chen drove for the first time toward Vancouver, Canada, from Seattle, but was stopped by the Canadian customs officials simply because the “Republic of China” passport in his hands was not recognized.
	Winter: On the University of Washington campus, Chen first met John S. Cheng, who had just finished his term as the chairperson of the WUFI. This was the first time that he met a so-called dissident.
1975	April: Chiang Kai-shek died.
	Autumn: Chen took part in the Amnesty International on campus and, much to his chagrin, he found that there were conscious prisoners in Taiwan waiting for rescue.
	Winter: Introduced by John S. Cheng, Chen got to know the overseas TIM spiritual master Ming-min Peng, a person he regarded as his “first political ideology inspirer after going abroad.”
	December: To protest the banning of <i>Taiwan Political Review</i> , Chen, together with his friends at the University of Washington, wore a mask and went to the KMT’s consulate in Seattle to participate in his first demonstration.
1976	Chen’s son was born.
	Chen joined two study groups simultaneously. One was a Taiwanese history group and the other was a leftist socialist group. Since then, a storm was brewing; his “thinking” was being torn apart and disintegrated.
1977	April: The “Nativist Literature Debate” broke out in Taiwan.
	September: Chen wrote Kwang-chung Yu and mentioned in the letter: “what Jiangnan is to you is like what Chianan is to me,” declaring the end of their friendship.

Table 10.1 (Cont.)

1978	December: Chen passed his doctoral qualifying examination. December: The United States announced that it was going to establish diplomatic relations with China and sever those with Taiwan.
1979	In China, the Gang of Four was forced to step down. After that, Chen felt "totally exhausted for my having immature inclinations toward the leftists." December: The "Formosa Incident" broke out in Kaohsiung, Taiwan.
III. Overseas Exile (1980-1992)	
1980	February: Lin Family Murders occurred in Taipei. Yi-hsiung Lin's widowed mother and his youngest twin daughters were gruesomely murdered in broad daylight, at his home on Xinyi Road. August: Chen decided to give up his studies to join the editing staff of the <i>Formosa Weekly</i> , a journal published by dissident Hsin-liang Hsu. Winter: Chen spent the whole winter reading Bing Su's <i>A Four-Hundred-Year History of Taiwanese</i> . The Chinese edition of this book was actually just published in this September.
1981	Summer: Chen met with Bing Su in Los Angeles for the first time.
1982	Chen published in the <i>Formosa Weekly</i> his first research paper about Taiwanese Leftist Movement, "Longing for the Motherland Forever: The Life and An Introduction to the Thought of Xin Su." October: With the purpose of "glorifying the Taiwanese literary tradition, and enhance the continuing development of Taiwanese literature," the "Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature" was established by Chen and other overseas Taiwanese scholars and writers in Los Angeles. Chen was elected the secretary of this organization.
1983	June: Thanks to the "Der-jian Ho Incident," a so-called "Taiwanese Consciousness Debate," which was focused on "the Taiwanese complex vs. the Chinese complex," was triggered among the opposition camp in Taiwan.
1984	January: Chen published "The Question of the Nativization of Taiwanese Literature at the Current Stage" in <i>Taiwan Literature</i> , providing a complete retrospect about the debate on Taiwanese consciousness. Spring: Chen left Los Angeles where he had lived for four years and went back to the University of Washington campus of Seattle. March: The "Taiwan Library" was planned to be published by Taiwan Publishing Co. Chen, together with Liang-ze Zhang, Jer-shung Lin, and Fu-mei Chang were burdened with the tasks of book selecting and editing.
1985	July: Chen was chosen as the editor-in-chief of Taiwan Culture bimonthly, a new journal sponsored by the Professor Chen Wen-Chen's Memorial Foundation.

Table 10.1 (Cont.)

1986	Chen moved to San Jose from Seattle, starting the writing of <i>A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie</i>. <i>The Literary Career of Kui Yang</i>, which was edited by Chen, was published by Taiwan Publishing Co. September: The Democratic Progressive Party was established in Taipei.
1988	Chen published collection of prose <i>The Wounded Reed</i> as well as historical commentaries <i>Writing Critical Essays While Drinking Wine</i> and <i>History and Consciousness of Taiwanese</i>. Furthermore, <i>Anthology of the February 28 Incident</i>, which was edited by Chen, was also published by Taiwan Publishing Co.
1989	Chen published several books, including <i>A Contorted and Wounded Island</i>, <i>Crossroads of Our Time: The Controversy over Unification/Independence and Cross-Strait Relations</i>, and <i>Under the Flag of Formosa: Opposition Movement and Democratic Taiwan</i>, etc. June: Chen got the green light from the KMT and obtained a one-month visa to come back to Taiwan, the first time after leaving Taiwan in 1974.
1990	Chen published two political commentaries, <i>An Examination of Taiwan's External Relations</i> and <i>An Observation on Taiwan's Internal Democracy</i>. June: Chen was invited to come back to Taiwan, attending the National Affairs Conference initiated by Lee Teng-hui.
1991	<i>A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie</i>, which took Chen four years to finish, was finally published by Vanguard Press in Taipei. Furthermore, Chen also wrote and edited several books, including <i>The Formosa Complex</i>, <i>Lee Teng-hui Complex</i> and <i>Selected Documents of Post-war Taiwan: Special Issue on the February 28 Incident</i>. Hsing-liang Hsu was elected the chairperson of the Democratic Progressive Party.
IV. Returning to Taiwan (1992-)	
1992	Chen published <i>The Thorny Gate</i> and <i>Exploration of a Taiwanese Historical Perspective</i>. August: Chen was appointed as the director of DPP's Department of Culture and Information. Using this appointment as the reason to obtain his citizenship card, he finally came back and resided in Taiwan, ending his almost twenty-year-long exiled life.
1993	Chen published political commentaries <i>Peaceful Evolution in Taiwan</i>. July: Chen organized a "Culture Conference," the first of its type since the DPP was established, successfully using a cultural agenda to subvert the reality of political hegemony.

Table 10.1 (Cont.)

1994	Chen published an anthology of literary critiques and historical commentaries, <i>The Pursuit of Role Models</i> .
1995	Chen participated in the “Debate on the History of Taiwanese Nativization Movement.” July: Chen quit the job with the DPP and returned to academia, teaching in the Department of Chinese Literature, Providence University.
1996	Chen published an anthology of political commentaries, <i>Century and World at the Crossroads</i> , as well as a collection of prose, <i>Reading inside an Unsafe Building at Night</i> .
1998	Chen published two anthologies of literary critiques and historical commentaries, <i>The Leftist Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Literary Movement under Colonial Rule, 1920-1945</i> and <i>The Colonial Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Leftist Political Movement, 1920-1931</i> ; as well as four anthologies of prose, <i>Reed in the Wind</i> , <i>The End of My Dream</i> , <i>Time in the Long Lane</i> , and <i>Map in the Palm</i> .
1999	Chen transferred to teach in the Department of Chinese Literature at National Chi Nan University in Puli. Chen started publishing <i>A New History of Taiwanese Literature</i> chapter by chapter in <i>Unitas</i> .
2000	Chen again transferred to teach in the Department of Chinese Literature at National Cheng Chih University in Taipei, where he still teaches today.
2001	Chen published collection of prose <i>Reading inside the Hill at Night</i> .
2002	Chen published an anthology of literary critiques and historical commentaries, <i>Postcolonial Taiwan: Essays on Taiwanese Literary History and Beyond</i> .
2003	Chen’s anthology of prose, <i>Anthology of Fang-ming Chen</i> , was published in Taipei.

Source: Made by author

My mother had to solicit help everywhere, asking some Kaohsiung dignitaries to negotiate. In the end, the head of neighborhood wrote and signed a guaranty, and my father was released. There were still many people kneeling at the Kaohsiung Railroad Station. Whether they went home peacefully, my father would not dare ask. Neither did he understand why he was escorted away. He knew only that his life was exchanged for a watch. From then on, he started to lead a life with no resistance and no criticism. If someone

wanted to look for resistance and criticism at that time, then what they could have found would be nothing but silence. (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 155)

Afterward, according to Fang-ming, “After drinking, my father would liked to sing, in a melancholy tone, a Japanese song ‘Rendezvous at Youle Ding (*xiangfeng Youle Ding* 相逢有樂町).’ I did not know the meaning of the lyrics, however, I could indistinctly sense that my father was consoling his wounds, venting his emotions that were so difficult to suppress” (Fang-ming Chen 2003, 111). “His time was obviously a time characterized by suffocation with no way out” (Fang-ming Chen 2003, 112-3).

During the Japanese colonial period, Fang-ming’s father worked at a department store run by Japanese. It was also there that his father met his mother, who also worked as a sales clerk, and then they got married (Fang-ming Chen 1991d, 241). After the KMT took over Taiwan, Fang-ming’s father sold second-hand goods, set up a noodle stand, tried rice milling, and finally got into the electronics business. “When I was still a little boy, my father was already running a tiny electronics store” (Fang-ming Chen 2003, 114). Facing a new regime and an unfamiliar new language, his father was not happy, at least Fang-ming thought so. “Since he started a business, he had found that language was a big handicap to him, and even reading the newspaper was painstaking. He went to bid for projects of government agencies, and frequently found that due to his broken Mandarin, he was unable to express what he thought. Anyhow, he still insisted on learning the language he was not familiar with. Right until today, he still speaks broken Mandarin” (Fang-ming Chen 2003, 114).

As for Fang-ming’s mother, she gave birth to a younger sister when he was five. “The scene with his mother getting up at night to nurse his younger siblings” was the

earliest image of his mother in his memory” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 161). To Fang-ming, his mother’s “swollen and painful breasts” in the wake of her giving birth, together with the image that she “sobbed in private” due to the hardship she suffered taking care of the family, had long been cast into his most painful “mother prototype” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 163).

10.2.2 Elementary School, Junior Middle School and High School

In 1953, Fang-ming entered Jiucheng Elementary School (Jiucheng Guoxiao 舊城國小) in Zuoying, Kaohsiung at the age of six. “Elementary school” had been a symbol of “purity” in Fang-ming’s mind. As he said, “One of the top things that I wanted to do, after my return from the winds and rains in a foreign land, was to pay a visit to my elementary school in my hometown” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 66). Fang-ming had a down-to-earth and joyful childhood there, “As a class leader from Grade 2 to Grade 6, I committed to memory my daily agenda. If the formation of character can be traced to one’s elementary school days, then my practice and experience at Jiucheng Elementary School should lay an important part” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 67).

In 1959, Fang-ming passed the entrance examination and got into the junior section of the Provincial Zuoying Middle School (*Shengli Zuoying Zhongxue* 省立左營中學). During the first two years, his reading habit at elementary school died hard --- over-indulging in reading comics books. The book rental store at the kitty corner on the street was the depot he frequented most. “So much of my imagination was hatched there.” Meanwhile, “I also drew the earliest knowledge in life.” Fang-ming explains as follows, “When I was a student, I hated those textbooks authorized by the

National Institute for Compilation and Translation (*Bianyi Guang* 編譯館). I also hated the annotations in the textbooks. The most hateful thing was, when taking examinations, we had to answer based on the annotations in the standardized editions” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 243).

In the summer of 1961, when Fang-ming was about to start his third year, he suddenly found himself dying with curiosity about novels, including Zhen Bi’s (*Bi Zhen* 畢珍) *Under the Old Tree* (*gushu xiao* 古樹下) and Lan Wang’s (*Wang Lan* 王藍) *Blue and Black* (*lan yu hei* 藍與黑), etc. At the same time, he also secretly read pornographic novels (Fang-ming Chen 1998c, 73; 1998f, 138). Fang-ming says that he “led a miserable life during my adolescence, simply because there was always a torch burning inside my body. Higher body temperatures and undisputed libido often pushed my whole body to the middle of a furnace, causing excruciating pain, together with excruciating pain ad infinitum. For many sweltering summer nights, I was just like a piece of meat over the burning charcoal, turning around both sides, frying and boiling up and down, a torture that was almost impossible to escape” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 138-9).

In 1962, Fang-ming graduated from the junior section, and went on to the high school section at Zuoying. As a high school student, he gradually learned to read literary magazines like *Literature Star*, *Youth Literature* (*Youshi Wenyi* 幼獅文藝) and *Chinese Humanist* (*Jenjianshi* 人間世), but most of the time he was immersed in knight-errant novels (Fang-ming Chen 1998c, 74). Influenced by his older brother, at this time, Fang-ming also began to enjoy western music. In the meantime, he also started to read new poems, especially those by Kwang-chung Yu (*Yu Guangzhong* 余光

中). Fang-ming says that “the first English song I sang, as well as the first new poem I read, started from this school. If there is so-called ‘modernity’ in life that opened my mind, then I would attribute everything to Zuoying High School where the embers were ignited” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 176). During his whole juvenile period, this sentimental youth, who later found a career in literature, frequently, without rhyme or reason, the idea of “suicide” or “running away from home” crossed his mind (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 14).

10.2.3 Fu Jen Catholic University

In the summer of 1965, after ending an agonizing first love,³⁶² and cramming in time, Fang-ming, 18, was finally admitted to the Department of History, Fu Jen Catholic University, which is located in Taipei, based on his scores on the entrance examination. In fact, instead of Fang-ming, it was the Joint Commission on the Entrance Examination that helped choose the Department of History. As noted by Fang-ming:

Like most young people, my choice was determined by the Joint Commission of the Entrance Examination, and I got into the Department of History, Fu Jen Catholic University. Before that, I always thought that business was a good fit for my aptitude. However, after studying one year in the Department of History, I did find that there was

³⁶². In 1964, during the second semester of his junior year, Fang-ming started to correspond with a girl student whom he had never met, and eventually it blossomed into the first love of his life. The romance ended one year later, “Holed up in my room, I became a creature without language and without thoughts. Like an amoeba hiding in a dark corner, I numbly bit off my own flesh and bones. What was left behind at the pale and morbid age of 17 was only a memory filled with ulcers and holes” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 74).

unlimited joy in store in the fields of literature and history. (Fang-ming Chen 1998c, 76)

“College” was truly an immense ocean to Fang-ming, and as expected, he was in his element just like fish in water. Most of the time, Fang-ming “did not pay attention to grades. Instead, he was interested in extracurricular activities, intercollegiate events and all-night dancing parties” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 50). It was also in college that, for the first time, he had official contact with literary works, including Kwang-chung Yu’s poem “The Imagination from Lotus (*lian de lianxiang* 蓮的聯想),” which was the most popular at that time (Ming-cheng Chen 2002 245). Meanwhile, he was a contributing columnist for the *Fu Jen News* (*Fuda Xinwen* 輔大新聞), not to mention that he was also a busy editor of the department journal and the campus journal” (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 14).

In the summer of 1967, before his junior year, Fang-ming took part in the “Combat Literature Camp (*zhando wenyi ying* 戰鬥文藝營).” This activity, which was sponsored by the Chinese Youth Writing Association (*Zhongguo Qingnian Xiezuo Xiehui* 中國青年寫作協會), and advised by the China Youth Corps, was widely loved and supported by college students at that time. Energetic, Fang-ming pursued literature with a fervor, and was becoming more and more fascinated with everything about new poetry. Therefore, in the late fall of the year, together with poem-loving friends, Fang-ming founded the “Crystal Poetry Society (*Shuijing Shishe* 水晶詩社).” On one spring night the following year, they held a “Crystal’s Night” new poetry recital on campus, said to be a party rarely seen with unprecedented success (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 15).

According Fang-ming’s own words, “Staying at the ideal and melancholy romanticist

stage, and indulging in the frantic and witching young men's mood, is the best description of my college days." (Fang-ming Chen 1994b, 8).

In addition to the pursuit of literature, Fang-ming was fervently looking for an ideological outlet. He acknowledged that, like the intellectuals at the same time, he used liberalism as a medium. He recalls his college life as follows:

At that time, I was still a history student, hesitating and agitating in Taiwan society of the 1960s. The liberalist trend of thought was flourishing vigorously during that period. From the popularity of the monthly *Literature Star*, which was edited by Ao Li, one could figure out how prevailing liberalism was at that time. During my college days, I thoroughly read the works of Shih Hu, and later I approached the writings of Hai-kuan Yin, Ao Li, etc., and gradually I was able to understand the spirit of liberalism. (Fang-ming Chen 1998b, 6)

In 1969, Fang-ming graduated from Fu Jen. Though he passed the entrance examination to the Graduate School of History at National Taiwan University, he decided to fulfill his reserve officer's obligation first. He served first on the east coast, then at Chingchuankang (*Chingchuankang* 清泉崗), Taichung, and then moved to Alian (*Alian* 阿蓮), Kaohsiung, and was finally discharged at Hukou (*Hukou* 湖口), Hsinchu, finishing his "longest trip on the island" in his life (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 25). He recalls his military service: "My military life gave me an opportunity to train my will power, and it also gave me an opportunity to see all over, for the first time, the rough skin of the land on the island" (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 25).

10.2.4 The Graduate School at National Taiwan University

In the fall of 1970, Fang-ming officially entered the Graduate School of History at

National Taiwan University. In fact, the period at National Taiwan University, by coincidence, was also a time when Taiwan experienced both domestic and foreign upheavals. National Taiwan University was the best university in Taiwan, and many of its students obviously were involved in the pulse of time, pondering the future of Taiwan through different political beliefs.³⁶³ In 1970, the “Diaoyutai Incident (*Diaoyutai Shijian* 釣魚台事件)” set off a rampage both on and outside the island.³⁶⁴ In 1971, the Republic of China was expelled from the United Nations and replaced by the People’s Republic of China. In 1972, President Nixon of the United States signed the “Shanghai Communiqué” with the People’s Republic of China, and shortly afterward, Japan severed its diplomatic ties with Taiwan and recognized the People’s Republic of China instead. Suffering one damn thing after another, even with the greater environment of economic prosperity, Taiwan was inevitably destined to be an international orphan.

Though the incidents that challenged the KMT’s ideological paradigm of a “greater China” came in quick succession, Fang-ming did not really respond directly and

³⁶³. For a more detailed description of the social movement on the National Taiwan University campus during the 1970s, refer to Hong-sheng Zhang (2001) and San-xiong Hong (1993).

³⁶⁴. The Diaoyutai Isles (*Diaoyutai Lienyu* 釣魚台列嶼) (called the “Senkaku Islands (*Jiange Qundao* 尖閣群島)” in Japan) are located between Taiwan and the Ryukyu Islands, about 120 miles from Taiwan, 240 miles from Ryukyu, historically a part of Taiwan’s territory. The isles consist of five small islets and some rock reefs, with Diaoyutai being the largest. The islet lacks fresh water and is very small, essentially uninhabitable. Therefore, its existence had never drawn any attention from anywhere. In the late 1960s, an abundant oil deposit was found under the sea around the isles, and hence the isles began to attract extensive attention. In 1970, the Japanese government unilaterally claimed the sovereignty of the isles, and included the isles as part of the territory of Ryukyu. Meanwhile, the United States government also announced that “The Senkaku Islands are part of the Ryukyu Islands, and will be returned to Japan together with the Ryukyu Islands in 1972.” In the sovereignty dispute of Diaoyutai, for fear of infuriating the American and the Japanese powers and jeopardizing its representative right in the United Nations, the KMT government made only oral announcements in the sovereignty dispute and no actual actions were taken. Eventually, the issue provoked the students at home and abroad, and resulted in a huge student movement, which was effectively the first large-scale student movement in the history of Taiwan after World War II. For a simple introduction regarding the Diaoyutai Incident, refer to San-xiong Hong (1994, 1-66); Liqian Mai (1992, 482-4); and Tsai (1984, 171-5).

substantively toward these real-world incidents. “I holed up in my study, not allowing any sunshine to come in. With respect to politics, I had an inexpressible fear” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 28). On one hand, he hit the books, plunging into the research on Southern Song Chinese history. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the world formed by the new poetry.

Fang-ming described what was in his thoughts: “Familiar with the historical data of the Song Dynasty, I used to ramble between Kaifeng (*Kaifeng* 開封) and Hangzhou (*Hangzhou* 杭州). From *Reminiscences from the East Capital* (*Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄) to *Along the River during the Qingming Festival* (*Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河圖), I found a refuge for my soul during my salad days” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 162). In addition, just like what he did in his undergraduate period, he found himself incurably spellbound by the new poetry and related activities. He read, wrote and critiqued the new poetry. In January 1971, alongside eight poet friends, he founded the “Dragon Tribe Poetry Society.” Fang-ming explains the origin of “Dragon Tribe” in the following way:

We needed a name that characterized our personalities: dignified, magnanimous, profound and Chinese. The dragon represented a symbol with a profound legend, a life of eternity and an image of honor. It reminded us of the people, reminded us of the glory and the shame of China. If we used it as our name, didn't that signify that we were saddled with a profound mission? (Fang-ming Chen 1983, 199-200)

In a comment on the name “Dragon Tribe,” Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 20) notes that, from a national identity perspective, it was a time when the entity of Taiwan was suffering within and without, anemic in both thought and language. No wonder that

Fang-ming, having emerged from the KMT's structured education system, logically upgraded the totem of the "dragon" to a symbol blending Chinese "political identity" and "cultural identity."

As a matter of fact, not only in poetry writing, but also on the whole road to literature, Fang-ming at this stage showed a strong sense of Chinese identity. As he recalled later, Fang-ming said that, at that time, Ying-chen Chen (*Chen Yingzhen* 陳映真) of the left-wing and Kwang-chung Yu of the right-wing were "like two headlights (*liangzhan chedeng* 兩盞車燈) in the dark, showing me the road on my bumpy journey." Why? Because "their writings showed a passionate love of China, consistent with the systematic education I had received. My greater China chauvinism made me hungry and thirsty emotionally; the writings of Ying-chen Chen and Kwang-chung Yu simply satisfied my needs" (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 137-8).

1973 was a busy and solid year for Fang-ming. In February, he published his first book *Grass with Worry*, a collection of his poems (i.e., Fang-ming Chen 1973a). In June, he finished his master thesis on Chinese Song history entitled "The Concept of Loyalty to the Emperor in the Song Dynasty" (i.e., Fang-ming Chen 1973b). In the fall of the same year, he started to teach "Chinese general history" and "Chinese modern history" at his alma mater, Fu Jen Catholic University, as well as Soochow University. It was also in this year that he married Rui-sui Gao, his master's program classmate (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 249-50).

One year later, Fang-ming left for the United States to pursue his doctoral studies at the University of Washington in Seattle.

10.2.5 A Description of National Identity during the Period

If we want to describe in a simple way Fang-ming's national identity at this stage, then, in a nutshell, it was absolutely the “*greater China thought*.” To put it in his own words, “If there were greater China chauvinists who really existed, then I was a typical example. In my frame of thinking, China belongs to greatness, solemnness and sacredness. To find a connecting bridge between my literary thinking and historical exploration, then, obviously, the answer should be within an abstract symbol of China” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 186). In the discussion in this section, I shall describe his national identity through his professional interests, new poetry writing and literary/cultural critiques.

(10.2.5.a) First, let's discuss his *professional interests*. Shortly before he went abroad (including the initial period after he went abroad), except for finishing his master thesis “The Concept of Loyalty to the Emperor the in Song Dynasty” (Fang-ming Chen 1973b), Fang-ming also published six academic papers, all related to Song history. According to Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 110), the contents of all the publications, without any exception, circled around a very safe and grandiose discussion of the “orthodox tradition of the Central Kingdom (*Zhongyuan zhengtong* 中原正統)” or “historical perspective of the emperor (*diwang shiguan* 帝王史觀).” To young students with structured education, especially a graduate student who was determined to be a Chinese history scholar, this should be the right way to do research. In fact, when he was about to graduate from college, he already had the ambition to devote himself in the future to write *A History of Chinese Historiography* and *A History of the Chinese New Literary Movement* (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 113). At that time, Fang-ming never thought that

in the domain of historiography, there was such a thing as “Taiwanese history.”

Recalling his young days, Fang-ming says:

From entering the Department of History at Fu Jen, until graduating from the Graduate School of History at National Taiwan University, to my surprise, I had never contacted any courses related to Taiwanese history. To my way of thinking, Taiwanese history was simply non-existent. (Fang-ming Chen 1996c, 190)

(10.2.5.b) Second, let’s talk about his *new poetry creative writings*. To Fang-ming, who was enchanted with new poetry activities and had been involved in founding two poetry societies (the “Crystal Poetry Society” in 1967 and the “Dragon Tribe Poetry Society” in 1971), using his new poetry creative writings to analyze his national identity should be a very appropriate strategy. *Grass with Worry*, Fang-ming’s only compilation of his poems published in 1973, covered roughly his creative writings before he went abroad and during his study at graduate school. According to Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 111), this compilation of poems revealed Fang-ming’s love and admiration of China, an affection seemingly familiar, yet unfamiliar in reality. For example, in the poem “Tears in Seven Rows (*leishui qihang* 淚水七行),” Fang-ming wrote:

I heard of tears falling down
 Falling into the heart of midnight
 Falling into the city of Changan³⁶⁵
 Falling into the ears of the reeds
 Falling into the far, faraway Hexi Corridor³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵. Changan (*Changan* 長安), around present-day Xian (*Xian* 西安), Shanxi Province (*Shanxi Sheng* 山西省), is the ancient capital of more than ten dynasties in Chinese history.

³⁶⁶. Hexi Corridor (*Hexi Zoulang* 河西走廊), a part of the Silk Road in ancient China, is located in Gansu Province (*Gansu Sheng* 甘肅省) in China and covers an area of about 110,000 square kilometers.

That was a sickened love
And the most excruciating sound (Fang-ming Chen 1973a, 89)

With wording fraught with “exotic touches” like these (Changan and the Hexi Corridor are not in Taiwan; they are on the Chinese mainland which is on the other side of the Strait), Fang-ming at that time, in his pursuit of poetic arts, did take the element of “China” as his main source of nutriment. Facing stanzas like these, Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 17) comments, “Curiously enough, Fang-ming was a young Taiwanese intellectual who hailed from Zuoying and had never stepped on the yellow earth of China, what factor would cause his strong effortless nostalgia toward “Changan” and “the Hexi Corridor?”

(10.2.5.c) Finally, let’s talk about Fang-ming’s *literary/cultural critiques*. Before he went abroad, Fang-ming wrote a preface for “The Dirge of the Tree (*shu de aile* 樹的哀樂),” a collection of poems by Xiu-xi Chen (*Chen Xiuxi* 陳秀喜),³⁶⁷ a poetess a generation Fang-ming’s senior. To “honor” Xiu-xi Chen’s efforts to break the cultural and language barriers, as well as her spirit of writing poems when she was getting older, Fang-ming said:

She worked very hard to learn the motherland language. This kind of indefatigable “embracing mania” reflected exactly the feelings of most Taiwanese. With respect to Chinese culture, Taiwanese inherently had a strong aspiration, just like a dry old well expecting the spring to come out. After experiencing all kinds of tribulations, their spirits of rectitude continued to find reinforcement. In my opinion, such spirits and

³⁶⁷. Xiu-xi Chen (1921-1991) was a Taiwanese poetess. Born in Hsinchu (*Xinzhu* 新竹), she studied Japanese six years, and started to learn Chinese in 1957. In 1967, she joined the “Bamboo Hat Poetry Society,” and published Chinese poems. She was respectfully called “Auntie Poet” (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 30).

the characteristics of their ancestors on the Mainland can be linked to blood ties. That we Chinese people could prosper and last forever depends precisely on the strong characteristics of the nation, which was passed on generation by generation. (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 112)³⁶⁸

This content demonstrates squarely Fang-ming's adhesion to the "greater China principle" (Fang-ming Chen 1992a, 230). Besides, in his *Mirror and Shadow: Criticism of Modern Poems*, a poetry critique book he published in 1974, as long as he mentioned his principles of poetic critique, he would argue: "Chinese poems should be written with Chinese theories" (Fang-ming Chen 1974, 246). Whenever he critiqued Kwang-chung Yu, he would say, "The West is certainly fascinating, and China certainly makes us sad. But he is, after all, a Chinese. Western culture should be praised by Westerners, but China's sufferings should be experienced by poets" (Fang-ming Chen 1974, 29-30).

10.2.6 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

The following discussion involves the contributing factors in Fang-ming's strong "Chinese identity." I shall list six points, trying to explain why Fang-ming would embrace this "Chinese identity:" (1) he had no Japanese experience; (2) the effect of the KMT's party-state education; (3) his contempt toward Taiwan; (4) the absence of family in the process of political socialization, and (5) the failure to extract elements from liberalism to challenge Chinese identity. On the last point, I shall conclude the discussion of his identity at this stage, and classify it as what Cross (1995) called an identity of "anti-Black attitudes."

³⁶⁸. The original article was written in 1974.

(10.2.6.a) First of all, Fang-ming had *no experience of the Japanese rule*. As the post-war generation, Fang-ming, unlike others born before the war, had no Japanese experience. Though he mentioned that his father found a vent for his emotions by singing Japanese songs after drinking (Fang-ming Chen 2003, 111),³⁶⁹ his father never intended to influence Fang-ming's national identity. Consequently, Fang-ming seemed not to have any Japanese identity problem at all.³⁷⁰

(10.2.6.b) Second, the *structured education*, which the KMT carried out in Taiwan after the war, certainly played the most important role in the process. Not confounded by Japanese identity, Fang-ming, like all the children born after the war and receiving KMT education since childhood, transformed something from the KMT's structured educational system and started to accept KMT identity, right from the first day he went to school. In 1989, Fang-ming, who had been in exile in a foreign land for years, recalled his experience:

Those who belonged to the post-war new generation of Taiwan were, ever since they were born, sent into a high-precision education machine for reformation. The most important function of the machine was to thoroughly cleanse the blood of Taiwanese. Through the process of cleansing, Taiwanese children would definitely forget their identity; in case they couldn't forget, at least they would feel dirty because of the residual Taiwanese blood, and the sense of sin would occupy their minds. *Confined*

³⁶⁹. As for the reaction of Fang-ming's father, this was by no means a special case in Taiwanese society. To the generation that grew up with a Japanese colonial education, that was normal. They received Japanese education from childhood, and they used Japanese to understand the world. After the KMT took over Taiwan in 1945, a new language policy was established, and in October 1946, the Japanese column in newspapers was abolished (Yi-lin He 2000, 461). In the years when Mandarin predominated, the generation of Fang-ming's father, after being deprived of a language they could use, had become what Kuan-hsing Chen (2001, 59) called the "silent generation," or the "generation that lost its language."

³⁷⁰. I was not sure when Fang-ming learned Japanese. However, since he quoted many Japanese data in his research, it is sure that he can read Japanese. See Fang-ming Chen (1994a, Bibliography).

in this well-structured machine, Taiwanese would feel ashamed whenever they confronted their own history. They were informed that the ancestors of Taiwanese were “colonized” and “enslaved.” Also in the process of transformation, when Taiwanese heard their own language, they would also feel embarrassed. They were led to accept the idea that the Taiwanese language was uncivilized, barbaric and unpopular. They even thought that Taiwanese folk songs and the Taiwanese opera were crude. Through this whole Pavlovian style structured training, a typical “Chinese in Taiwan” was thus born. (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 152; emphasis added)

In a comment regarding this paragraph, Ming-cheng Chen affirms that this view was right on the mark. “Because, in fact, regardless whether one was born and raised here, or one’s ancestors who immigrated to Taiwan, believe in the left-wing, or the right-wing, except for some prophet-type personalities, few among the post-war generation could refrain from contracting the completely ‘fictional’ ‘measles’” (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 108). But, this situation obviously did not happen only in the KMT regime or in Taiwan. In describing the “pre-encounter” stage of racial identity of blacks, Cross (1995) uses the term “miseducation” to explain why blacks would embrace racial identity at this stage. Though he tries to depict the identity development process of blacks, his description of “miseducation” looks exactly like a description of the KMT regime’s structured education system:

In being formally educated to embrace a Western cultural-historical perspective, Pre-Encounter Blacks cannot help experiencing varying degrees of miseducation about the significance of the Black experience. In fact, Pre-Encounter Blacks are frequently “average” products of a formal education system that is extremely monoracial and monocultural (i.e., White and Western dominated) in its emphasis. One reason Nigrescence is such an ubiquitous theme in the discourse on Black identity is that *it is difficult for any Black American to progress through the public schools without being*

miseducated about the role of Africa in the origin of Western civilization and world culture, and the role of Blacks in the evolution of American culture and history in particular. (Cross 1995, 99; emphasis added)

(10.2.6.c) Third, due to the strong effects of the education machine, Fang-ming seemed to have *a very negative impression about everything regarding Taiwan*. With a strong Chinese identity, Fang-ming not only embraced China, he also had contempt toward Taiwan --- an island he had lived on for more than 20 years. As a literary youth, he even thought it ridiculous when he first read *Taiwan Literature*, a magazine edited by Cho-liu Wu, since it did not match the literature gauge that was centered on China.

Several years later, Fang-ming recalled about himself at that time:

When I first approached literature, I was lead to look out beyond the island, as though nothing was happening in my own land. In my excitement about studying, I had got used to this saying: Taiwan was a cultural desert. Since it was a desert, didn't that mean there was nothing on this piece of land? I had never realized that Taiwan had its own history. As for Taiwanese literature, I even felt that it was a strange and horrendous term. This island, which was considered barren and forlorn, would never attract my attention. In an unruly and haughty mood, I touched for the first time Cho-liu Wu's *Taiwan Literature*, and suddenly found it ridiculous. I thought: how come there was such a scrawny magazine and was still called literature? The coarse printing and design did demonstrate that Taiwan indeed had no literature. From then on, I again reinforced my superstition that if I wanted to look for any ambitious literature, I should go to a land outside of Taiwan to explore. (Fang-ming Chen 1998c, 178)

As Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 18) comments, at that time, ignorant about Taiwanese literature, yet pretending to be courageous and self-gratified, Fang-ming was biased during his whole gamut of college and graduate school years. He highly despised Taiwanese literature, and wholeheartedly pursued Chinese literature. Whenever he

talked about new literature and new poetry history, he could not stop mentioning the poet so and so and the poetry style of so and so in China during the 30s, reflecting his absurd cognition that “Taiwan had no literature before 1949.”

(10.2.6.d) Fourth, at this stage, Fang-ming’s *family* seemed to have totally disappeared in his formative process of national identity. In fact, facing of powerful education machine controlled by the state, “family” usually is an important antithesis. For example, in the case study of Strong C. Chuang, we found that the “naïve Taiwanese consciousness” from his mother and older brother played a role in the formation of Chuang’s national identity. However, in the case of Fang-ming, we seemed not to have found any influence his parents had on his national identity. For example, although Fang-ming’s father was arrested by the KMT for no reason in the February 28 Incident, he never mentioned the matter to Fang-ming. As a result, Fang-ming did not know the existence of the 228 Incident until his senior year at college.³⁷¹ The implication of this example was that Fang-ming’s parents did not intend to get involved with the business relevant to his national identity.³⁷²

(10.2.6.e) Fifth, though Fang-ming acknowledged that liberalism was a nutriment of his thought at this stage, he had no opportunity to absorb nutrient from the thinking of *liberalism* to challenge the Chinese identity emphasized by the party-state education.

³⁷¹. According to Fang-ming, it was not until he was about to graduate from college in 1969 that, for the first time, he came to realize the facts about the February 28 Incident. In that year, a Taiwanese classmate majoring in Western history invited Fang-ming to his study. When he showed Fang-ming a pamphlet *A Faithful Record of the Taiwan Riot*, he was nervous, ... It was from the pamphlet that Fang-ming first knew the facts about the February 28 Incident (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 246-7).

³⁷². In the summer of 1982, Fang-ming’s parents went to the United States to see him, who had been in exile after being blacklisted by the KMT. On her departure for Taiwan, his mother turned around before entering the boarding gate, with her eyes full of tears, and told Fang-ming, “Promise me, be an ordinary person” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 38-9).

We can understand the phenomenon from two ways. On one side, the liberalism at the time was obviously a liberalism centered on Chinese identity.³⁷³ To bring out so-called Taiwanese identity from this special version of liberalism may, in reality, be very difficulty. On the other side, to Fang-ming, who was fervently interested in literary activities then, political ideology based on a discourse about rationality was probably not a topic he was interested in at that time.

(10.2.6.f) In conclusion, Fang-ming's national identity at this stage should be equivalent to Cross's (1995) description of "*anti-Black attitudes*." Using Cross's (1995, 99) own words, to the Blacks who embrace "anti-Black attitudes" in the pre-encounter period, unlike those belonging to the "low salience attitudes" who consider the issue of "race" or "being a Black" not important, they, on the contrary, feel that it is an important issue. However, they have never considered the issue a positive power. Instead, they treat "Blacks" as a negative reference group. They would not like anything related to Blackness or Blacks. They look down upon Blacks. Their way of thinking is essentially the same as that of the White racists who discriminate against Blacks. They do not like to associate with other Blacks. They even feel incompatible with other Blacks. They never anticipate any real support from Blacks or Black communities. Their viewpoints toward Blacks are always negative and full of racist stereotypes.

³⁷³. The term "liberalism centered on Chinese identity" is, to some extent, self-contradictory, though I consider it correctly describes the real situation in the Taiwanese thought at that time. In theory, liberalism --- a political philosophy emphasizing individual liberation --- may not have anything to do with a specific national identity or nationalism. It may match nationalism in thought (see Tamir's (1993) viewpoint), but it has no necessary connecting relationship in theoretical logic with any specific version of nationalism (for example, Chinese national identity or Taiwanese national identity). However, at that time, the major representatives of liberalism in Taiwan --- such as those mentioned by Fang-ming Chen (1998b, 6): Shih Hu, Hai-kuan Yin, Ao Li, etc. --- were all Mainlanders. They would probably use the logic of liberalism to challenge the KMT's authoritarian rule, but, in terms of national identity, they had almost never doubted the Chinese identity the KMT advocated.

However, toward Whites and White culture, they always have positive stereotypic attitudes.

At this stage, Fang-ming's national identity can be classified in terms of this "anti-Blacks attitudes" identity type. In his eyes, everything related to China was good and great; anything related to Taiwan was inferior and horrendous. This was, of course, the highest goal of the KMT's systematic education. Though somewhat stringent, Ming-cheng Chen points out, "Before going abroad, Fang-ming's affection for Taiwan was roughly opposite. Ironically, he was a young intellectual favored by his teachers and by the society and expected to have a successful future, and become an elite standing at the top of the Taiwanese social pyramid" (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 17). Also, in his own words, before going abroad, he saw himself as "the best specimen under the Taiwanese education system. Clean, pure, without any leftist germs, that was me before the age of thirty" (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 55).

10.3 The Initial Period during Study Abroad (1974-1980)

That Fang-ming chose to study abroad seemed predictable. Just as I described in the previous section, in the early 1970s in Taiwan, there were so many incidents that confronted the "greater China" ideological paradigm of the party-state. However, to some extent, Fang-ming chose to escape these real issues. On the one hand, he threw his energies into academic research related to the Song Dynasty. On the other hand, he indulged himself in the literary world related to new poetry. Since he was escaping from reality, he declined to recognize Taiwan in consciousness, and entirely denied the existence of Taiwan. Finally, "the only way to hightail of out was to go abroad to study"

(Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 70).

In September 1974, along with his newly wed wife, Fang-ming went to study at the University of Washington in Seattle, fulfilling what he called “the most tumultuous departure in life” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 115).

Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 115) considers the description “the most tumultuous” by no means an exaggeration. In the first few years after he arrived in the United States, Fang-ming gladly went to see the Chinese history expert Kung-chuan Hsiao (*Xiao Gongquan* 蕭公權), and secretly visited Ming-min Peng. A thought about the Cultural Revolution in China with longing, he took part in a study group about socialism, and still kept in close touch with Kwang-chung Yu, who was a ideological rightist. He started to study Kuai Qin (*Qin Kuai* 秦檜) of the Song, but he also attended a study group about Taiwanese history. He concentrated on collecting the historical data on new Chinese poetry in the 30s and the 40s and, meanwhile, he also paid attention to the opposite viewpoints and positions of the writers and scholars during the Nativist Literature Debate in Taiwan. In a few years, a storm of thinking about nation and national identity, had churned and taken shape. Without a doubt, he was really undergoing a “spiritual self-burning.”

10.3.1 Between Red China, White China and Taiwan

As a “Chinese in Taiwan” (Hsiao-feng Li 1994, 340), Fang-ming, upon his arrival in the United States, was still occupied with the “Chinese” concept in his thinking, and even imagined a longing for Communist China. In the early 1970s in America, due to the influence of the Diaoyutai Protection Movement (*Baodiao Yundong* 保釣運動), the

leftist ideology of Red China finally encroached upon the territory of the student forum which until then had been dominated by the KMT.³⁷⁴ Fang-ming describes his feelings at the time as follows:

Once I arrived in the United States, I started to look far away toward China. At first, I firmly believed in the propaganda of the Diaoyutai Protection Movement publications, and I also blindly believed what Mao Zedong said “the Chinese people have stood up.” Under the guise of greater China chauvinism, I even thought that the Cultural Revolution³⁷⁵ was the greatest spiritual reformation in the history of human civilization. The two banners of Chinese nationalism and socialism were regarded by myself as the paramount symbols of thought, and my life space was occupied with various political buzzwords, ranging from *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* (*Mao yulu* 毛語錄), the Maoist slogans (*Mao kohao* 毛口號) and the Maoist folksongs (*Maoshi minyao* 毛式民謠). (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 45)

The reason that Fang-ming, “the best specimen of the Taiwanese education system” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 55), looked out toward China was probably that he had started to cast some doubt on the KMT’s White China. In the winter of 1974, Fang-ming drove for the first time toward Vancouver, Canada, from Seattle, but was stopped by the Canadian customs officials. While noting that many people with passports from other

³⁷⁴. Most commentaries consider the Diaoyutai Protection Movement an important watershed in the overseas (especially United States) Taiwanese student movement. Before that, except for the TIM which was gradually showing up, on the campuses across the United States, basically the KMT still kept a check on the speech of Taiwanese students. However, after the Diaoyutai Protection Movement, due to the KMT government’s weak response toward the sovereignty of Diaoyutai, some radical participants in the movement started to openly criticize the KMT government and its supporters. From then on, the Diaoyutai Protection Movement had been divided into two groups: the leftists and rightists. As Liqian Mai puts it, “Though the Diaoyutai Protection Movement lasted only a short period, it profoundly affected the political orientation of the overseas Taiwanese students, breaking up the KMT’s long control over the speech of the overseas students.”

³⁷⁵. The Cultural Revolution is a hot research topic in academia. In the English world, refer to Anita Chan (1985); Che Bo Chan (1991) and Guobin Yang (2000). As for publications in Chinese, the works of Qing-feng Liu (1996) and Youyu Xu (1999) are major studies in recent years.

countries were admitted without problems, he became the only one detained at customs, simply because the “Republic of China” passport in his hands was not recognized. In the long run, a friend of his brought a certificate of student status from Seattle, and his entry was finally permitted. After the event, Fang-ming (1998d, 44) “felt it extremely painful that he was a citizen without an international standing.” He says:

My friend brought from Seattle my certificate of student status; and with that certificate, I was able to get into Canada. I deeply felt that a certificate of student status was even superior to an official passport. This strange national character (*guoge* 國格) actually was part of my character (*renge* 人格). I was obstructed at a faraway frontier, didn’t that mean Taiwan was insulted and degraded? On this earth, wherever there is port of entry, there must be frequent occasions in which Taiwanese are stopped, interrogated and ridiculed. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 44)

My Taiwanese character (*Taiwan renge* 台灣人格) showed up only when my own national character was severely challenged. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 47)

Except for Red China, Fang-ming also started to hear the voices from the camp of the TIM. It was also in the winter of 1974 and on the University of Washington campus that Fang-ming first met John S. Cheng, who had just finished his term as the chairperson of the WUFI.³⁷⁶ Fang-ming admits: “If my puzzle about and fear toward politics were alleviated, then I had to attribute that to my making the acquaintance of John S. Cheng” (Fang-ming Chen, 2003, 160). This was the first time that Fang-ming met a so-called dissident.

³⁷⁶. At that time, Fang-ming worked part-time at the Far Eastern Library, University of Washington. John S. Cheng had just finished his term as the chairperson of WUFI and returned to his alma mater to finish his doctoral program in mechanical engineering. Thus, they had chances to meet in the Chinese periodical room of the library (Fang-ming Chen 2003, 159-61).

On Fang-ming's journey toward an identity, 1975 surely was a year full of events. In the fall of that year, Fang-ming took part in the "Amnesty International" on campus and, much to his chagrin, he found that there were conscious prisoners in Taiwan waiting for rescue (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 42-3). In the early winter of the same year, introduced by John S. Cheng, Fang-ming got to know the overseas TIM spiritual master Ming-min Peng, a person Fang-ming regarded as his "first political ideology inspirer after going abroad"³⁷⁷ (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 79). Later in the cold of December, to protest the banning of *Taiwan Political Review* (the first political commentary magazine with the spirit of grassroots democratic movement in Taiwan), Fang-ming, together with his friends at the University of Washington, wore a mask and went to the KMT's consulate in Seattle to participate in his first demonstration (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 36-8).

However, at this moment, Fang-ming was obviously still swinging between different kinds of national identity, and had not fixed on one. On one side, Fang-ming was working hard in his professional field, continuing to take his doctoral courses in Song Dynasty history, while pursuing new Chinese poetry data in the 30s, which he had started to collect and study in his younger days. On the other side, he joined two study groups simultaneously. One was a Taiwanese history group whose members included Ching-yu

³⁷⁷ . Fang-ming seemed to have a lasting relationship with Ming-min Peng. After he first met with Ming-min Peng, in November 1975, Fang-ming wrote a poem "First meeting with Ming-min Peng," depicting the occasion and his feelings. In fact, the "min" in the penname "Min-hui Shi" that Fang-ming used for his later political commentaries was meant to commemorate Ming-min Peng (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 252; Fang-ming Chen 1998g, 4-5). In addition, Ming-min Peng's memoir *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of A Formosan Independence Leader* was translated into Chinese by Fang-ming's wife Rui-sui Gao (Gao Ruisui 高瑞穗)(under the pen name of Mei-hui Lin (*Lin Meihui* 林美惠)), and was revised by Fang-ming (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 84).

Sun (*Sun Qingyu* 孫慶餘), Mu Yang (*Yang Mu* 楊牧) and Fu-hsiung Shen (*Shen Fuxiong* 沈富雄). The other was a leftist socialist group whose members included Yi-hsu Ju (*Zhu Yixu* 朱義旭) and Neng-jian Shi (*Shi Neng-jiang* 施能健)(Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 118).

Thus, at that time, Fang-ming had leftist books (such as *Anthology of Mao Zedong*, *Anthology of Lenin* and *Anthology of Marx and Engels*) and books related to the February 28 Incident (such as the English edition of *Formosa Betrayed* and *A Taste of Freedom*) side by side on his desk. “Two kinds of thinking, the leftist and the rightist, contended in my body. The impact was indeed beyond description unless experienced personally and it was ferocious” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 51). Once the old values collapsed, “It was something like a castle disintegrating, with foundation starting to loosen up and then the brick walls crumbling down, simply unstoppable. My historical thinking had finally come to a stage of retrospect, an inevitable trend” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 188). A storm was brewing; his “thinking” was being torn apart and disintegrated. Fang-ming says, “My thinking styles were obfuscated, a feeling I had when I had just arrived in the United States. I was totally lost” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 50).

10.3.2 Breaking up with Kwang-chung Yu

In Ming-cheng Chen’s analysis of Fang-ming’s changing national identity, Kwang-chung Yu seems to be an important metaphor in the very process of this transformation (see Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 32-47). During his senior year at high school, Fang-ming accidentally read Kwang-chung Yu’s poem “The Shining Moon Light (yue guangguang 月光光).” The tune of the rhyme as well as the beauty of the melody

tugged at the heartstrings of Fang-ming, a literary youth in his sentimental days, and thus paved the way toward his “first love of poetry.” During his college and graduate school years, Fang-ming not only appreciated and studied Yu’s poems, but kept a close teacher/friend relationship with Yu. Fang-ming published several critiques regarding Yu’s poetry, becoming Taiwan’s foremost “Kwang-chung Yu expert” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 50).

Kwang-chung Yu (1930-), an important poet who left his home in Mainland China during his childhood and came to Taiwan, where he studied, got married and had a career. Fang-min describes Yu as “using his right hand to write poems, his left hand prose, and with two other suspicious hands, he engaged himself in critique and translation”³⁷⁸ (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 36).

There are many famous and popular stanzas and lines from Yu’s poems. For example, “The sky, very Greek (*tiankong, feichan Xila* 天空，非常希臘).” “When your lover has changed her name to Mary, how could you send her a Bodhidattva dance? (*dang nide qingren yi gaiming Mali, ni zeneng song ta yishou Pusaman* 當你的情人已改名瑪麗，你怎能送她一首菩薩蠻).” “Homesickness is a small piece of stamp. I am on this side, Mother on the other side (*xiangchou shi yimei xiaoxiao de youpiao, wuozai zhetou, muqin zai natou* 鄉愁是一枚小小的郵票，我在這頭，母親在那頭).”

³⁷⁸ . No matter from what perspective, Kwang-chung Yu is truly an important writer in Taiwanese literature. Qing Lou and Li Chen, two poets of different generations, favored Kwang-chung Yu several years ago as saying that he “possessed the potential for the Nobel Prize,” and was the “first one in modern Taiwanese literature” (Luo and Chen 1995). There are many critical articles regarding Kwang-chung Yu. For some important ones, refer to two critiques by Wei-liang Huang, who was affiliated with the Chinese University in Hong Kong and had been renowned as a “Kwang-chung Yu expert.” See Wei-liang Huang (1979, 1994).

“Mainland is my mother/Taiwan is my wife/Hong Kong is my lover/Europe is my mistress (*Dalu shi muqin/ Taiwan shi qizi/ Xianggang shi qingren/ Ouzhou shi waiyu* 大陸是母親/台灣是妻子/香港是情人/歐洲是外遇)” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 32). Yu is especially deft in using the passion of the little self to chant the cultural homesickness of the big self. Here is his fascinating “Homesickness Four Rhymes (*xiangchou siyun* 鄉愁四韻):”

Give me a ladle of the Yangtze River water O the Yangtze River water
The wine-like Yangtze River water
The taste of drunkenness is the taste of homesickness
Give me a ladle of the Yangtze River water O the Yangtze River water
..... (quoted from Da-you Luo 1987)³⁷⁹

This “Kwang-chung Yu style” homesickness seemed to have osmosed into Fang-ming’s deep heart, becoming an important ingredient in his construction of national identity. In September 1974, Fang-ming went to study in the United States. One month before, Yu went to teach at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 37). Even with the separation of the Pacific Ocean, the two were in correspondence with each other. However, step by step, Fang-ming, who had been lingering between different political ideologies, seemed to have an uncanny sense that he was about to part from Yu.

The Nativist Literature Debate (*xiangtu wenxue lunzhan* 鄉土文學論戰) that broke out in 1977 was apparently an important watershed. From either the perspective of Taiwanese literary history or Taiwanese cultural history, the Nativist Literature Debate

³⁷⁹ . I have to admit that this was one of the stanzas that I liked most when I was very young (perhaps it remains the same until now), though I have become a thorough Taiwanese nationalist.

was “a total examination of Taiwan’s politics, economy, society and literature after the War” (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 40).³⁸⁰ Most researchers think that the three articles by Tuoh Wang (1977), Zheng-xiong Yin (1977) and Xi-ning Zhu (1977) in the April issue of *Cactus Magazine* (*Xianrenzhang Zazhi* 仙人掌雜誌) set the stage for the Debate.

In an article entitled “It Is ‘Realistic’ Literature, Not ‘Nativist Literature,’” Tuoh Wang first analyzed the political and economic situations during 1970-1972, and argued that Taiwan had sunk into the sloughs of a colonial and comprador economy. Then, after criticizing modernism, he offered a literary direction with social consciousness (*shehui yishi* 社會意識) and national characteristics (*minzu xingshi* 民族形式) at its center. Zheng-xiong Yin (1977, 137) vigorously chastised Tuoh Wang and other so-called Nativist Literature writers, saying that their works “tended to be tools to express animosity and hatred.” Xi-ning Zhu (1977) castigated Nativist Literature from another angle, arguing that overemphasis on being native might be inclination to a localism (*difang zhuyi* 地方主義), not to mention that some Nativist Literature commentators overemphasized Taiwanese consciousness, leading to separatism and Taiwan independence.

In August of the same year, Ge Peng (*Peng Ge* 彭歌), editor-in-chief of the *Central Daily News* (*Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報), published a long article “No Human Nature, No Literature (*butan renxing, youhe wenxue* 不談人性，有何文學)” in the *United Daily*

³⁸⁰ . Regarding the important first-hand historical data on the Nativist Literature Debate, refer to Tian-cong Wei (1978). As for a simple introduction to the “process” of the Debate, refer to Bi-chuan Yang (1997, 334-5). Finally, for academic research regarding this Debate, refer to Duujian Tsai (1996); Zheng-ti Chen (1982a, 1982b); Ji-zhou Guo (1999, 199-279); Bo-tang Lan (1992); Zu-cen Li (1986); Hui-wen Weng (1994); Yong-fang Zhou (1991) and Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang (1993, 148-76).

News (Lianhebao 聯合報), criticizing Tuoh Wang, Tian-cong Wei (*Wei Tiancong 尉天聰*) and Ying-chen Chen. He reproved them for “being unable to distinguish good from the evil, talking only about class (*bubian shaner, zhijiang jieji* 不辨善惡，只講階級),” going hand in hand with Communists’ class theory.

On August 20, Kwang-chung Yu also published an article entitled “The Wolf Is Coming (*lang laile* 狼來了)” in the *United Daily News*, maintaining that Nativist Literature in Taiwan is the counterpart of the “Worker, Farmer and Soldier Literature (*gongnongbing wenxue* 工農兵文學)” on the Mainland China, and thus some of the viewpoints “are surreptitiously in line with (*jing siyou anhe zhichu* 竟似有暗合之處)” with Mao Zedong’s “The Lecture at the Yanan Literature Seminar (*zai Yanan wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua* 在延安文藝座談會上的講話)” (Kwang-chung Yu 1977). After Kwang-chung Yu’s “The Wolf Is Coming” was published, “the accusation, dubbed ‘drops of blood (*xie dizi* 血滴子),’ was causing scares and jitters in the literary circle, and it seemed that the horrible smell of blood was permeating the air” (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 40).³⁸¹

In fact, Yu had cut a “right-wing scholar” figure in the literary circle in Taiwan. When faced with writings sprinkled with “native,” “worker,” “farmer,” and “soldier” story backgrounds and a sense of leftist thinking, he inevitably felt anxious. However, at this moment, Fang-ming was reconsidering his thought on literary writing as well as

³⁸¹ . According to the data from Bi-chuan Yang (1997, 335), from July 15, 1977 to November 24, 1977, the Nationalist government and the so-called *The China Times* and *The United Daily News*, two big newspapers, together had 58 articles attacking Nativist Literature. The KMT also edited and published these critique articles, see Pin-guang Peng (1977).

his belief on national identity. Though absent in the Debate, Fang-ming's respect for Yu was obliterated by Yu's critique, and his confidence in literature was also shaken.

Several years later, Fang-ming recalls these events as follows:

During that period, my life and thinking were sailing toward the island. In a solemn mood, I wrote Kwang-chung Yu and mentioned in the letter: "what Jiangnan (*Jiangnan* 江南)³⁸² is to you is like what Chianan (*Jianan* 嘉南)³⁸³ is to me." This was the first testimony I left when I regressed back to motherland Taiwan. I certainly predicted that, after sending the letter, I would never receive any letters from Kwang-chung Yu anymore. Forgetting each other while we were wandering was probably an appropriate finale to our friendship. (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 147)

When the Nativist Literature Debate broke out in 1977, I was gradually able to identify each writer's relative position and, to me, it was a big lesson. Out in the wild plain, someone yelled that the wolf was coming. To me, that was exactly like the call of the wild (*yexing de huhuan* 野性的呼唤). After the Debate, I bred an unprecedented sense of contempt toward literary critique that I had been doing. I felt my poetry critiques were shameful and hateful. Since then, I decided to give up the work of poetry critique. (Jia-nong Chen 1988, 112)³⁸⁴

The breakup with Kwang-chung Yu was indeed a major event on Fang-ming's journey to identity. However, as Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 39) points out, three years after leaving Taiwan, Fang-ming was still "in a state of disintegrating, tearing and mingling in terms of thought, ideology and viewpoints." Though he had said good-bye

³⁸². Jiangnan, meaning "south of river" literally, is referred to the south of Yangtze River in Mainland China.

³⁸³. Chianan means the Chianan Plain in south Taiwan.

³⁸⁴. Jia-nong Chen is one of Fang-ming's pennames.

to his old identity, he had yet to find a new direction.³⁸⁵

10.3.3 The Pulse of Time

In December 1978, Fang-ming passed his doctoral qualifying examination. But, in less than a week, came the news that the United States was going to establish diplomatic relations with China and sever those with Taiwan. It crossed Fang-ming's mind that the examination a few days earlier "was somewhat ridiculous." "The historical knowledge of England, Russia, the Tang Dynasty and the Song Dynasty seemed to become a mockery. How could the stories of rises and falls in empires be compared to the ups and downs deep in my heart" (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 31)? Shortly after the examination, since Fang-ming's passport was to expire, he needed an extension permit, but, out of the blue, he was informed by the consulate that due to his previous political behavior and speech, his name had been put on the "blacklist." Fang-ming describes the experience as follows:

In a respectable tone, the clerk with a sparkling forehead, who was said to be a diplomat, declined to extend my passport while still wearing a smile. To

³⁸⁵ In fact, the articles related to the Nativist Literature Debate were very complicated. On the surface, the Debate was carried out in the form of "Modernism vs. Nativist Literature." However, related arguments that crisscrossed in the Debate abounded, including competing viewpoints such as "Rightist Chinese Nationalism," "Leftist Chinese Nationalism," "Modernization Thesis," "Taiwan Nativism Thesis." Later the Debate was deployed in an allied format: "Rightist Chinese Nationalism + Modernism Thesis vs. Leftist Chinese Nationalism + Taiwan Nativism Thesis." Or, according to the words of Zhao Yang (1991, 134), the real two sides of the Debate were "Government Ideology vs. Anti-government Ideology."

Under the circumstances, the camp of the Anti-government Ideology (Ying-chen Chen, Tuo Wang, Shi-tao Ye, Tian-cong Wei and Zhun Gao were the key figures) was actually not consolidated and consistent in nature, especially their divergent positions regarding Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism. In other words, in the Nativist Literature Debate, "The 'nativist' cognition was still in the shadow of the 'Chinese' symbol, not showing in its own right as a separate domain" (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 121). Thus, like most of the Taiwanese/Taiwanese writers at that time, after the Debate, Fang-ming parted from the KMT's Chinese identity, but he had not yet embraced Taiwanese identity.

him, confining a Taiwanese student outside the land of the island seemed to be a polite measure. With this unhappy encounter, I was able for the first time to understand why they would like the taste of power so much. (Fang-ming Chen 1998c, 17)

Prompted by being a stateless overseas student and by the crises of the time, Fang-ming thoroughly “regressed back to motherland Taiwan” and “thoroughly awoke from the ivory tower.” The crises of the time were the “Formosa Incident” that happened in 1979 and the Lin Family Murders which happened in February 1980.

Fang-ming says:

What thoroughly awoke me from the ivory tower of knowledge was the Formosa Incident that happened in 1979. The justice and peace proclaimed by the Taiwan democratic movement went up in flames right in the smoke from the gas shells shot by the riot quelling forces in the incident. The writers, friends and political activists I was familiar with suffered indescribable stigmatization, accusation and incarceration. In the chilling winds, the most gruesome and the most unacceptable news was the deaths of a grandmother and her twin granddaughters. A cold blade cruelly sliced through my land, and cut open my selfish chest. The bubbling blood spurted down from the time of the February 28 Incident, endlessly flowing unto my time. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 48)

To me personally, without having been baptized by the incident, I would never have gotten involved in the political movement later on. Struck by the impact of the incident, I was able to understand the truth of the politics in Taiwan, which in turn enabled me to fully realize that, locked in the ivory tower, the intellectuals would never be able to solve the real problems in Taiwan. *After the Formosa Incident, I made an unprecedented turnaround in my academic research, literary attitude and political belief.* (Fan-ming Chen 1999a, 2; emphasis added)

From this time on, Fang-ming made up his mind to betray poetry, academia, his

initial ideals, and his sentimental years. At this point, “Fang-ming finally accomplished his self-reformation, undertook the ‘transition’ in his national identity, and made the ‘Formosa Incident’ the most important symbol of identity for the intellectuals of Fang-ming’s generation” (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 30).³⁸⁶

10.3.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

In about five years, from September 1974 when Fang-ming left Taiwan, until December 1979 when the “Formosa Incident” broke out, Fang-ming apparently experienced dramatic changes in terms of national identity. If we analyze it in terms of

³⁸⁶. In fact, not only Fang-ming, but to many writers of the younger generation in Taiwan, for example, Shuang-bu Lin (1950-); Ze-lai Song (1952); Wen-yi Lin (1953-), etc., the “Formosa Incident” was also the key factor in their awakening in political consciousness and Taiwanese identity. Due to the major violent events, such as the “Formosa Incident” and the “Assassinations at Lin’s House,” that happened one after another, Shuang-bu Lin was severely stricken in spirit and thought. As described by Cheng Wu (1998, 2) in the preface to the novel *The Road to Home* (1998) by Shuang-bu Lin: “I used to listen to his lecture regarding his mind’s journey. For a long period, he could hardly sleep, frequently awaking from nightmares. Considering the incident together with the destiny of Taiwan and Taiwanese, he felt profoundly heartbroken, far beyond what ordinary people could imagine. In that year when he was no more than 30 years old, he painfully and decidedly changed his pen name from the popular ‘Bizhu’ to ‘Shuang-bu Lin’, and actively pursued the belief that ‘charging the injustice is the indispensable responsibility of a writer.’”

In the same way, Ze-lai Song also fully awoke in the wake of the “Formosa Incident.” In 1983, he recalled how the incident affected him: “I am afraid that the end of 1979 was an important enlightenment for us younger people. I still remember that before the incident, I was a person so innocent as to be concealed with lies. However, after the incident, like a peripeteia, we were changed into completely different people overnight.” “To be sure, the incidents that happened in and after 1979 would be very important in the literary history of Taiwan. Stabbed by a knife at the moment, the artery of history burst open, and literary history was being written by the stains on the land. Writers’ subjective views receded from literature, and were replaced by the yelling from people running back and forth” (Ze-lai Song 1983, 5).

Wen-yi Lin (1991b, 142) recalled his mind’s journey this way: “In the 70s, with eyes, ears, mouth and hands covered or bound, we were living in a dreary period without facts and justice. As a young man, I was surely ignorant, and I even danced to the music orchestrated by the ruling government. After the Formosa Incident, I started to recognize Taiwan one more time. At that time, I was 28, and had been known as an up-and-coming writer with five anthologies of love affair prose. I felt painful and bewildered about the Formosa Incident and the Assassinations at Lin’s House. The island of Taiwan, which our ancestors sweated blood to cultivate, must have many problems, and actually it was seriously ill.” “Suddenly, I felt so shameful being called a ‘writer.’”

the race/ethnic identity development model, obviously, in this period, Fang-ming gradually entered the “pre-encounter stage” and started to enter the “encounter stage” as well as the “immersion-emersion stage.” We shall discuss the “encounter stage” first, and the “immersion-emersion stage” in the section that follows.

(10.3.4.a) First of all, if we use the important events of his life history as the objects of observation, then the “passport incident” that took place in the winter of 1974 --- using the Republic of China passport but unable to get into Canada --- was clearly a key event that led him into the “encounter stage.” To Fang-ming, a “dyed-in-the-wool greater Chinese nationalist,” this incident was indeed very cruel. It poked through the myth of the KMT’s greater Chinese identity, and it challenged the national identity that Fang-ming had faithfully adhered to over the past 27 years. Fang-ming recalls how the incident had influenced him: “On one hand, the education system in Taiwan shaped my Chinese character; on the other hand, outside the island, the character suffered severe ridicule and degradation” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 45). Fang-ming has a further comment:

During my whole adolescence, the problem of nation and national character had never caused any trouble in my thinking. However, when I was about to reach the prime of my life, I was excruciatingly entwined with the problem. Deep in my heart, there was a fierce battle with the problem of national identity, and I was unable to refrain from casting a big doubt regarding what I had learned and thought in the past. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 44)

(10.3.4.b) Second, according to Cross (1995, 105), if we want to analyze it in detail, the so-called “encounter stage” can be divided into two steps: one is experiencing the encounter, the other is personalizing. Of course, Cross (1995, 105) also acknowledges that the demarcation is only meaningful in analysis. In reality, it is just like “cutting a

hair into two sections.” He requires that we distinguish between “being in the path or being the object of an encounter event or activity” and “actually personalizing an encounter or being ‘turned around by it.’” In other words, an encounter should, on the individual level, have a strong influence on the individual who is experiencing it. In fact, Cross (1995, 105) further points out, in the whole life of a Black, he/she is certain to contact some information that could become “encounter event” or situation of racial discrimination. However, unless he/she personalizes the event --- no matter for what reason, his/her original worldview or opinions toward “race” would not be actually challenged.

Using such an insight to analyze Fang-ming’s “passport incident” is very persuasive. As a matter of fact, before Fang-ming went abroad, several incidents that happened one after another (such as the Diaoyutai Incident and the incident in which the Republic of China was expelled from the United Nations, etc.) had shown the absurdity of the KMT’s “greater Chinese identity.” Nevertheless, all of these were, after all, “national events” which he read in the newspapers or heard from his friends, and they were not yet “personalized” into Fang-ming’s heart and soul. The “*passport incident*” that happened in the winter of 1974, however, was absolutely a personalized experience. While Fang-ming was detained at the Canadian customs, he saw in person that visitors with other passports were allowed to go through, but he had to wait until his friend brought him a certificate of student status to get in. What an unforgettable personal experience!

(10.3.4.c) Third, though the passport incident was important, we still cannot ignore the impact of *other subsequent related experiences* on Fang-ming’s national identity. For example, his contact with John S. Cheng in the winter of 1974, his encounter with

Ming-min Peng in 1975, his partaking experience with the “Amnesty International” in 1975 and his protest against the banning of *Taiwan Political Review*, etc. were all experiences during his “encounter stage.” As Cross (1995, 105) points out, in many cases, the so-called “encounter stage” is not made up of a single event; rather, it may consist of a series of smaller, eye-opening episodes, which contribute to some extent in the forming of the person’s world view. Moreover, these smaller encounter events may have accumulated effects. At a certain point, the subject may feel that something is happening, which causes severing the old self and marching toward an unknown future world.

(10.3.4.d) Fourth, Fang-ming’s “encounter experiences,” to some extent, certainly had something to do with the “*new information*” he, a liberal arts student, read overseas, and the final result was the collapse of his own old identity. While talking about the library at the University of Washington, Fang-ming (1998e, 49) says “I considered this library an important turning point in my life, which was not an exaggeration. Right at this place, I was surprised to find that I had been concealed.” “The desk was very magical. Right in front of the desk, I was transformed from a greater Chinese chauvinist into a Taiwan Independence activist” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 52).

The first time Fang-ming walked into the Eastern Asia Library, he found there were two biographies of Chiang Kai-shek sitting together on the shelf. “The one published in Taiwan called him the ‘national savior (*minzu jiuxing* 民族救星)’ in the title; the other one published in Hong Kong, however, said that he ‘brought disaster upon the country and the people (*huoguo yangmin* 禍國殃民)’ in the title. The two extreme judgments instantly brought me to a state of turmoil and confusion. Leafing through the

books in front of the shelf, I was flummoxed. I did not know which one I should believe” (Fang-ming Chen, 1998e, 20). Finally, after reading more magazines and books, and after continuously comparing new information with the ideology insinuated by the party-state education in Taiwan, “my national identity began to shake, and the value that had established before 30 began to collapse” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 81).

With more reading experience, together with the life experiences such as the passport incident, Fang-ming (1998d, 45) found that they “brought me incomparable shocks:”

I found that the history education in Taiwan had been deceiving. Even a Taiwanese disciple working in the field of history research did not know clearly what the May 4 Movement (*Wusi Yundong* 五四運動) was, and was unaware of the February 28 Incident. In the Russian history textbook, nowhere were Marxism and Leninism to be found, and in Chinese modern history, there was no trace regarding the establishment and the ideological background of the Chinese Communist Party. As for Taiwanese history, it was banished to a distant place. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 45)

(10.3.4.e) Finally, though the encounters destroyed his old identity, and told him the absurdity of the KMT’s greater China education, they did *not* show Fang-ming what his new identity should be. We may claim that Fang-ming gradually discarded the KMT’s Chinese identity, but he actually did not discard his Chinese identity. Like many Taiwanese students in the 1970s, he trained his eyes toward the other side of the Strait, trying to understand Red China that was increasingly emerging into the international society. However, why would Fang-ming do so? According to his own analysis:

If I had to answer, then it was probably from the seeds sowed by the Taiwanese education system. My soul had been sculptured as a China worshiper, thanks to the teachings of the Taiwanese textbooks. After

leaving Taiwan, I strongly felt that China was so abstract and empty. What was China? What was the real content of China? Facing these questions, I had a sense of anxiety, and another sense of agitation. (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 52-3)

On the other hand, even though he had access to commentaries related to Taiwanese identity, his long antagonism toward Taiwanese culture made him unable to accept this kind of information. “When I first came into contact with Taiwanese consciousness, I couldn’t escape the sense of guilt in my heart. I even kept a vigilant attitude, trying to avoid contact with TIM activists” (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 28). The following experience vividly presented his feelings at that time. It was at the study room of an elder friend that Fang-ming happened to see *A Four-Hundred-Year History of Taiwanese* (Japanese edition) by Bing Su³⁸⁷ --- the most significant TIM historical writing at that time:

Out of curiosity, I read thoroughly the preface of the Japanese edition. For the first time since I went to school, I saw words like “Taiwanese nation

³⁸⁷. Bing Su, originally named Chao-hui Shi, was born in Shilin, Taipei. He graduated from the Department of Politics, Waseda University in Japan. In 1942, he went to Mainland China to support the Chinese Communists’ anti-Japanese activities. Disillusioned by the Chinese Communists’ bloody struggles and their policy to disintegrate Taiwanese people, he managed to take a roundabout route and returned to his native Taiwan, where he had been missing for decades. In 1952, he organized the “Taiwan Independence Revolutionary Armed Force” on a mountain on the outskirts of Taipei, preparing to assassinate Chiang Kai-shek. Unexpectedly, the plot was foiled and he had to flee to Japan the same year (Ying-zhe Huang 1991a; Feng-shan Zhang 2002d). Bing Su continued to participate in the TIM in Japan, and started to write in Japanese *A Four-Hundred-Year History of the Taiwanese* while he was selling dumplings for a living. After ten years’ writing, the book was finally published in 1962 (see Bing Su 1962). In 1980, this masterpiece in Taiwanese history that belonged in the Taiwan Independence camp had a Chinese edition (see Bing Su 1980a, 1980b), and in 1986, an abridged English edition was published (see Bing Su 1986).

Aside from this *A Four-Hundred-Year History of Taiwanese*, Bing Su’s other major writings include *The Formation of Nation and the Taiwanese Nation* (1992); *Taiwanese National Revolution and Socialism* (1993); *Taiwan Is Not Part of China: A Four-Hundred-Year History of the Development of Taiwanese Society* (1996); and *Taiwanese Nationalism and the Revolution of Taiwan Independence* (2001). For limited research related to Bing Su, refer to Ming-yung Wu (1994) and Nan-cun Xu (1994).

(*Taiwan minzu* 台灣民族)” and “Taiwanese consciousness (*Taiwan yishi* 台灣意識).” Facing these terms, my heart was overwhelmed by shocks, as though I was struck by lightning. Ignorant of Taiwanese history, I found those terms were synonymous to dirtiness and immorality. Agitated, I put the Japanese book back on the shelf, feeling extremely confused, nervous and unable to collect myself for quite a while. When I had contact with Bing Su’s Japanese writings for the first time, an irrepressible sense of resistance simply sprang up. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 100)

10.3.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.)

Without a doubt, roughly around 1975, Fang-ming began to enter his “immersion-emersion stage,” and he was eager to find all kinds of information different from the KMT’s structured education. On one hand, he started to read books related to Red China, hoping to understand the causes and effects of the Chinese Revolution and the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, he attempted to absorb information from the TIM camp, reading Taiwanese history and participating in related activities attacking the KMT’s human rights record. The “immersion-emersion stage” lasted until the end of 1979 when the Formosa Incident happened, the whole period could be pigeonholed as Fang-ming’s “immersion-emersion stage” on Fang-ming’s journey to his identity. With respect to Fang-ming’s immersion-emersion stage, I have drawn the following observations.

(10.3.5.a) First, as Cross (1995, 106) notes, when someone enters the immersion-emersion stage, he/she actually has not changed. Instead, the person makes the decision to commit himself or herself to a personal change. Under these circumstances, in the case of someone who just enters the immersion-emersion stage, what he/she is familiar with is the old identity that is to be destroyed, rather than the new

identity which is still under construction. In fact, “the new convert still lacks the information related to the complexity and the texture of the new identity. Therefore, he/she will fantasize what the new self will look like, and will be forced to apply a simplified, glorified, extremely romantic and relatively realistic image to construct the new identity” (Cross 1995, 106). This description properly fits Fang-ming’s behavior at this stage, as he says, “At first, when I chose Taiwan as my political belief, I did have this kind of panic deep in my heart. After saying good-bye to the Yangtze River (*Chang Jiang* 長江) and the Yellow River (*Huang He* 黃河) which I felt comfortable with, I opened my chest, and to my surprise, I found nothing inside” (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 151-2).

(10.3.5.b) Second, since there was nothing inside, and since this was a new identity under construction, the person at the immersion-emersion stage would “participate in the political or cultural meetings with focus on Black issues, join new organizations and leave the “pre-encounter” oriented organizations, join Black rapping sessions, and join lectures and arts exhibits with focus on Blackness and Afrocentricity” (Cross 1995, 107). The description in this paragraph also goes hand in hand with Fang-ming’s behavior at this stage. However, probably because of his professional background, as we found, the primary activities he took part in --- such as joining reading clubs, editing publications, writing for magazines --- seemed to be “knowledge-oriented” collegiate activities without much actual political participation. Nevertheless, we have reason to believe that as a writer with excellent writing skills, Fang-ming was probably be approached by many political organizations, and invited to join their activities.

(10.3.5.c) Third, at this stage, Fang-ming trained his eyes toward *Red China* across

the Strait, hoping that after his right-wing Chinese identity was destroyed, he could use the left-wing Chinese identity to fill the blanks, and in turn after some proper “modification” he could continue to embrace the Chinese identity (in identity transformation, such orientation would cost less). However, with the passing of time, Fang-ming gradually seemed to be disenchanted by the “reality” of Red China. The more he understood China, the more nervous he became. He started to reflect:

When Anti-Lin Anti-Confucious Movement (*Pi Lin Pi Kong Yundong* 批林批孔運動) was launched, it was a wonder that the whole one billion Chinese people could simultaneously and fervently discuss Confucius and Confucianism, and connect the discussion with Biao Lin’s (*Lin Biao* 林彪) seizure of power. I was unable to get myself out of the bewilderment that a worker group in Heilongjiang (*Heilongjiang* 黑龍江) could analyze Confucianism, and use this as leverage in a political power struggle. The whole immense China was filled with deafening noise. By the time my emotions calmed down, I could see clearly that such an obstreperous China was actually a China without any sound. The rousing political slogans were merely a reflection of the dead silence of Mainland China. (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 45-6)

Fang-ming’s mental journey at this stage should have transpired around 1976. In 2000, when Fang-ming debated with Ying-chen Chen, he told him about his own mind’s journey in a flashback: “In 1976 when the Cultural Revolution in China ended, my imagination and longing toward China cooled off immediately. By the time the Gang of Four (*Siren Bang* 四人幫) was forced to step down in 1979, I felt totally exhausted for my having immature inclinations toward the leftists” (Fang-ming Chen 2000b).³⁸⁸

³⁸⁸. In 1985 when Fang-ming criticized Ying-chen Chen’s Chinese complex, he reflected from his own experience and said, “At first Ying-chen Chen identified himself with the regime of Mainland China. But after the Gang of Four lost power, all the inside stories were revealed to the world. As a result, all the

(10.3.5.d) Fourth, though he no longer held out a hope for China, the *leftist thinking* --- such as sympathy toward socialist ideals, and the understanding of class analysis --- still left some marks in his mind, and even had some influence on him. In the preface to *The Colonial Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Leftist Political Movement* published in 1998, Fang-ming described how leftist thinking influenced his learning method:

After turning to the leftist thinking, I no longer accepted the idea that historical data are above everything else. Instead, I gradually began to pay attention to the historical conditions and social structures behind historical data. It also came to my attention that political events frequently are connected to economics and class factors. Such thinking had brought me to a new discipline in terms of training. I no longer think that politics is led by a few people. Rather, it is determined by the historical and social conditions. (Fang-ming Chen 1998b, 7)

At the end of the preface, Fang-ming even said sentimentally, “..... I know in life there is always a breaking point. My breaking point, which I can point out precisely, was formed the first time I held and read a leftist book in the 70s. That unexpected sparks rewrote my whole life” (Fang-ming Chen 1998b, 9).³⁸⁹

(10.3.5.e) Fifth, the pulse of time, especially the *Formosa Incident* in 1979 and the *Lin Family Murders* in February of the following year, seemed to have left a visible imprint during Fang-ming’s immersion-emersion stage. In a retrospect, Fang-ming, who eventually derailed from “greater China thought” and marched toward “Taiwanese

intellectuals who had been immersed in China soon awoke. Ying-chen Chen was no exception” (Dong-yang Song 1985, 233).

³⁸⁹ Fang-ming later plunged into the research on the history of the Taiwanese Leftist Movement, and in several articles he expressed his high praise of left-wing thought. For example, in the afterword to *Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie*, he said, “Left-wing thought is a method filled with grass roots, and is a resisting will with the most fighting spirit” (Fang-ming Chen 1994d, 713).

identity,” says, “that I made such a painful decision was primarily because I was driven by the reality of Taiwanese society, rather than by my own vigilance and reflection” (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 138). What Fang-ming refers to as the “reality of Taiwanese society” include Chiang Kai-shek’s death and the banning of *Taiwan Political Review* in 1975; the Nativist Literature Debate, the Chungli Incident, and the Presbyterian Church’s “New and Independent Nation” Declaration in 1977; the severance of diplomatic relations between the Republic of China and the United States in 1978; the Formosa Incident in 1979 and the Assassinations at Lin’s House in 1980. In particular, the last two incidents not only struck Fang-ming, but also provided the finishing touches in the forming of his Taiwanese identity. Years later, Fang-ming explained how the “Formosa Incident” affected him:

In the long stream of history, it is not easy to find some eventful and pivotal incidents. However, after the incident happened, I strongly felt that a ferocious tide was pummeling against me, a shocking effect that had never happened to my life of more than 30 years. I also knew that I was not the only one to have such an experience; all of my friends, younger or older, equally felt the same shocking wave. Silent in history, Taiwan finally uttered voices thanks to the shocking incident. For the first time I heard the soliloquy from my heart, “My land has awoke and risen up” (Fang-ming Chen 1986b, 16).

(10.3.5.f) Finally, in comparison with other subjects (such as Mu-sheng Wu, Strong C. Chuang), the time Fang-ming stayed at the *immersion-emersion stage* seemed much longer than for others, and the process much more treacherous. For example, let’s recall the case of Strong C. Chuang. After he went to study in the United States, within one year, he changed entirely from a Chinese to a Taiwanese, and immediately joined the “United Formosans in America for Independence,” marching toward the “internalization

stage.” However, though in 1974, the first year he went to the United States, Fang-ming entered his “encounter stage” because of the “passport incident,” at the subsequent “immersion-emersion stage,” he kept strolling back and forth between the competing identities of White China, Red China and Native Taiwan, and was unable to come to a clear conclusion. Why would that be so?

On one hand, we have to pay attention to Fang-ming’s background. Unlike Chuang’s science and engineering background, Fang-ming’s professional field is history, and he is also a writer. A background like this assures that, before going to the United States, he had already “possessed” a Chinese identity. No matter whether it was his professional field, or a pastime that he amused himself with writings after classes, the Chinese identity had been deeply embedded in him, and had essentially become a part of him (Please note that at his “pre-encounter stage,” he belonged to the “anti-Blacks attitude” identity type, quite different from other cases). Under the circumstances, it obviously would take much more time for him to renounce this deep-rooted self.

On the other hand, we also have to pay attention to the atmosphere when Fang-ming went to study in the United States. When Strong C. Chuang went to the U.S. in the 1960s, though there were some students embracing pro-China leftist ideology (most of them were students from Hong Kong), they had not consolidated into a viable power. However, by the time Fang-ming went abroad in the 1970s, the situation had changed. Due to the effect of the Diaoyutai Protection Movement, and due to the emerging visibility of Red China in international society, the power that supported the left-wing on

campus had obviously been reinforced.³⁹⁰ Fang-ming had to spend more time to grasp ideologies that were anti-Chiang, but competing for supremacy, and choose one from them as his final choice of identity.

10.4 Overseas Exile (1980-1992)

In the summer of 1980, for the first time Fang-ming met with Hsin-liang Hsu (1941-), who was in exile in the United States. Entreated earnestly by Hsin-liang Hsu, Fang-ming gave up his almost-completed doctoral dissertation, and moved his family down to Los Angeles, joining the camp of *Formosa Weekly* that Hsin-liang Hsu republished overseas. In the midst of 1983, owing to the so-called “De-jian Hou Incident (*Hou Dejian shijian* 侯德健事件),” a “Taiwanese Consciousness Debate (*Taiwan yishi lunzhan* 台灣意識論戰)” focused on “the Taiwanese complex vs. the Chinese complex” broke out inside the Dangwai (*Dangwai* 黨外) camp in Taiwan. Though Fang-ming was overseas, he took part in the debate across the ocean. In the spring of 1984, Fang-ming left Los Angeles and returned to the University of Washington campus. In 1985, Fang-ming became the editor-in-chief of the newly published *Taiwanese Culture* bimonthly.

³⁹⁰ Ironically, most of the students supporting the left-wing in China were the children of KMT high-ranking officials. On one hand, there were almost no Taiwanese students participating in the Diaoyutai Protection Movement (Xiao-qi Ren 1997, 148). On the other hand, at that time, there were no students from Mainland China. They had to wait until the end of the 1970s when the so-called “Reform and Open” policy was carried out, and the Chinese government began to allow students to go abroad to study, and then they started to show up on American campuses. But, by that time, the Taiwanese overseas students’ devotion to the Red “motherland” had been flagging.

10.4.1 The *Formosa Weekly*

In July 1979, Hsin-liang Hsu, then-magistrate of Taoyuan County, was fired as a result of an administrative order by the KMT. One month later, he and his family took an overseas trip. At the end of the year, the Formosa Incident broke out unexpectedly, and Hsin-liang Hsu was forced to seek exile in the United States, a stay that lasted for ten years in all.³⁹¹ During the initial period of his arrival in the United States, Hsu gave a speech at the University of Washington, and thus Fang-ming made the acquaintance of Hsu. In August 1980, Hsu published the *Formosa Weekly* in Los Angeles, and Fang-ming decided to give up his studies to join the editing staff.

It was indeed a major choice in life for Fang-ming to switch from being a Ph.D. student in the United States to becoming an overseas dissident. “Someone asked if I ever regretted abandoning an academic degree for the sake of getting involved in political activities. If I said that I had never struggled over this problem, then I must be dishonest. In my heart, I did confront inextricably with myself, and for a long period, I was unable to get out of the cocoon of confrontation. However, when justice was distorted, and my friends’ destinies were obliterated, and even a grandmother and two little girls were killed, then I had to admit that my degree was not important anymore” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 36). Fang-ming says that his dissertation with Kuai Qin as the subject of his study was all but done. However, “my mind did not allow me to be immersed in the comfort of my study. After pondering for half a year, I packed up and jumped into the rapids of the

³⁹¹. For related data with respect to Hsin-liang Hsu, refer to *The Political World of Hsin-liang Hsu* (Chen Hsia 1999), which was orally described by him and written by Chen Hsia. See also his writings at different times (Hsin-liang Hsu 1977, 1995; Hsu and Zhong 1992). In addition, also refer to Qiao Liu (1977); Shou-cheng Liu (1986); Fang-ming Chen (1996a); and Ben Wei (1999).

political movement. With regard to my choice, I actually did not regret it”

(Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 50).³⁹²

At its inception, the *Formosa Weekly* drew upon a pool of talented people. Apart from Ching-yu Sun, who, like Fang-ming, interrupted his doctoral program and moved down from Seattle, those who joined the camp included Stella Chen, Wei-chia Chang, Linda Gail Arrigo, Zau-nan Chen (*Chen Zhaonan* 陳昭南), Chung-hsin Hu (*Hu Zhongxi* 胡忠信), I-jen Chiou, etc. Ching-yu Sun, who worshiped liberalism, was the first editor-in-chief of the *Formosa Weekly*. After five or six issues, however, Sun resigned and was replaced by Stella Chen. Stella Chen was in charge for about eight months and also quit due to the struggle over internal direction. Finally, the burden of editor-in-chief was shouldered by Fang-ming (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 51).

In general, “ever since the very beginning, the *Formosa Weekly* was in trouble, which included the crunch in financial resources, the shortage of human resources and the divergence over internal direction” (Fang-ming Chen 1998d, 145). At this time Fang-ming had to write at least four articles per week, including two political reviews, one historical and one literary review. As a result, Fang-ming notes that “it was a paper

³⁹². How we interpret Fang-ming’s unusual decision to “abandon a degree and plunge into the movement wholeheartedly” is certainly an important question with theoretical significance. According to Ming-cheng Chen (2002, 49), Fang-ming was immersed in “beauty and romance” before that. Such characteristics frequently go hand in hand with longing for revolution and a rebellious personality. A predetermined future somehow would not satisfy Fang-ming.

However, Ming-cheng Chen’s inference was not consistent with current political psychologists’ research findings regarding the personality characteristics of revolutionists. For example, in Rejai and Phillips’ (1983) classical research regarding 50 revolution movement leaders in history (sample covers the five continents), they have a chapter dealing with the “psychological dynamics” of the revolutionists. They examine six psychological dynamics models: (1) vanity, egotism, narcissism; (2) asceticism, Puritanism, virtue; (3) relative deprivation and status inconsistency; (4) marginality, inferiority complex, compulsion excel; (5) Oedipal conflict; and (6) estheticism and Romanticism. They conclude that Oedipal conflict has the lowest relationship to revolutionists, and estheticism and Romanticism have the next lowest.

without adequate people, especially those who could write. Often time, I had to take care of all the pages. To make the content changeable, every week I used different pen names with different writing styles. I was consumed by the burden and felt exhausted physically and mentally” (Fang-ming Chen 1998f, 35-6).

In mid-1980, exhausted and distressed, Fang-ming happened to read a story in an overseas Chinese newspaper that Wan-de Wang (*Wang Wande* 王萬得), an important member of the Taiwanese Communist Party (*Taiwan Gongchandang* 台灣共產黨) during the Japanese era, was celebrating his 80th birthday in Beijing. Fang-ming decided right away to write Wan-de Wang a letter, asking him some puzzling questions regarding the Taiwanese Communist Party. Later, Fang-ming published in the *Formosa Weekly* his first research paper about Taiwanese Leftist Movement, “Longing for the Motherland Forever: The Life and An Introduction to the Thought of Xin Su (*yongyuan de wangxiangren: Su Xin de shengping yu sixiang chulun* 永遠的望鄉人：蘇新的生平與思想初論).”³⁹³ Fang-ming says, “After finishing this article, I gradually retreated from research on the Song Dynasty. Consequently, in my career of historical research, I considered Xin Su as an important turning point for me” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 259). As Fang-ming also notes, “Jia-nong Chen (*Chen Jianong* 陳嘉農), a pen name I used when I was in exile, was actually an imitation of Jia-nong Zhuang (*Zhuang Jianong* 莊嘉農), a pen name used by Xin Su” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 259).

³⁹³. The essay was later collected in *The Colonial Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Leftist Political Movement* published in 1998 (see Fang-ming Chen 1998b).

In October 1982, with the purpose of “glorifying the Taiwanese literary tradition, and enhance the continuing development of Taiwanese literature,” the “Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature (Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiuhui 台灣文學研究會)” was established in Los Angeles by overseas Taiwanese scholars and writers. The 18 founding members included Liang-ze Zhang (*Zhang Liangze* 張良澤), Bai Tongfang (*Tongfang Bai* 東方白), Jo-shi Chen (*Chen Ruoxi* 陳若曦), Fang-ming Chen, John S. Cheng, Ming-chuan Huang (*Huang Mingchuan* 黃明川), Jer-shung Lin (*Lin Zhexiong* 林哲雄),³⁹⁴ Ta-jan Hsu (*Xu Daran* 許達然), and Yun-yun Ye (*Ye Yunyun* 葉云云), covering almost all the most important overseas Taiwanese literature writers and researchers. Ta-jan Hsu was elected the first president and Fang-ming the secretary (Ta-jan Hsu 1989, 315-6). Initially, Fang-ming sent out a newsletter of about three pages every month, reporting the literary activities in Taiwan and the comings and goings of the group’s members. After the establishment of “Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature,” Fang-ming had been very vigorous in all of its activities (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 258-9).³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴. Heng-zhe Lin (*Lin Hengzhe* 林衡哲), Jer-shung Lin’s penname, seems to be more popular than his real name.

³⁹⁵. The “Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature” was dissolved after its final conference held in Vienna in 1992 (Shuang-bu Lin 2000d, 227-8). According to “Appendix 2: A List of Proceedings and Lectures at the Annual Conference of the Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature (1983-1988) in *Blood of the Forerunner, Flower of the Earth* edited by the Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature (1989), Fang-ming read four essays at the annual conference. They were “Blood of the Forerunners, Flower of the Earth: The Background of Taiwan’s Left-wing Literature under Japanese Rule” (Fang-ming Chen 1989d) in 1983, “China’s Research on Taiwanese Literature in Recent Years” (not collected in his anthologies) in 1984, “Questions about Taiwanese Poems: The Criticism of Ke-xiang Liu’s Poems” (Fang-ming Chen 1989f) in 1985, and “Expansion and Re-expansion of Spiritual Territory: The Criticism of Wen-yi Lin’s Travel Literature” (Fang-ming Chen 1989e) in 1986.

10.4.2 The Taiwanese Consciousness Debate

In June 1983, thanks to the “De-jian Hou Incident,”³⁹⁶ a so-called “Taiwanese Consciousness Debate,”³⁹⁷ which was focused on “the Taiwanese complex vs. the Chinese complex,” was triggered among the opposition camp in Taiwan. Opposition magazines, both the leftist and the rightist, such as *Taiwan Weekly* (*Shenggen Zhoukan* 生根週刊) (and the succeeding *Taiwan Times* (*Taiwan Niandai* 台灣年代) after the ban of *Taiwan Weekly*), *Forward Weekly* (*Qianjin Zhoukan* 前進週刊), *China Tide Review* (*Xiachao Luntan* 夏潮論壇), etc., one after another, plunged into this off-limits area of ideological contention.

To some extent, this Debate can be considered the sequel to the “Nativist Literature Debate” in 1977. As mentioned before, in the “Nativist Literature Debate,” basically, “Taiwan Nativism Thesis” was allied to “Leftist Chinese Nationalism” to contend with “Rightist Chinese Nationalism” and “Modernization Thesis,” which together represented

³⁹⁶. De-jian Hou was a composer of Taiwanese popular music at that time. With his “The Dragon’s Descendants,” Ho became a musician that everybody knew then. The lyric of the song was very simple, and all it sang and praised was “Though I have never seen the beauty of the Yangtze River, I often tour the water of the Yangtze in my dreams. Though I have never seen the mighty Yellow River, its roaring turbulence is in my dreams.” The song was so popular in Taiwan that when De-jian Hou went into China through Hong Kong in June of the year in order to study at the Beijing Institute of Music, almost everybody talked about him (at that time the two sides of the Strait were still separated, and people on either side was not allowed to visit each other) (Min-hui Shi 1985b).

³⁹⁷. The Debate played a very important role in the developmental history of “Taiwanese Consciousness.” Before that, due to the KMT’s control over speech, neither ordinary people nor the opposition people would dare to promote the political notion of “Taiwan-centered ideology.” Fang-ming said, “Thirty years after the war, there had never been a single debate that would dare to touch these off-limits areas of thoughts. Thus, in terms of political movement and literary movement in Taiwan, the degree of nativization was brought to a new frontier” (Min-hui Shi 1985b, 1). Huan-der Chih (1997, 76) also argues that the Debate “signifies that the Orthodox tradition of China theory was fundamentally challenged by the people with Taiwanese consciousness.

With respect to the original data of the Debate, refer to *Anthology of Debate on Taiwanese Consciousness* (1985a) edited by Min-hui Shi (i.e., Fang-ming Chen). As for related research on the Debate, refer to Sheng-guan You (1996, 248-60); and Huan-der Chih (1997).

the government's ideology. Though the conflict between "Taiwan Nativism Thesis" and "Leftist Chinese Nationalism" had already emerged, due to KMT suppression, "Taiwan Nativism Thesis" had to keep a low profile and stay temporarily under the wing of "Chinese identity."

In the early 1980s, there was the so-called the "North-South Dispute in the Literary Circle (*wenxuejie nanbeipai zhengyi* 文學界南北派爭議)."³⁹⁸ Though the supporters of "Taiwan Nativism Thesis" found a temporary outlet to vent, they still could not get everything off their chests, since the kernel of the problem lay beyond literary posturing and entered the realm of national identity. The supporters of Taiwanese consciousness, who had long been encapsulated, continued to absorb energy, waiting for an appropriate opportunity to explode their sentiment.

It all started with Ying-chen Chen's commentary regarding De-jian Hou's (*Hou Dejian* 侯德健) entry into Mainland China. De-jian Hou was the composer of the popular song "Legend of the Dragon (*long de chuanren* 龍的傳人)." As argued by Ying-chen Chen, the fact that the song "Legend of the Dragon" became so popular in Taiwan was not to be explained by the term "Imaginary Han Nationalism (*kongxiang Hanzu zhuyi* 空想漢族主義)," a mockery to some people. "This song as a whole sings of a profound and complicated culture, imaging all the concepts and feelings related to

³⁹⁸. The North-South Dispute was about "how to position Taiwanese Literature." The dispute was triggered by an article "The Two Kinds of Literary Soul" by Hong-zhi Zhan (1981). In the article, he raised the question of positioning Taiwanese Literature within Chinese literary history, using the novelist Dongnian's words in a hypothetical tone, "All of this, in the future, will be only frontier literature" (1981, 31). Such "frontier" view rested on the assumption that Taiwanese literature should be treated as subordinate to Chinese literature. This drew ferocious criticisms from opponents, resulting in a debate between the pros and the cons, and the confrontation was between the North and the South in the literary field (Chih 1997, 48).

China in history. These five thousand years' development had become the memory and complex of the whole people, and have been deeply infused into the blood of the Chinese people" (Ying-chen Chen 1985, 33).³⁹⁹ Therefore, the reason why De-jian Hou went to Mainland China, "was to take a look at the fatherland, which formed through several thousand years' history and culture and had long been running in Ho's blood" (Ying-chen Chen 1985, 35). Ying-chen Chen also considered those people who criticized the song as "frivolous little bourgeois intellectuals (*qingkuan de xiaobuerqiaoya zhishifenzi* 輕狂的小布爾喬亞知識分子)" (Ying-chen Chen 1985, 35). Since they had been brainwashed by capitalism, they had "serious pediatric diseases (*yanzhong xiaoerbing* 嚴重小兒病)" in political judgment, and thus they were eager to deny their own "fatherland."

Ying-chen Chen's article immediately drew a multitude of responses. With criticisms going back and forth, supporters of Taiwan Nativism Thesis not only gradually broke through the speech taboo, they also further forged a theoretical system for Taiwanese identity. They either proposed that we have to identify with the place of residence first, and declare that "My China is Taiwan (*wuode Zhongguo shi Taiwan* 我的中國是台灣)" (Jing-feng Liang 1985); or criticized Ying-chen Chen's double standard denigrating Taiwan while praising China (Yi-min Cai 1985). They also argued that Taiwanese consciousness is dynamic, and if it does not exist today that does not mean that

³⁹⁹. The original article was published in the June 1984 issue of *Forward Weekly* (*Qianjin Zhoukan* 前進週刊). Except for A-ming Ye (1983), all the following articles occurring in this debate are quoted from *Anthology of Debate on Taiwanese Consciousness*, a book edited by Min-hui Shi (*Shi Minhui* 施敏輝, Fang-ming's penname) and published in 1984.

it will not show up tomorrow (A-ming Ye 1983). Furthermore, they contended from the reality of economic and social infrastructure that a realistic base for Taiwanese consciousness exists, and served as a “base for the *Dangwai* democracy movement (*Dangwai minzhu yundong de jishi* 黨外民主運動的基石)” (Shu-hong Chen 1985); or stated straightforwardly that “the Taiwanese do not want Chinese consciousness (*Taiwanren buyao Zhongguo yishi* 台灣人不要中國意識)” (Taiwan Times 1985).

Fang-ming played a very subtle role in this debate. He not only watched and rooted for advocates of Taiwan Nativism Thesis on the side, but supported his comrades with fierce firepower across the ocean. In January 1984, he published “The Question of the Nativization of Taiwanese Literature at the Current Stage (*xianjieduan Taiwan wenxue bentuhua de wenti* 現階段台灣文學本土化的問題)” (see Dong-yang Song 1985) in *Taiwan Literature*, providing a complete retrospect about the debate on Taiwanese consciousness occurring in the field of Taiwanese literature as well as the circle of opposition movement. He thought that Taiwanese literature is developing in a Taiwanese society that is separate from China. Since the writers of Taiwanese literature can only interact with Taiwanese society, Taiwanese literature definitely can only reflect Taiwanese society. Contending that Ying-chen Chen’s novels reflects only Taiwanese society and Taiwanese reality, he repudiated Ying-chen Chen’s “Thesis on Chinese Literature (*Zhongguo wenxue lun* 中國文學論),” “Thesis on the Third World Literature” (*Disan Shijie wenxue lun* 第三世界文學論),” and the sense of Chinese consciousness embedded in them. Superficially, he tried to sum up the North-South Dispute in the literary circle through the position of Taiwan Nativism Thesis. But in reality, he spared no effort to praise Shih-tao Yeh (*Ye Shitao* 葉石濤) and Shu-hong Chen (*Chen Shuhong*

陳樹鴻) for their argument in favor of Taiwanese consciousness, and criticized Ying-chen Chen's Chinese consciousness.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, Fang-ming in effect waged two debates on two fronts.

10.4.3 The *Taiwan Culture Bimonthly*

Shortly after publishing "The Question of the Nativization of Taiwanese Literature at the Current Stage," in the spring of 1984, Fang-ming left Los Angeles where he had lived for four years and went back to the University of Washington campus of Seattle. He said that since he was already on the official list of "ideological criminals," few people would dare to approach him, and he also voluntarily kept them at a distance. Hsin-liang Hsu said that Fang-ming's return was to "allow him to take a rest, rather than to study, since he was already consumed to the point of collapse physically and mentally" (Hsin-liang Hsu 1992, 133).

In March of the same year, pediatrician Jer-shung Lin founded the "Taiwan Publishing Co. (*Taiwan Chubanshe* 台灣出版社)" in southern California and planned to publish "Taiwan Library (*Taiwan wenku* 台灣文庫)." Liang-ze Zhang, who was teaching Taiwanese literature in Japan, was invited to be the editing advisor, but Jer-shung Lin, Fu-mei Chang (*Zhang Fumei* 張富美) and Fang-ming Chen were

⁴⁰⁰ In Fang-ming's identity development, his ideological "breakup" with Ying-chen Chen was very meaningful. Please note that while he was in Taiwan, the leftist Ying-chen Chen and the rightist Kwang-chung Yu used to be the "two headlights" on his literary road (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 137). After the "Nativist Literature Debate" in 1977, Fang-ming gradually parted from Kwang-chung Yu. Six years later, in this "Taiwanese Consciousness Debate," Fang-ming for the first time criticized Ying-chen Chen in print. A few years later, Fang-ming said, "My breakup with Ying-chen Chen in literature and thought was vividly reflected in the critiques I wrote after 1983" (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 260).

burdened with the actual tasks of book selecting and editing. The publishing of “Taiwan Library” was a significant event in the overseas Taiwanese cultural community, and was welcomed by readers around the world. “The collection consolidates the knowledge and intelligence of all Taiwanese at home and abroad. In these precious records of words, we can testify to the beauty and pain, as well as dreams and reality of Taiwan” (Fang-ming Chen’s words, see the inside cover of Heng-zhe Lin and Heng-hao Zhang 1994)..

In July 1985, the *Taiwan Culture* (*Taiwan Wenhua* 台灣文化) bimonthly, which was sponsored by the “Professor Chen Wen-Chen's Memorial Foundation (*Chen Wencheng Jiaoshou Jijinhui* 陳文成教授基金會),” was founded in Thornwood, New Jersey.

Fang-ming, still in Seattle, was chosen as the editor-in-chief, and Maysing Yang (*Yanghuang Meixing* 楊黃美幸), who lived in New Jersey, assistant editor-in-chief (Shu 2001a, 119). In 1986, Fang-ming moved his whole family to San Jose in the San Francisco Bay area, where the nearby Hoover Research Institute Library of Stanford University had a very huge collection of books for him to study. It was the library that served as a bastion for his research on leftist politics and leftist literature of Taiwanese history (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 263).⁴⁰¹ In February 1986, Maysing Yang was elected

⁴⁰¹. The time that Fang-ming moved to north California as listed by Ming-cheng Chen should be right (as evidenced by the mailing address of *Taiwan Culture*). Interestingly, Fang-ming, who majors in history, seems to have made a mistake about the time of his move. In the preface to his *The Leftist Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Literary Movement under Colonial Rule*, he says he moved to northern California in 1984 (Fang-ming Chen 1998a, 7), which should be in error. In addition, Fu-mei Chang, another historian who is now the chairperson of the Overseas Affairs Commission, Executive Yuan, writes the preface for Fang-ming’s *A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie: Flowers Not Withering after Falling to the Earth in Rainy Night* and lists the time Fang-ming moved to northern California as 1985, which is again a mistake (Fu-mei Chang 1994, 37). I suppose they relied on their personal memories and did not check the data, and thus were mistaken.

president of the Taiwanese Association of America, and she announced *Taiwan Culture* to be the association's official publication. Fang-ming continued to be its editor-in-chief until its operation was suspended in October 1988 (Shu 2001a, 119).

After Fang-ming moved to San Jose in 1986, he started to write *A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie* (*Xie xuehong pingzhuan* 謝雪紅評傳). At the end of the year, he first published chapter one in *Taiwan Culture*, which he was editing, and continued to do so until chapter seven was published at the end of 1987. He then put the biography on hold temporarily. At the end of 1990, the biography began to appear in *Independent Evening Post* in Taipei, starting with chapter seven. Thus, intermittently, it took three to four years for him to finish this biography. The first edition of this biography was formally published in 1991, and the second in 1994. With about 800 pages, it is definitely one of Fang-ming's signature publications. In 1991, Fu-mei Chang, who wrote the preface to the book, said confidently that among Fang-ming's voluminous publications under the names of Dong-yang Song (Song Dongyang 宋冬陽), Jia-nong Chen (Chen Jianong 陳嘉農), Min-hui Shi and his real name, "I am sure that his most valuable publication should be the biography of Xue-hong Xie. In the future, when people talk about Xue-hong Xie, they will mention Fang-ming Chen; and when people talk about Fang-ming Chen, they will mention Xue-hong Xie" (Fu-mei Chang 1994, 39).

After *Taiwan Culture* stopped publication, Fang-ming continued to reside in San Jose, researching, writing and editing, until August 1992 when he returned to Taiwan to serve as the director of Department of Culture and Information (*wenhua xuanchuan bu* 文化宣傳部), Democratic Progressive Party. Aside from *A Critical Biography of*

Xue-hong Xie which was published in 1991, Fang-ming also published two collections of prose, *The Wounded Reed* (Jia-nong Chen 1988) and *The Thorny Gate* (Fang-ming Chen 1992a)⁴⁰²; four anthologies of literary critiques and historical commentaries, *Writing Critical Essays While Drinking Wine* (Dong-yang Song 1988), *History and Consciousness of Taiwanese* (Fang-ming Chen 1988a), *A Contorted and Wounded Island* (Fang-ming Chen 1989a), and *Exploration of a Taiwanese Historical Perspective* (Fang-ming Chen 1992b)⁴⁰³; six anthologies of political commentaries, *Crossroads of Our Time: The Controversy over Unification/Independence and Cross-Strait Relations* (Fang-ming Chen 1989b), *Under the Flag of Formosa: Opposition Movement and Democratic Taiwan* (Fang-ming Chen 1989c), *An Examination of Taiwan's External Relations* (Fang-ming Chen 1990a), *An Observation on Taiwan's Internal Democracy* (Fang-ming Chen 1990b), *The Formosa Complex* (Fang-ming Chen 1991b), and *Lee Teng-hui Complex* (Fang-ming Chen 1991c).

Moreover, except for the aforementioned *Anthology of Debate on Taiwanese Consciousness* (Min-hui Shi 1985a), Fang-ming also edited *The Literary Career of Kui Yang* (Fang-ming Chen 1986a), *Anthology of the February 28 Incident* (Fang-ming Chen 1988b), and *Selected Documents of Post-war Taiwan: Special Issue on the February 28 Incident* (Fang-ming Chen 1991a). For a private scholar in exile, only the word

⁴⁰². The official publishing time of *The Thorny Gate* was September 1992, when Fang-ming was already back in Taiwan, but all the articles in the book were written while he was abroad.

⁴⁰³. *Exploration of a Taiwanese Historical Perspective* was also published in September 1992. Likewise, though Fang-ming had returned to Taiwan when the book was published, the articles in the book were written while he was abroad.

“amazing” can be used to describe such a volume of production.⁴⁰⁴

10.4.4 A Description of National Identity during the Period

In Fang-ming’s identity development, the Formosa Incident in 1979 and the subsequent Lin Family Murders were the most influential incidents. However, from the perspective of his life history, his giving up academic degree and serving as the editor-in-chief of the *Formosa Weekly* would better explain the transition in his trajectory. From the perspective of race/ethnic identity development theory, his action clearly tells us that, to some extent, he had passed through the “encounter stage” and the “immersion-emersion stage,” and was marching toward the “internalization stage” of his identity development.

After experiencing shock at the “encounter stage” and a search for identity at the “immersion-emersion stage,” Fang-ming, at the “internalization stage,” obviously had completely discarded the Chinese identity he had embraced at the “pre-encounter stage” and, to some extent, had finished constructing his Taiwanese identity. In this section, through Fang-ming’s words in print at this stage, I shall trace the content of the Taiwanese identity Fang-ming had constructed. In the section that follows, I shall use the data in this section, and from a more theoretical perspective, analyze the characteristics of the method of construction in the development of his Taiwanese identity.

At this stage, though Fang-ming continued to write new poems and prose, his major

⁴⁰⁴. Fang-ming used to say, “When in exile, we had to while away our lonely time with literature” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 53).

writings were mostly published in the forms of “literary critiques”, “historical research” and “political commentaries.” His “literary critiques” was centered on the arrangement of Taiwanese literary history. “The Question of the Nativization of Taiwanese Literature at the Current Stage” (Dong-yang Song 1985) published in 1985 was a signature writing of this category. His “historical research” was focused on the discovery of the Taiwanese leftist history, and was concentrated on the participants related to the “Taiwanese Communist Party” during the Japanese era. *A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie* (Fang-ming Chen 1994a),⁴⁰⁵ which was published in 1991 with about 800 pages, was his most significant writing of this category. As for his “political commentaries,” in general, these were commentaries on the topics of unification/independence, which can be seen in his six anthologies of political commentaries published between 1989 and 1991.

Using his writings in this period as an object of analysis, I think that the “Taiwanese identity”⁴⁰⁶ Fang-ming constructed had four main ideas: a historical perspective from

⁴⁰⁵. *A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie* on my hand is a second edition published in 1994; the first edition was published in 1991.

⁴⁰⁶. The notion of “Taiwanese identity” I use here might be confusing to some extent. Basically, in this research, “identity” refers to an individual’s answer to the question “Who am I,” and the unit of analysis is a “single individual.” Of course, this “individual” should also refer to the other people’s answer to the question “Who are you,” and absorb from the external environment the possible nutrient that comes with the entire society’s answer to the question “Who are we.” However, in Fang-ming’s case, especially in the analysis of his “Taiwanese identity,” as a humanities scholar, he tended to be considered a “constructor” of identity. Therefore, the “Taiwanese identity” discussed here is more like an “discourse,” a assertion with regard to “What should be ‘the island of Taiwan,’” or “Who are the ‘people who reside on this island of Taiwan.’”

In fact, in Fang-ming’s own writings, he seems to prefer to use the term “Taiwanese consciousness (*Taiwan yishi* 台灣意識),” rather than “Taiwanese identity” (as evidenced by *Anthology of Debate on Taiwanese Consciousness* edited by himself). However, Fang-ming sometimes also uses other similar phrases to describe the “Taiwanese consciousness/identity,” such as autonomous consciousness (*zizhu yishi* 自主意識), local people consciousness (*bendiren yishi* 本地人意識), Taiwanese historical consciousness (*Taiwan(ren) lishi yishi* 台灣(人)歷史意識), Taiwanese people consciousness (*Taiwan renmin yishi* 台灣

Taiwanese people's point of view, the objective basis for Taiwanese identity, the subjective element in Taiwanese identity and the historical development process of Taiwanese identity.

(10.4.4.a) First, in Fang-ming's theory of Taiwanese identity, the most important element was nothing other than the so-called "*Taiwanese historical perspective (Taiwan shiguan 台灣史觀)*," a perspective examining Taiwan's history under the framework of world history rather than Chinese history. Fang-ming says, "In Taiwan's history, there have emerged several different historical perspectives. There have been the Dutch, the Manchurian, the Japanese, the Chinese, the KMT and the Communist historical perspectives. However, what kind of historical perspective can represent the real Taiwanese historical perspective" (Fang-ming Chen 1992b, 57)? Fang-ming answers the question he himself raised as follows, "The Taiwanese historical perspective is, in essence, the construction of historical explanations for Taiwanese from the perspective of the Taiwanese (*zhanzai Taiwanren de lichang lai jiangou Taiwanren de lishi jieshi 站在台灣人的立場來建構台灣人的歷史解釋*)" (Fang-ming Chen 1994d, 711).

"Searching for a constant and long-lasting Taiwanese historical perspective is an important task in research on Taiwanese history" (Fang-ming Chen 1996b, 152).⁴⁰⁷

(10.4.4.b) Second, to Fang-ming, Taiwanese identity was a collective consciousness

人民意識), Taiwanese national consciousness (*Taiwan minzu yishi 台灣民族意識*), Taiwanese ethnic consciousness (*Taiwan zulei yishi 台灣族類意識*), Taiwanese indigenous consciousness (*Taiwan bentu yishi 台灣本土意識*), Taiwan nativist consciousness (*Taiwan xiangtu yishi 台灣鄉土意識*), etc. (Ming-cheng Chen 1992, 117).

⁴⁰⁷. The original article was published in the April 1989 issue of *Taiwan Annals (Taiwan Chunqiu 台灣春秋)*.

derived from the “*reality of Taiwanese society*.” If we do not take into consideration Taiwanese society with its political and economic conditions at a specific time and in a specific space, we will never understand the meaning of Taiwanese identity. According to Fang-ming:

Taiwanese consciousness is a product of a specific social and economic development. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, when Taiwan had not yet established an island-wide economy, the society remained at a stage characterized by a localized and self-sufficient economy. At that time, there were only strong “Zhangzhou consciousness (*Zhangzhou yishi* 漳州意識),” “Quanzhou consciousness (*Quanzhou yishi* 泉州意識)” or “Hakka consciousness (*Kejia yishi* 客家意識).” After Japan occupied Taiwan, to help develop the colonial empire, capitalism-style construction was carried out and, as a result, island-wide enterprises were expanded. An initial integration of Taiwan’s society and economy was achieved, and the productive relationships of the people on the island were also properly aligned. Consequently, an island-wide interlocked Taiwan (*yizhong quandaoxing xiuqi-yugong de Taiwan* 一種全島性休戚與共的台灣) was formed. This long history moved forward and changed, and after the 70s of this century, the impact of a full-scale economic development hit every facet of Taiwanese society, and Taiwanese consciousness became an unstoppable motive force. (Dong-yang Song 1985, 230)⁴⁰⁸

(10.4.4.c) Third, if we use only the “objective social economic conditions” of the

⁴⁰⁸. This paragraph is basically derived from the argument of Shu-hong Chen (1985). The topic sentence “Taiwanese consciousness is a product of a specific social and economic development,” an argument seemingly inconspicuous in appearance, is a concept with very important implications. First, it challenges the illusory nature of Chinese consciousness proposed by both the KMT as well as the leftist unification camp (Ying-chen Chen is a key figure), arguing that “under the reality conditions, it is impossible to generate the so-called Chinese consciousness on the island of Taiwan.” Second, on arguing about this point, at least based on his own explanation, Fang-ming probably attributes the source of this theoretical framework to what he calls the “leftist thinking method,” and through the method, he finds that political movement is “determined by the demand of historical and social conditions” (Fang-ming Chen 1998b, 7). Third, interestingly, if we view from the related theory of nationalism, his statement in this paragraph is actually closer to the right-wing functionalism, especially the idea that “there exists a close relationship between market economy/capitalism and nationalism” (e.g., Gellner 1983).

infrastructure as an analytical concept, we certainly are not in a position to understand the full content of Taiwanese identity. We still need the “*subjective consciousness*” that belongs to the superstructure to match, so that we can get a grasp of the true content of Taiwanese identity. As Fang-ming puts it:

After more than three hundred years’ endurance (*muolian* 磨練) and testing (*kaoyan* 考驗), and with several changeovers among rootless colonial rulers (*wugen de zhimin tongzhizhe* 無根的殖民統治者), the settlers who had found roots here were subject to specific social and economic conditions, and matched with their subjective wills of fighting against the ruler (*zhuguan yuanwang de kangzheng yizhi* 主觀願望的抗爭意志), eventually forging a mighty native consciousness, which was in turn has now come a well-recognized Taiwanese consciousness. (Dong-yang Song 1985, 214)

The emphasis on “subjective consciousness” in Fang-ming’s work reminds us of Ming-min Peng, who applied Ernest Renan’s notion of “community of destiny” in his construction of Taiwanese identity.

(10.4.4.d) Fourth, in his constructed theoretical framework, Fang-ming used “*event history*” to connect the changing process of “Taiwanese identity” to history. Basically, Fang-ming considered the evolution of Taiwanese history to be “actually the formative history of a colonial society, and was also a struggling history of resistance to colonial systems (*dikang zhimindi tizhi de douzhengshi* 抵抗殖民地體制的鬥爭史)” (Fang-ming Chen 1988c, 82). “Taiwanese society was formed after four hundred years of colonial exploitation. Over that long history, tense antagonistic relationship had always existed between the Han settlers (*Hanren yimin* 漢人移民) and the émigré rulers (*wailai tongzhizhe* 外來統治者) and, inevitably, the Han settlers had to develop an indigenous consciousness (*bendi yishi* 本地意識) in Taiwanese society” (Min-hui Shi 1985b, 10).

First of all, during the “*Dutch era*” and the “*Koxinga era*,” no matter whether it was an exploitative economic system or a dynastic struggle, policies were initiated based on the wills of émigré rulers, while those being ruled were totally ignored. As a result, the Taiwanese forerunners who cultivated and resided on the land of Taiwan were forced to revolt for survival. By the time of the Manchurian resumption, Taiwanese forerunners, who had left their homes and sailed across the Strait against the order from the government, had “a small revolt every three years, and a major revolt every five years (*sannian yi xiaofan, wunian yi dafan* 三年一小反，五年一大反),” demonstrating their willingness to shed blood to resist tortures and struggle for survival. The establishment of “*the Republic of Formosa (Taiwan Minzhuguo 台灣民主國)*”⁴⁰⁹ in 1895, according to Fang-ming, was a solid realization of a Taiwanese “indigenous consciousness.”⁴¹⁰

In 1895, *Japan* started to rule Taiwan as a colony and modernize the island, and island-wide transportation, economic, agricultural and industrial systems were established one after another. “Modernized social and economic conditions transformed Taiwanese consciousness into an ‘island-wide consciousness (*quandao yishi* 全島意識)’” (Min-hui Shi 1985c, 11). With all the modernized facilities and systems, the Han people living in the north and the south of Taiwan shared the same value system as well as the same sense of unfair treatment. The Japanese rulers imposed many humiliating conditions on Taiwan and, almost without exception, all the residents in Taiwan were subject to such

⁴⁰⁹. In addition to “the Republic of Formosa,” for other English names of this short-lived Republic in the existing literature, see footnote of Table 1.1.

⁴¹⁰. Fang-ming says, “Though ‘the Republic of Formosa’ was a failed trial in real politics, it was a very important step in the crystallization of Taiwanese consciousness. In terms of consciousness, it really

influences and biases, though they were so reluctant to accept them.

Within two years after the KMT took over Taiwan, the *February 28 Incident* broke out. Fang-ming says, “In that incident, Taiwanese consciousness appeared in a form that affected every walk of life. Among the protesters, there were local dignitaries, landowners, intellectuals, military families, agricultural and industrial organizations and student organizations, etc. The resistance movement with such a complicated array of participants described a modern national resistance as well as a democracy movement (*jindaishi de minzu minzhu fankang yundong* 近代式的民族民主反抗運動).

Whether in conference negotiations or in armed resistance, the Taiwanese possessed a very strong sense of indigenous consciousness, which can be considered a continuation of the spirit of protest during the Japanese occupation period” (Fang-ming Chen 1989a, 266-7).

By the time of the *White Terror in the 1950s*, on the one hand, the government used the educational machine and vigorous political propaganda to blur Taiwanese people’s understanding of the destiny of island; on the other hand, Taiwanese consciousness became invisible and hidden in the depths of the Taiwanese people’s souls. However, once the ruling authority was challenged, the Taiwanese consciousness that had been suppressed sprouted up immediately. First came the economic impact in the 70s of a series of international crises: the oil crisis, inflation, and production transition. Worse yet, in politics, Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations, and diplomatic relations with the U.S. were severed, Taiwan seemed to become an abandoned child in

established an indigenous and autonomous belief (*bentu de zizhu de xinnian* 本土的自主的信念) for the Han people in Taiwan” (Min-hui Shi 1985c, 10).

international society. All of the challenges reinforced the island people's senses of crisis and sentiment of solidarity at the same time.

According to Fang-ming's observation, "Ever since the 70s, the expansion of Taiwanese consciousness had been substantially represented by the democracy movement in politics and the nativization movement in literature. The former used Taiwanese consciousness as a guiding principle in its pursuit of a future direction for the island; the latter centered on Taiwanese consciousness, and used a literary format to reflect Taiwan's historical experiences and reality. The two movements did not necessarily dovetail with each other. However, there was no doubt that they were mutually supportive" (Min-hui Shi 1985b, 6). In 1977, the "Nativist Literature Debate" in literary circle broke out, and writers started to pay attention to questions related to indigenous consciousness. In the same year, the "Chongli Incident (*Zhongli shijian* 中壢事件)"⁴¹¹ in political field demonstrated grassroots and indigenous spirit. To the Taiwanese, 1977 was a very important turning point, "From then on, the cultural movement and the political movement started to merge, leading to the emergence of the Formosa Group (*Meilidao zhengtuan* 美麗島政團) in 1979" (Fang-ming Chen 1992b, 107).

Immediately after that, the "*Formosa Incident*" (1979) occurred and it sent shock waves across the island and abroad. On February 28 of the next year (1980), the "*Lin Family Murders*" occurred. Stunned by the one-two punch, many young people who

⁴¹¹. On November 19, 1977, in the joint elections for five public offices in Taiwan, the polls at Chongli Elementary School were suspected of voting fraud. More than ten thousand people circled the Chongli Police Department, protesting the injustice of the election administration. Wen-guo Jiang (*Jiang Wenguo* 江文國), a student at Central University (*Zhongyang Daxue* 中央大學), was unfortunately shot and died, another young man Zhi-ping Zhang (*Zhang Zhiping* 張治平) also died. The angry crowd set the police

were born after the War changed course and joined the democracy movement, making Taiwanese consciousness riper and plumper. Fang-ming says, “The Formosa Incident was undoubtedly the starting point for Taiwanese consciousness to be officially accepted and spread. With Taiwanese consciousness as its foundation, the development of a political movement on the island had a more precise direction. The most significant evidence was that, in 1983, the opposition strode over the slogan of ‘Democracy, Solidarity, Save Taiwan (*minzhu, tuanjie, jiu Taiwan* 民主、團結、救台灣),’ to propose ‘Democracy, Self-determination, Save Taiwan (*minzhu, zijue, jiu Taiwan* 民主、自決、救台灣)’ as the new appeal” (Fang-ming Chen 1989c, 117-8). The development of these incidents properly corroborated Fang-ming’s perspective of so-called “incident history.” After experiencing each tribulation, Taiwanese consciousness took forward a big major step, frontward reinforced and further disseminated.

10.4.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

In the following discussion, we shall take a more analytical approach to expound some points that draw our attention to Fang-ming’s construction of his new identity.

(10.4.5.a) First, the “object” of his new identity had changed. At the “pre-encounter stage,” Fang-ming more closely embraced a Chinese identity. Then at his “encounter stage” and “immersion-emersion stage,” he discarded his old Chinese identity, though his new identity was not yet constructed. Finally, at his “internalization stage,” Fang-ming eventually constructed his own new identity, a new identity with

department and police cars on fire. This was the largest crowd event in Taiwan since the “Zi-ran Liu

Taiwan as its ideological center. Shifting *from China to Taiwan* offers the most direct description of the process of Fang-ming's identity change.

(10.4.5.b) Second, in addition to shifting his identity from China to Taiwan, at this stage, Fang-ming also had another important change: his *commitment* toward the new identity was very firm. While at his "pr-encounter stage," he had, to some extent, identified himself with Chinese nationalism, at the "behavioral level," except for writing articles and organizing a poetry society, he didn't do much (for instance, he never joined the KMT or other political organizations). Once he entered the "internalization stage," however, he plunged himself into the new identity. He abandoned his academic studies, abandoned the almost-finished dissertation, abandoned the role of scholar, and unflinchingly became a full-time activist in a political movement. Using the words of Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 252), Fang-ming had obviously belonged to what they describe as the identity type of "high race salience," considering his newly acquired Taiwanese identity as the center of his self concept.

In fact, while in exile (especially during the period of the *Formosa Weekly*), Fang-ming was not a person wielding only a pen. In his own view, he and his colleagues (mainly Hsin-liang Hus) at the *Formosa Weekly* were engaging in a "revolutionary" task, which could be evidenced by the pamphlet "A Hoodbook for Urban Guerilla War" (Editorial Department of Formosa Weekly 1983) published by the *Formosa Weekly* in 1983. In the pamphlet, there was a preface ostensibly written by Hsin-liang Hsu stating that, "This is the road to armed struggle that should be taken by

Incident (*Liu Ziran shijian* 劉自然事件) in 1957 (Hsiao-feng Li 1987a, 125; Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 394).

the Taiwanese revolution at the current stage: adopting the urban guerillas to get ready for a full-scale armed uprising (*quanmin wuzhuang qiyi* 全民武裝起義).” Meanwhile, there were also illustrated instructions about how to make Molotov cocktails and dynamite. Noticeably, Fang-ming was almost the most prominent editor of the weekly magazine at that time.

(10.4.5.c) Third, while he was immersed in his new identity, Fang-ming also changed roles. Before that, though he loved poetry and literature, basically he was still a scholar in academia. However, by the time he entered this stage (especially in the early period of the *Formosa Weekly*), and with a job entailing wordsmithing, he seemed to have bid farewell to “scholar” in terms of self identity, and positioned himself as an “*activist/observer of political movement*.” Here are Fang-ming’s own words recalling his “*Formosa Weekly* period:”

Self-confinement was a promise I kept for myself. I had no reason to forsake the fighting position I had chosen, just because of an abstract problem or ideology about the route to follow. These were not constructed purely by theory. Rather, they should really be put into action to generate any solid significance (*bixu shi zhenzheng fuchu xingdong, caineng chansheng juti de yiyi* 必須是真正付出行動，才能夠產生具體的意義). (Fang-ming Chen 1992c, 17)

The pedantic points of view in doctrine and academia (*jiaotiao de, xueshuxing de yufu guandian* 教條的、學術性的迂腐觀點) were renounced one after another by me. When my thinking was being reconstructed, my lifestyle, value concepts and sentimental attitudes of the past were also widely revamped. (Fang-ming Chen 1992c, 16)

Right during this period, there was a conspicuous change in my thoughts. My Chinese history research became Taiwanese history research, and my Chinese literary search became Taiwanese literary exploration; likewise, my

academic concern morphed into political observation. (Fang-ming Chen 1992c, 17-8)

In fact, Fang-ming not only got rid of the status of “scholar,” he also disdained those “movement participants who possessed a scholar’s mentality.” Fang-ming says, “Those leftist activists oftentimes just crammed some books, but never failed to mention Marx and Lenin when they opened their mouths. When it came the time to put it into an actual movement, however, they could do nothing. They could not distinguish between the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves and the contradictions inside society, nor could they distinguish between class contradiction (*jieji maodun* 階級矛盾) and national contradiction (*minzu maodun* 民族矛盾), and they even had no idea what the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were. After swallowing dogmatic theories, they eventually forgot that they were simply some nerds with strong inclinations to swing from one side to another” (Fang-ming Chen 1992c, 19). Fang-ming’s self-conscious change in “role” definitely deserved our attention.

(10.4.5.d) Fourth, Fang-ming’s construction of “Taiwanese identity” at this stage seemed to have been greatly influenced by the leftist *Bing Su* (*Shi Ming* 史明). In his most famous writing *A Four-Hundred-Year History of Taiwanese*, Bing Su defines the concept of “nation” as follows. “A nation (*minzu* 民族) is necessarily initiated by certain objective factors (*keguan yinsu* 客觀因素) which cause the subjective factors (*zhuguan yinsu* 主觀因素) (.....) to transpire, and is gradually morphed into a *Gemeinschaft* (*shehui gongtongti* 社會共同體) in the historical process” (Bing Su 1980a, 580-1). In his other writings, Bing Su has similar notion: “A nation should be initiated

by some objective factors, which, after going through certain historical processes, gradually produce subjective factors and establish a Geminchafft” (Bing Su 1992, 4).

In this regard, to Bing Su, a “nation” has three elements or characteristics: the first is “objective factors,” such as bloodhood, geography, language, culture, political destiny, economic welfare, etc.; the second is “subjective factors,” such as mutual feelings and collective consciousness; the third is “historical process.” The three facets in Fang-ming’s notion of “Taiwanese identity,” --- “objective basis,” “subjective basis,” and “historical development process” --- are similar to Bing Su’s arguments.

The similarity is understandable. First of all, as mentioned by Fang-ming, in 1980, when serving as the editor of the *Formosa Weekly*, he spent the whole winter reading Bing Su’s *A Four-Hundred-Year History of Taiwanese* (The Chinese edition of the book was just published in that year), an inception of his later research on the Taiwanese Leftist Movement (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 256-7). Second, in 1981, Fang-ming met with Bing Su in Los Angeles for the first time (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 257).

Afterwards, Fang-ming mentions several times that Bing Su is his Taiwanese history teacher, “If I have any breakthrough in Taiwanese historical research, then Bing Su should be regarded as the inspiration of my thinking” (Fang-ming Chen 1994d, 718).

Finally, “Min-hui Shi (*Shi Minhui* 施敏輝),” one of the pen names Fang-ming frequently used when he was in exile, in his own words, “reflected three elders. Shi (*Shi* 施) came from the leftist leader Bing Su whose original name was Chao-hui Shi (*Shi Chaohui* 施朝暉); Min (*Min* 敏) was from the rightist leader Ming-min Peng; hui (*hui* 輝) was from my father Long-hui Chen (*Chen Longhui* 陳隆輝)” (Fang-ming Chen 1998g, 4-5).

This shows how Fang-ming honors Bing Su.

(10.4.5.e) Fifth, as a “literary people,” Fang-ming, in his developmental process of Taiwanese identity, not only cared about the effect on the political side, but also emphasized the transitional meanings and effects of “*cultural*” movements. In fact, in 1983, he took part in the debate on the “Taiwanese complex vs. Chinese Complex,” which had a profound effect on the development of Taiwanese consciousness. As a consequence, in his construction of Taiwanese identity, he paid much attention to the role of “cultural” incidents in the history. For instance, he juxtaposed the “Nativist Literature Debate” in 1977 and the “Chungli Incident” in the same year for observation. That was a very innovative approach.

(10.4.5.f) Sixth, at this stage, Fang-ming’s most valuable contribution to the construction of Taiwanese consciousness, undoubtedly, was that he pulled the arguments about Taiwanese consciousness “from high in the sky down to a height within the reach of ordinary people, no longer limiting them to discussions of high-brow fields such as political science, law and history” (Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 130). Indeed, Fang-ming not only made contributions *popularizing* theories on Taiwanese identity, he also was a flag bearer of this identity.

10.5 Returning to Taiwan (1992-)

At the end of June, 1991, Hsin-liang Hsu, who had sneaked back from the United States, was arrested and imprisoned for eight months. After granted amnesty, he was elected the chairperson of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In August 1992, Fang-ming came back to reside in Taiwan and served as the director of DDP’s Department of Culture and Information, formally ending his exile of almost twenty years.

In 1995, Fang-ming resigned from the party job and returned to the academia, teaching in the Department of Chinese Literature at Providence University (*Jingyi Daxue* 靜宜大學) in Taichung. In 1999, Fang-ming transferred to National Chi Nan University (*Guoli Jinan Daxue* 國立暨南大學) in Puli (*Buli* 埔里). One year later, he was hired as a Professor by the Department of Chinese Literature at National Cheng Chih University (*Guoli Zhengzhi Daxue* 國立政治大學), where he still teaches.

10.5.1 The Director of DPP's Department of Culture and Information

At the end of June, 1989, two years after the lifting of martial law, Fang-ming got the green light from the KMT and obtained a one-month visa to come back to Taiwan. On the first night he was back in Taiwan, he stayed at Yung-hsing Chen's residence. He acknowledged that during the more than ten years he was banished overseas, the most unforgettable thing was "waiting on the eve of homecoming." He also told himself that "I have never been absent; I am just late (*wuo congwei quexi, zhishi chidao* 我從未缺席，只是遲到)" (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 267). In June of the following year, Fang-ming was invited to come back to Taiwan, attending the "National Affairs Conference (*guoshi huiyi* 國是會議)." But it was not until August 1992, when Fang-ming used the appointment as the director of DPP's Department of Culture and Information as the reason to obtain his citizenship card, he finally came back and resided in Taiwan, and a long wandering soul finally had a place to attach itself.

In July 1993, Fang-ming organized a "Culture Conference," the first of its type since the DPP was established, successfully using a cultural agenda to subvert the reality of

political hegemony. The conference lasted four days, with the intension of “totally reviewing official culture policies, upgrading the dignity of Taiwanese society, and building up our own confidence.” It was divided into five subtopics --- history, literature, fine arts, movie and communication media --- and experts and scholars were invited for panel discussions. Using Fang-ming’s own words, the purpose of the conference was to “hold up the soil of Taiwan with our hands, and care about Taiwanese culture with a humble heart” (quoted from Ming-cheng Chen 2002, 56-7). Yang Xiang (1995, 37), a prominent Taiwanese writer, openly praised the conference as “the first important conference with fullest overall review of the cultural agenda since the Nativist Literature Debate in 1977.”

In 1995, with *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* (*Zhongwai Wenxue* 中外文學), which is published by the Department of Foreign Language and Literature, National Taiwan University, Taiwanese nationalists and Chinese nationalists waged a “Debate on the History of Taiwanese Nativization Movement (*Taiwan bentuhua yundongshi lunzhan* 台灣本土化運動史論戰),”⁴¹² in which Fang-ming was also involved. In the beginning, Zhao-ying Chen (*Chen Zhaoying* 陳昭瑛), who is “praised” as the “Guardian Goddess of Chinese nationalism in the 90s (*jiuling niandai Zhongguo guozu zhuyi de shouhushen* 九零年代中國國族主義的守護神),”⁴¹³ published a paper entitled “The Nativization Movement in Taiwan: An Examination of Cultural History” (see Zhao-ying Chen

⁴¹². To the best of my knowledge, there seems no research specifically on this debate. But Jian-rong Lu used the debate as an example to illustrate the struggle for an explanation of history between Taiwanese nationalists and Chinese nationalists in the 90s.

⁴¹³. In fact, since Zhao-ying Chen was ignorant about the academic papers on nationalism, Jian-rong Lu praises her with tongue in cheek.

1998a)⁴¹⁴ in *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly*. In response, Fang-ming wrote “The Colonial History and Study of Taiwanese Literature: The Criticism of Zhao-ying Chen’s ‘Discussions on Taiwan’s Nativization Movement’” (Fang-ming Chen 1995) to challenge her point of view. Later, Zhao-ying Chen replied with “Discovering Taiwan’s Real Colonial History: A Reply to Mr. Fang-ming Chen” (see Zho-ying Chen 1998b). Meanwhile, some faculty members and alumni of the Department of Foreign Language and Literature, such as Chaoyang Liao (*Liao Zhaoyang* 廖朝陽), Guo-qing Zhang (*Zhang Guoqing* 張國慶) and Kuei-fen Chiu (*Qiu Guifen* 邱貴芬) weighed in to support Fang-ming; while Zhao-ying Chen’s unification camp comrade, such as Ying-chen Chen and Xiao-po Wang (*Wang Xiaopo* 王曉波) also published some articles to give her a timely hand. A fierce unification vs. independence debate was thus brought into full swing in academia.

After three years as the director of DPP’s Department of Culture and Information, Fang-ming quit. In three years, he had been handling “busy, duplicate and consuming work,” and he felt exhausted physically and mentally, and decided to go. In 1999 when he recalled his decision at that time, he said:

I understood that the Democratic Progressive Party had come of age and it needed a transformation. It could no longer just criticize. When the goal to become a ruling party was already put on the agenda, the Democratic Progressive Party was required to take responsibility to bring out a feasible political agenda for Taiwanese society. The development of history had shown that the time to yell slogans and hold up banners had gradually disappeared. However, who was going to initiate the transformation? I

⁴¹⁴. The original article appeared in *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly*, Volume 23, Issue No. 9. The one I quote is from *Taiwan Literature and the Nativization Movement* (Zhao-ying Chen 1998a).

was aware that it was beyond my ability to undertake such a task, since it entailed a challenge to the ideology of the fundamentalist camp in the party, as well as a challenge against the TIM supporters that had been with the DPP. I had my own ideological burdens, and I understood my own position and belief, which had become too dogmatic and stale. (Fang-ming Chen 1999b, 28)

10.5.2 Returning to Academia

When Fang-ming served as the director of DPP's Department of Culture and Information, he was already teaching part-time at Providence University. Thus, after he quit the DPP job in 1995, he returned to academia, still teaching in the Department of Chinese Literature, with trends in Taiwanese literary history and modern Taiwanese literature as his major research fields. In 1999, he transferred to teach in the Department of Chinese Literature at National Chi Nan University in Puli. One year after, he again transferred to teach in the Department of Chinese Literature at National Cheng Chih University in Taipei, where he still teaches today.

During this period, Fang-ming was still as productive as before. As of 2003, he had published four anthologies in literature and history since he came back to Taiwan --- *The Pursuit of Role Models* (Fang-ming Chen 1994b)⁴¹⁵, *The Leftist Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Literary Movement under Colonial Rule* (Fang-ming Chen 1998a), *The Colonial Taiwan: Historical Essays on the Leftist Political Movement* (Fang-ming Chen 1998b), and *Postcolonial Taiwan: Essays on Taiwanese Literary History and Beyond* (Fang-ming Chen 2002); two anthologies of political commentaries --- *Peaceful*

⁴¹⁵. This book includes Fang-ming's new writings in the 90s as well as some literary critiques written while he was in exile.

Evolution in Taiwan (Fang-ming Chen 1993) and *Century and World at the Crossroad* (Fang-ming Chen 1996c); and seven anthologies of prose --- *Reading inside an Unsafe Building at Night* (Fang-ming Chen 1996d), *Time in the Long Lane* (Fang-ming Chen 1998e), *Map in the Palm* (Fang-ming Chen 1998f), *The End of My Dream* (Fang-ming Chen 1998d), *Reed in the Wind* (Fang-ming Chen 1998c)⁴¹⁶, *Reading inside the Hill at Night* (Fang-ming Chen 2001) and *Anthology of Fang-ming Chen* (Fang-ming Chen 2003).

10.5.3 A Description of National Identity during the Period

Just as I mentioned in other case studies, when the development of identity reaches the “internalization stage,” it will not stand still. On the contrary, it will enter what Parham (1989) calls the “recycling stage,” continuing to face some racial/cultural experiences, large or small in size, positive or negative in value, and *partially* challenging the identity type that had been developed at the “internalization stage.” In the following discussion, I shall use Parham’s concept to describe Fang-ming’s identity development after he returned to Taiwan and ended his exile. In this section, I shall provide some descriptions; and in the next section, I shall analyze it from a more theoretical point of view.

During this period, Fang-ming was still very productive. However, since he returned to academia (after returning to Taiwan, most of his writings were published after he quit the DPP job and returned to academia), he had adjusted his writing scope, with

⁴¹⁶. *The End of My Dream* and *Reed in the Wind* contain some new writings, but most of the contents are old writings with new printing.

“Taiwanese literary history” being his academic professional field. Therefore, if we want to observe Fang-ming’s national identity at this stage, we have to use “Taiwanese literary history” (rather than Taiwanese history in general) as the object of examination. Among these works, “A New History of Taiwanese Literature (*Taiwan xingwenxue shi* 台灣新文學史),” which started to appear in *Unitas (Lianhe Wenxue* 聯合文學) in 1999, deserves most of our attention.

Basically, I shall call the “Taiwanese identity” constructed by Fang-ming at this stage as the “post-colonial version of Taiwanese identity.” I have four observations for this version of Taiwanese identity.

(10.5.3.a) First of all, just as the content of his Taiwanese identity at the previous stage, Fang-ming, at this stage, still emphasized the huge influence of “*objective social and economic structure*” on “cultural/consciousness.” Take the development of literature for example, he points out directly, “The historical explanation of literature can not be well established without referring to the society where writers and their writings are nurtured” (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 41). Furthermore, Fang-ming says,

With regard to explanations of Taiwanese literature, I used to have a sort of proposition: “naïve literature (*pusu wenxue* 素樸文學) in the 20s; leftist literature in the 30s; Kominka literature in the 40s; anti-Communists literature in the 50s; modern literature (*xiandai wenxue* 現代文學) in the 60s; nativist literature in the 70s; and identity literature (*rentong wenxue* 認同文學) in the 80s all represent different literary styles at different periods.” Such labeling for each period, in effect, is only for the sake of convenience, with emphasis on the mainstream characteristics of each period, while ignoring marginal literature in each period. This periodization not only divides history into periods, but also ruptures history, making it difficult to establish connections between two periods. Treating every ten years as a generation, obviously, is not a precise method. If we want to attain the

purpose of precision, then we probably have to consolidate literature with every facet of development in politics, economy and society, so that we can get a very clear explanation.

(10.5.3.b) Second, it follows that the writing of literary history will have something to do with a judgment about social context. To Fang-ming, the Taiwanese society was a colonial society, and “Taiwanese literature was a typical product of *colonial society* (*zhimindi shehui* 殖民地社會)” (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 43; emphasis added). To say more specifically, the fact that Taiwan was a colonial society during Japanese rule (1895-1945) is indisputable. However, the KMT regime that took over Taiwan after the War was itself an émigré colonial regime. Under such circumstances, Fang-ming uses the term “re-colonial period (*zaizhimin shiqi* 再殖民時期)” to replace “post-war period (*zhanhou shiqi* 戰後時期)” then in use, and describes the social context of Taiwan after the War. He says:

In 1945, the Nationalist government came to take over Taiwan, and forcibly introduced Chinese nationalism into Taiwan. To suppress the residuals of Japanese nationalist thinking, in 1946, the government officially announced a policy forbidding the use of the Japanese language, less than ten years after the Japanese warlords’ prohibition policy against the use of Chinese in 1937. The time changed, so did the government system. However, only those writers who resided in Taiwan had to accommodate themselves to two different languages in the shortest time, and had to accommodate themselves to two nationalisms hidden behind the languages and hostile to each other. Chinese nationalism was carried out by the Nationalist government in an armed form with authority and violence. This fact was not only reflected in the design of the government system such as the Taiwan Administrative Officer’s Office (*Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu* 台灣行政長官公署), but reflected in the discriminatory attitude against Taiwanese piggybacked on the Mandarin policy. The February 28 Incident in 1947

could be deemed a tragedy caused by the difference in culture, completely revealing the colonial characteristics of the Nationalist government. (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 45)

The system with martial law, covered by an anti-Communist mask, was undoubtedly a variation of the colonial system. If this argument is acceptable, then the Taiwanese colonial literature definitely did not end at the end of the Pacific War. On the contrary, it extended beyond the dividing line of 1945. In other words, colonial literature started in the 1920s, matured in the 1930s, was an instrument of war in the 1940s, and then connected with the anti-Communist period in the 1950s. (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 47; emphasis added)

(10.5.3.c) Third, then, did the colonial period of the Taiwanese society end?

According to Fang-ming, and based on the discussion above, “If the period under the Japanese rule could be defined as a colonial period, and the period after 1945 as a re-colonial period, then the period after the lifting of martial law in 1987 could be defined as a *post-colonial period*” (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 55; emphasis added). To Fang-ming, the “post” in so-called “post-colonialism,”⁴¹⁷ “did not mean after the colonial experience ended; rather, it referred to the moment the colonial society made contact with the colonial rulers. Colonial writers either engaged themselves in active fighting (such

⁴¹⁷. Basically, the so-called “post-colonialism” is a theory in literary critiques or cultural studies. The term emphasizes primarily the common experience of the Third World countries that used to be under colonial rule. To wit, though politically independent, these countries are still subject to the colonizing countries’ tight control in economy, culture and society. In its inception, the major research subjects were the former British colonies, but recently there were other scholars who applied it to other Third World countries (Miller 1999, 669).

Edward Said’s famous work *Orientalism* (1978) is considered a masterpiece of the theory. Other important writings include more recently published works by Homi Bhabha (1990, 1994); Partha Chatterjee (1986, 1993); and Gayatri C. Spivak (1999). As for the research on post-colonialism in the Taiwanese context, refer to Kuan-hsing Chen (1994, 2000); Fang-ming Chen (2002); Jen-to Yao (2001); Jing-yuan Zhang (1995); and Chou and Liu (2000).

as criticisms), or passive resistance (such as exile, banishment). Thus, the ‘post’ here definitely possessed combative characteristics (*kangju de xingge* 抗拒的性格)” (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 55).

For those societies that had suffered the atrocities of imperialistic colonization, a common situation is that, once split from the colonizer, even with newly established local government in place, in a short time the new rulers are unable to get rid of the “mixture” and “reappearance” of their former colonizer in terms of culture, politics, economy, society and law. But the special situation in Taiwan is that, the colonial residuals in the society after the War were, immediately, superceded and suppressed completely by Chinese culture transplanted by the KMT regime and the martial law system. Taiwan, again and again deemed by the Japanese regime and the Chinese regime as an extension of the interior motherland, was destined and forced to play a “marginal” role for a long time. The local culture in Taiwan, accordingly, was inundated between two opposite colonial cultures, and became hidden and inconspicuous.

Consequently, Fang-ming argues that, “The late arrival of Taiwanese literary research, together with late arrival of post-colonial research that followed, was not because the intellectuals on the island lacked historical retrospect. Instead, it was because, after the War, the re-colonial system obstructed, restricted and despised such a retrospect. The complicity between martial law culture after the War and the colonial culture before that War, if viewed from this angle, became very obvious” (Fang-ming Chen 2002, 12).

(10.5.3.d) Finally, if we say that the “post-colonial period” is a time when many suppressed groups are looking for liberation, then, at least on the theoretical level,

Fang-ming no longer grants “Taiwan identity” (or “national identity”) any “superiority” and considered it more important than *other types of identity* --- such as ethnic identity, gender identity and sexual identity. It is only one of the identities that challenged the hegemonic arguments. More concretely,

Once the martial law system collapsed, all the subjects that used to be considered taboo in thought, one after another, appear in literary writings. Taiwanese consciousness literature, aboriginal literature, juancun literature (*juancun wenxue* 眷村文學),⁴¹⁸ female consciousness literature, gay and lesbian literature (*tongzhi wenxue* 同志文學), environmental literature (*huanbao wenxue* 環保文學), etc. all appear in great quantity, demonstrating that the time of multi-faceted thinking has come, and the harvest time of literature is about to be realized.

..... The fact best representing the richness of this phenomenon is that many writers, without consulting each other, turn out to challenge the existent hegemonic discourse. To subvert Chinese chauvinism (*Zhonghua shawen zhuyi* 中華沙文主義), which has long been in a controlling position, is the primary goal of Taiwanese consciousness literature. To show a complete suspicion of biased Han chauvinism (*Hanren shawen zhuyi* 漢人沙文主義) is the major concern of aboriginal literature. To worry about the continuous expansion of Hoklo chauvinism (*Fulao shawen zhuyi* 福佬沙文主義) is the prominent issue of juancun literature. To urgently question the arrogance and violence of male chauvinism is the primary mission of female consciousness literature. To resist the centralism of heterosexuality is one of the major tasks for gay and lesbian literature at this moment. No matter what kind of literary format is used for presentation, decentering is the

⁴¹⁸. Juancun means “residential military community” literally. After 1949, at a time of defeat and rapid evacuation, the KMT simply lacked the ability and the heart to provide better care for the families of servicemen and veterans, most of them were Mainlander came with the KMT from Mainland China. Temporary villages formed by the families of servicemen and veterans naturally emerged. People with similar backgrounds, situations, and goals lived together, and a village culture with a strong sense of self-identity naturally took shape (Bo 2000). In the Taiwanese context, juancun literature thus can be understood as a sort of Mainlander literature.

common trend for all creative writers. (Fang-ming Chen 2000a, 41-2)

10.5.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period

Then, how do we interpret “post-colonial Taiwanese identity” Fang-ming constructed at this “identity recycling period?” Here are my observations.

(10.5.4.a) First of all, the *political environment* in Taiwan had changed. From exile to return, it wasn’t only Fang-ming who had changed. In fact, the reason that he could return was because “the external political environment in Taiwan” had changed. Since martial law was lifted in 1987, Taiwanese society, with the efforts from President Lee Teng-hui and the then opposition movement, had seen many supposed “impossibilities” beyond realities: from the Taipei student movement with “democratization” as its main appeal in March 1990, to the first complete reelection of members of the “National Assembly” in 1991, to the first complete reelection of the “Legislative Yuan” in 1992, to the passing of constitutional amendment of “presidential direct election” by the National Assembly in 1994. Lee Teng-hui was elected president by direct election for the first time in Taiwanese history in 1996; Chen Shui-bian was elected president completing the premise of political party alternation in 2000. Faced with the changes in the external environment, Fang-ming, of course, would also change. He says,

With civil power (*minjian liliang* 民間力量) on the rise, many people were learning how to take a new look at Taiwanese history. Even as a person who studied related incidents, I had seen big changes compared to my historical perspective ten years ago with my historical explanation ten years later. Why would there be changes? Because society changed, politics changed, and my mind and points of view had to change accordingly. (Fang-ming Chen 1998e, 148-9)

(10.5.4.b) Second, not only did the political environment change, the *academic environment* and academic discourse in Taiwan in the 90s also changed. In the literary research circles in Taiwan, Fang-ming was not the only scholar who proposed “post-colonial theory.” As a matter of fact, since the discourse swept the field of western literary critique, cultural studies, and even the traditional social sciences in the late 1980s and early 1990s, this academic fashion, obviously, had crossed the ocean and become one of the pet arguments in Taiwanese academia. When Fang-ming was engaged in the “Debate on the History of Taiwanese Nativization Movement,” he seemed not to have been influenced by the discourse on the “post-colonialism,” though some of his comrades in the camp (such as Kui-fen Chiu and Chaoyang Liao), and some of his debate opponents (such as Hsian-hao Liao (*Liao Xianhao* 廖咸浩)) had basically applied the language of “post-colonial” thinking as a tool in the debate

(10.5.4.c) Third, at this stage, in fact, Fang-ming’s “*role identity*” also changed. He no longer considered himself a participant of “revolutionary” movement. Instead, he repositioned himself as an intellectual who still cared about society and politics, but fundamentally used academia as his main stage.” Here is what he says:

There was a period of time that I, with staunch ideals and puritanical standards, seemed to have the feeling of joining a revolution. It was about the time I just passed the threshold of thirty, and I seemed to have a determination to rebuild the world. After more than ten years’ peregrination, I returned to Taiwan with the residual warmth of revolutionary affection. Using the word I left overseas to gauge myself, I gradually discovered that my propositions in the past did not meet the measurements of the Taiwan society at all. I learned to use another attitude to observe Taiwan. My change, naturally, did not meet with the approval of some friends who insisted on revolution. They accused me of betraying

revolution, of losing the ideals of my youth period, of selling out my early soul, and of lowering my head to compromise with reality. Such accusations were mixed with despise and scoffed me. I understood pretty well that I had to face these and, in the long run, I had to pay the price for the revolutionary experience of the past. Did I betray the revolution? For those who wanted to judge me, they must have their reasons. However, I definitely knew what kind of road I should choose. (Fang-ming Chen 1997)

10.6 Conclusion

Finally, let's recall briefly Fang-ming's development process. First of all, he was born in Zuoying, Kaohsiung, in 1947, and he finished his education from elementary to graduate school under the KMT's education system. As a student majoring in Chinese history, he "successfully" absorbed the Chinese nationalism instilled by the KMT government, feeling that everything about China was great, majestic and sacred, while despising everything related to Taiwan. Under such a situation, he developed what Cross calls "anti-Black attitudes" at the "pre-encounter stage," using Chinese identity constructed by the government as the standard for judging everything, and using a negative and discriminatory stereotype to understand everything about Taiwan.

In 1974, Fang-ming went to the United States to study for his doctoral program in Chinese history, and thus marched into another stage of his identity development. Then, in the winter when he was traveling to Canada, since the Republic of China passport on his hand was not recognized, he entered the "encounter stage" of his identity development, starting to seriously consider questions regarding nation and national character.

Once his Chinese identity was broken, Fang-ming started to enter the "immersion-emersion stage." He began to try to look for a new alternative identity by

reading, joining study groups and discussions with others. Fang-ming not only searched for a possible new identity, he also set his eyes on Red China on the other side of the Strait. The time that Fang-ming roamed at his “immersion-emersion stage” was rather long, and during this period *Taiwan Political Review* was banned in 1975, the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, the Nativist Literature Debate took place in 1977, and the United States announced it was establishing diplomatic ties with China in 1978. However, it was after the Formosa Incident that broke out at the end of 1979, and the Lin Family Murders that happened in the February of the following year that Fang-ming finally made certain of his new identity, and started to embrace Taiwanese identity.

In the summer of 1980, Fang-ming abandoned his almost finished academic degree, and moved to Los Angeles for joining the *Formosa Weekly* founded by Hsin-liang Hsu, thus starting the “internalization stage” of his identity development. Through his engagement with Taiwanese literature, his discovery of the Leftist movement in Taiwanese history, his political commentaries on the current events, and especially his personal involvement in “the Taiwanese Complex vs. the Chinese Complex Debate” in 1983, Fang-ming gradually and completely renounced the Chinese identity he embraced at his “pre-encounter stage,” and accomplished the construction of his new identity --- Taiwanese identity. At this stage, Fang-ming started to become what Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 252) call the identity of “high racial salience.” He not only gave up the role of scholar, but positioned himself as a political activist participating in the “revolutionary” movement. Meanwhile, he was highly influenced by the leftist TIM activist Bing Su, using the three elements: “objective social and economic conditions,” “subjective consciousness,” and “dynamic historical process,” to construct his so-called

“Taiwanese historical perspective.”

In 1992, Fang-ming ended his exile, and returned to Taiwan to serve as the director of DPP’s Department of Culture and Information. Three years later, he left the political circle, and returned to college to teach and undertake research. Faced with the changes in the external political environment, the changes in the academic discourse, and the changes in his personal feelings, Fang-ming entered the “recycling period” of his identity development, starting to embrace so-called “post-colonial theory” as an analytical tool, and gradually downgrading the “superiority” of “Taiwanese identity,” which he currently considered as one of the many possible forms of identity.

Chapter Eleven

Discussion

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall provide a cross-case analysis on the ground of preceding case studies. First of all, I shall summarize these biographees' content of national identity during their different life stages to establish the foundation for following analysis. Second, I shall provide a typological analysis for all emerging national identity patterns, which includes "Japanese identity," "Chinese identity," "low-salience attitudes," and "Taiwanese identity," shown in these biographees' different life stages. Since the basic concern in this section is the mechanism for generating these identity patterns, it might be seen as approximating a kind of "discourse analysis" relevant to these divergent modes of national identity.

Third, focusing on the "process of national identity formation," I shall arrange another typological analysis and proposed a three-type-basis categorization for the selected biographees: "early socialization," "adult conversion," and "identity recycling." While the typology in previous section is based on the "static" description of national identity patterns, the categorization in this section is on the ground of "dynamic" process relevant to national identity formation.

Finally, I shall endeavor to integrate the aforementioned static typology and dynamic typology together and propose a six-stage-basis model for comprehending the

process of national identity formation among these U.S. TIM activists. The specific stages suggested in this model include the following phrases: childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, adult conversion, identity recycling during exile, and identity recycling after Taiwan's democratization.

11.2 The Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists:

Summary of the Case Studies

In this section, I shall summarize the findings presented in the previous six chapters, focusing particularly on the content of national identities in these activists' different life stages. We can refer to Table 11.1 first.

(Table 11.1 about here)

In previous chapters, I divide these activists' life histories into different stages based upon the uniqueness of their own experiences. In other words, I do not adopt a universal format to periodize their life histories. For the purpose of making the cross-case analysis possible, in this section, I shall use the more standardized format to summarize their life histories. To put specifically, this summary includes the following items: (1) their parents' occupations, educational achievement, political orientation, and political participation; (2) the content of national identity in childhood; (3) the content of

Table 11.1

Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: Summary of Case Studies

	Childhood	Adolescence	Early Adulthood	Adulthood Conversion	Identity Recycling during Exile I	Identity Recycling during Exile II	Identity Recycling after Democratization ^a
Ming-min Peng (1923 -)	Japanese Identity: Social Stigma Version	Low Salience: Liberalism Version	Low Salience: Liberalism Version + Talent-centered Version	Taiwanese Identity: Liberalism Version	Taiwanese Identity: Liberalism Version + Self-determination Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: de Facto Independence Version
Mu-sheng Wu (1934 -)	Japanese Identity: Moderate Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Typical Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Taiwanese American Version
Trong R. Chai (1935 -)	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Typical Version	Taiwanese Identity: Self-determination Version	Taiwanese Identity: de Facto Independence Version
Tsing-fang Chen (1936 -)	Low Salience: Talent-centered Version	Low Salience: Talent-centered Version	Low Salience: Talent-centered Version + Cosmopolitan Version	Taiwanese Identity: Historical/Cultural TI Version	Continuation of Previous Pattern	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Taiwanese American Version
Strong C. Chuang (1938 -)	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Chinese Identity: Moderate Version	Chinese Identity: Moderate Version	Taiwanese Identity: Typical Version	Continuation of Previous Pattern	Not Applicable	Continuation of Previous Pattern
Fang-ming Chen (1947 -)	Not Available	Chinese Identity: Social Stigma Version	Chinese Identity: Social Stigma Version	Taiwanese Identity: Historical/ Cultural TI Version	Continuation of Previous Pattern	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Post-colonialism Version

Source: Made by author.

^aTaiwan's democratization started gradually right after the life of martial law in 1987. However, the more significant indicators of democratization, such as the comprehensive

election of congressperson and the life of blacklist, did not emerge until the 1990s. Most of the biographees chosen in this were not allowed to come back Taiwan until 1990. Accordingly, the so-called “identity recycling after democratization” refers to the era after 1990. The only exception is Tsing-fang Chen. He came back Taiwan to exhibit his paintings in 1984 and opened a gallery in Taipei in 1987. As a result, I treat his identity transformation after 1980 as appearing in “identity recycling after democratization,” rather than “identity recycling during exile.”

national identity in adolescence,⁴¹⁹ (4) the content of national identity in early adulthood,⁴²⁰ (5) the “encounter” stage of national identity transformation; (6) the “immersion-emersion” stage of national identity transformation; (7) the “internalization” stage of national identity transformation; (8) “identity recycling” during exile, and (9) “identity recycling” after Taiwan’s democratization. While we can find information about items 1 to 4 and item 9 for every biographee, information about items 5 to 8 is not available for every activist, since some of them did not involve in the process at all.

11.2.1 Ming-min Peng (1923 -)

(11.2.1.a) Even though as a physician with strong “Han consciousness (*Hanzu yishi* 漢族意識)” during the Japanese colonial period, Ming-min Peng’s father did not participate in any political activity at that time. Peng’s mother was a homemaker. After graduating from the only medical school in Taiwan at that time, Peng’s father moved to a small town in the middle of Taiwan for practicing medicine. When Peng was 10 years old, his father went to Tokyo for advanced study and was awarded the doctoral degree after one-year-long study. Though Peng’s father was not a pro-Japan collaborator, yet, unlike many of the Taiwanese physicians at that time, he did not participate in the anti-Japan movement, either. From Peng’s perspective, the most

⁴¹⁹. In this project, I follow the definition set by Newman and Newman (1987, 371-413) to see the so-called “youth” as a kind of “later adolescence” (18 to 22 years). Therefore, in the subsequent discussion, the so-called “adolescence” includes both “early adolescence” (13 to 18 years) and “later adolescence,” covering ages from 13 to 22. Nevertheless, due to the idiosyncratic factor, we can not claim that there is no exception for this definition.

⁴²⁰. In this study, I adopt both biological ages and “significant events” in these activists’ life histories to determine the boundary of “early adulthood.” To put concretely, I see “early adulthood” as from 23-year-old to the time when these activists left Taiwan for advanced study. For these biographees, the time they went overseas for advanced study was between ages 26 to 31.

visible influence from his father was his insistence on providing the best educational environment for the children.

(11.2.1.b) During childhood, the content of Peng's national identity was a variant of Japanese identity --- the "social stigma version of Japanese identity." This was deeply related to his educational environment. Due to his privileged background as well as his father's emphasis on education, almost all schools attended by Peng were the best institutions in that area. Therefore, most of his teachers and classmates were Japanese, rather than Taiwanese, in terms of their ethnic background. Despite maintaining a good academic record, as a member of the colonized people, Peng was very sensitive to his differences from other Japanese classmates. While feeling humiliated about the differences, Peng extremely hoped that he could be just like his classmates in everything, including ethnic characteristics. Under the colonial government's policy of institutionalized discrimination against Taiwanese, Peng felt so shameful about his status as a Taiwanese and emerged a variant of Japanese identity, the "social stigma version of Japanese identity," finally.

(11.2.1.c) During adolescence, the content of Peng's national identity was a variant of low salience patterns --- "liberalism version of low salience attitudes." Because the principal of middle school rejected Peng's right to take the entrance examination for studying at high school, Peng's father sent him to Japan for further study. He was sixteen years old at that time. With the influence of liberal atmosphere among teachers and classmates, Peng gradually found his passion for French literature and the foundation of his own political orientation --- a kind of political belief on the basis of liberalism and anti-militarism. Thus, even though in adolescence stage of identity exploration, Peng

did not see the issue relevant to national identity as significant. Rather, he searched for his identity following the themes of literature and philosophy. With the rough idea of liberalism, he developed a kind of low salience attitude toward national identity, believing in that it was more important to be a “human being” than as a “Japanese” or “Taiwanese.”

(11.2.1.d) After Taiwan was under the KMT’s control in 1945, in the following 15 years of his early adulthood, Peng remained the possession of “low salience pattern.” After getting his doctoral degree from the University of Paris in 1953, Peng was offered professorship at National Taiwan University, his alma mater, devoting most of this time to teaching and researching for this new job. Twofold reasons could be attributed to his low salience attitudes toward national identity during this period. On the one hand, he went on with the idea of liberalism, which was the core of his political belief in previous stage, not seeing national identity as a priority for his life. On the other hand, as a devoting and busy professor, his neglect of national identity could also be understood from his emphasis on professional performance. Thus, he did not consider national identity as a critical issue for him to deal with seriously.

Yet, to most people with low salience attitudes, they are more likely to side with the official identity because they do not spend much time on the matter. Peng is no exception. In terms of his life history during this period, it was fair to claim that he at least tacitly consented to Chinese identity proposed by the KMT. After all, all jobs he served during the time, including professorship at National Taiwan University, advisor to the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Assembly, privileged position in the National Committee for Scientific Development, and representative of Yang Ming Shan

Conference, were reserved for elites belonging to the KMT's ruling core only.

(11.2.1.e) Around 1960, in terms of the status of national identity, Peng entered the encounter stage after discovering the importance and urgency of issue related to "Taiwan's legal status." Though being not much interested in the politics, Peng gradually felt that the issue relevant to "Taiwan's uncertain international status" was as significant as the abstract theories he taught at the classroom, probably because of the influence from his professional training. In 1960, while participating in an international conference sponsored by Harvard University in Tokyo, for the first time Peng noted publicly that the legal status of Taiwan had not been settled by formal action yet, and suggested the Taiwanese people should have something to say about their future. Being at the stage of encounter, Peng began to question the legitimacy of "Chinese identity" imposed by the KMT, striving to search for an alternative identity to replace his old identity.

(11.2.1.f) After the encounter stage, Peng entered the period of immersion-emersion immediately, trying to find some "comrades" sharing the same perspective with him. Though serving as a Professor at political science department, still, Peng did not dare to openly discuss this sensitive issue --- Taiwan's international status --- under the KMT's authoritarian rule. Rather, he chose to hold discussion in his own home or elsewhere about town privately. During this period, Peng's house was often crowded with students from the university and from other schools in the region. Occasionally city councilors and local politicians came to join in the conversation. Through the private discussion, Peng seemed to find a harbor for his progressively emerging dissident identity.

(11.2.1.g) In 1964, Peng, together with two of his students, drew up a manifesto

entitled “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” and attempted to distribute it throughout the island. As far as the development of his national identity was concerned, this behavior signified Peng’s transition into the internalization stage. I label the content of Peng’s national identity during this period as the “liberalism version of Taiwanese identity.” After passing through the stages of encounter and immersion-emersion, Peng gradually felt tired of the repeated conversation with close friends on the same topic. He wanted to do something more tangible. His attempt was the aforementioned manifesto, which was described as “A Declaration of Independence” by some activists of Taiwan Independence Movement. This action meant a dramatic change of Peng’s national identity. In this stage, Peng not only erased his old identity comprehensively, but also completed the task of constructing a new identity.

As shown in this manifesto, Peng took liberalism and Renan’s notion of voluntarism as the theoretical foundation of his new identity. According to Renan, modern nation-states are not formed on the basis of biological origin, culture, religion, or language, but rather on a sense of common destiny and a belief in shared interests. Based upon this thesis, Peng treated the island of Taiwan as the core of his new identity, insisting that “all people residing in Taiwan,” including both native Taiwanese and Mainlander, should cooperate each other to build a new nation and establish a new government. After all, Taiwanese people wanted neither the program of extreme Right, the KMT program, nor that of the extreme Left, the Chinese Communist Party program.

Unfortunately, in September 1964, Peng and his students were arrested because the owner of print shop found the unusual nature of this manifesto and reported it to the police. Half year later, being charged with “an attempt to overthrow the government,”

Peng was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. Due to the international pressure, Peng was granted amnesty later. Nonetheless, he was put under severe surveillance by the KMT's special agents on the 24-hour-a-day basis after his release.

(11.2.1.h) In January 1970, under KMT's strict surveillance, Peng left Taiwan and escaped to Sweden dramatically. He was issued political asylum by the Sweden government first. Nine months later, he entered the United States with the paper issued in Sweden on behalf of a political refugee and began his 22-year-long exile life. During this period, to respond to the environmental change, Peng entered the stage of "identity recycling" and somehow modified his perception of Taiwanese identity developed in previous period. In his exile period, in addition to two years of teaching and researching at academic institutions, he spent most of his time on participating in the different organizations affiliated with the Taiwan Independence Movement, including "Formosa Studies, Inc.," "World United Formosans for Independence," "Taiwanese-American Society," "Formosan Association for Public Affairs," and "Asian Pacific Democratic Association."

Although keeping the core of his Taiwanese identity advanced in previous stage unchanged, Peng did modify some aspects of this identity to certain extent. Simply put, first of all, the Chinese Communist Party, rather than the KMT government, gradually became the major negative reference group for his construction of Taiwanese identity. Second, to respond to Taiwan's democratization project starting in the mid-1980s, Peng's proposed means to achieve Taiwan independence also changed from revolutionary means to the more moderate method of "self-determination." Finally, after being issued the American citizenship, Peng also modified his version of Taiwanese identity slightly to

incorporate the notion of “Taiwanese American” into his existing identity.

(11.2.1.i) In 1991, the Taiwanese authority, which was under the leadership of Teng-hui Lee, dismissed Peng’s status of criminal wanted by the government. One year later, after twenty-two-year-long exile, Peng came back Taiwan and started another “identity recycling” stage in terms of the status of his national identity. While modifying his previous version of Taiwanese identity to some extent, he finally developed the “de facto Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity.” In this new version of Taiwanese identity, Peng, who was the candidate of Democratic Progressive Party for Taiwan’s 1996 presidential election, continued to see the Chinese Communist Party, rather than the KMT under Teng-hui Lee’s leadership, as the major negative reference group for his identity construction. On the other hand, he also adopted the softer perception of Taiwan independence, even claiming that the status quo was equated with Taiwan independence.

11.2.2 Mu-sheng Wu (1934 -)

(11.2.2.a) As a low-level-staff for local irrigation association, Wu’s father showed neither visible political consciousness nor any interest in public affairs. Without formal education, Wu’s mother worked as domestic servant before getting married. In addition to six-year-long study at elementary school, Wu’s father was also educated at the traditional private school for two years. Due to his knowledge in both Japanese and Chinese, he could be seen as an intellectual at that time. Nonetheless, as an alcoholic, he spent almost all available money and time on the matter. Even though serving as the chief of Youth Corps under the Japanese era and the village head under the KMT’s rule,

he was not interested in public affairs at all and never talked about politics with his children.

(11.2.2.b) In childhood, Wu held the “moderate version of Japanese identity.” This result was not surprising because we could see him as the “average product” of colonial education designed by the Japanese colonial government. Different from Ming-min Peng, Wu almost never met any Japanese before sent to the elementary school at the age of seven. By that time, Wu spoke Taiwanese only, not understanding Japanese at all. Then, from 1940 to 1945, after the five-year-long Japanese education, he began to speak and read Japanese, learning the “fact” that he was a Japanese through the formal curriculum finally.

However, Wu did not develop the social stigma version of Japanese identity, as shown in Ming-min Peng’s case. Though being trained to believe that he was a Japanese citizen through the educational system, Wu did not perceive his status of Taiwanese as the negative reference group. Two possible explanations could be used to understand this situation. On the one hand, different from Peng’s privileged educational background, Wu attended the regular school where all students were Taiwanese. There was no Japanese classmate for Wu to compare with at all. On the other hand, growing up at poor family, Wu had to struggle a lot to meet his basic needs, such as finding something to eat everyday. While not having enough time to think about issues relevant to national identity, a “luxury” business to poor person like him, Wu, unlike Peng, remained his Taiwanese identity and did not see this identity as a stigma instead.

(11.2.2.c) In adolescence, Wu’s content of national identity was a variant of Taiwanese identity --- “the native consciousness version of Taiwanese identity.” When

the KMT government took over Taiwan in 1945, Wu, like other Taiwanese, had no choice but to change his citizenship from Japan to the Republic of China. Before graduating from the chemical engineering department of National Taiwan University in 1957, Wu was under the educational system designed by the KMT for almost twelve years. Nevertheless, except for a very short period right after World War II, he did not come to Chinese identity proposed by this new regime at all. On the contrary, he possessed a kind of Taiwanese identity with a compelling tendency of “anti-KMT orientation.”

The rationale of his formation of Taiwanese identity was twofold. On the one hand, the historical event, especially the “February 28 Incident” of 1947, seemed to play a significant role in this process. Even if he was only thirteen years old at that time, this tragic incident left an unforgettable mark in his mind. Furthermore, the personal experiences under this period, such as witnessing the white terror of the 1950s and observing the KMT officials’ corrupted behavior, could also be understood as the factors contributing to the formation of his dissident identity. On the other hand, as a child growing up in a poor family, Wu was very sensitive to any form of discrimination, including the one based upon the ethnic boundary between Taiwanese and Mainlander. As a result, in contrast to Ming-min Peng, whose Taiwanese identity emerged from the academic concern of Taiwan’s international status, Wu developed his Taiwanese identity through the basis of everyday life.

One more thing should be noted about Wu’s status of national identity during this period. Though quite critical to the performance of KMT regime “psychologically,” at the behavioral level, he consciously kept distance from politics, just like most of the Taiwanese at that time.

(11.2.2.d) In early adulthood, Wu retained the possession of Taiwanese identity developed during adolescence. No visible difference exists between this period and the previous stage in terms of his status of national identity. Before going to the United States for advanced study in 1963, Wu stayed in Taiwan for six more years after graduating from college. During this period, Wu finished his one-and-half-year-long military service first, then worked as an engineer for Taiwan Sugar Company for about four years. He also fell in love, got married, had first child, and formally entered his adulthood in this stage. Nevertheless, as far as his status of national identity was concerned, there existed no significant distinction between this period and previous phase.

(11.2.2.e) After going to the United States for advanced study, Wu modified the content of his national identity in some way. Through the process of identity recycling, though still keeping his Taiwanese identity, to respond to the new environmental stimuli in America, he changed its content from the “native consciousness version” to the “typical Taiwan independence version.”

In 1963, Wu went to the University of Mississippi for his Master’s degree. Five years later, he joined the World United Formosans for Independence, formally becoming an activist of Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement. After joining the WUFI for 18 years, he decided to disengage his membership in 1986. During this period, he was awarded the Master’s degree first, began his career as a chemical engineer, returned to school for his doctoral degree, founded the Austin Taiwanese Association, and served as the president of the Taiwanese Association of America from 1974 to 1976.

Although possessing a variant of Taiwanese identity before going to the United

States already, it was difficult to claim this perception as an apparent “Taiwan independence consciousness.” Nevertheless, after studying overseas, due to the stimuli of new environment and new information, Wu transformed his national identity into the more systematic ideology of Taiwan independence. According to the insights provided by the racial/ethnic identity formation theory, while Wu did not experience Cross’s notion of “conversion” process (because he did not transform his identity from “non-Taiwanese identity” to “Taiwanese identity”), still, he went through Parham’s notion of “identity recycling” and modified his previous “native consciousness version of Taiwan identity” to some extent.

As contended by Parham (1989), the process of “identity recycling” can be analogized as the process of “conversion” somehow because it also involves these stages like encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization. The only distinction between both processes is that the final product of identity recycling is not a “new” identity. Rather, it should be perceived as an enhanced “old” identity. In other words, as far as the process of identity recycling is concerned, there exist only “partial” differences between the “new” identity and “old” identity. While taking Wu’s life history during this period into consideration, we can see his initial experiences in the United States, such as reading the publication of Taiwan Independence Movement and looking at the letter-to-editor written by his close friend for denouncing the KMT’s tyranny, as the encounter experience. After that, he entered the stage of immersion-emersion, wishing to move to other cities where he could find some Taiwanese sharing the same perception with him. And finally, he went into the stage of internalization after joining the WUFI.

(11.2.2.f) In 1986, Wu decided to disengage his WUFI membership. Four years

later, he applied for early retirement, entered the “Fourth Movement” of his life, and began his new career as a writer. During this period, he went into another “identity recycling” and developed his new form of Taiwanese identity --- the Taiwanese American version of Taiwanese identity.

This process was related to the changing political atmosphere inside the island of Taiwan. Before this stage, Wu was blacklisted by the KMT government and could not come back to Taiwan at all. In that context, he was so eager to devote his passion and professional knowledge to the motherland instead. Nevertheless, after getting opportunity to come home finally, he suddenly learned that there existed much difference between the “imagined Taiwan” and the “real Taiwan.” Abruptly, he found that he had stayed in the United States for over thirty years and already became a “Taiwanese American,” rather than a “Taiwanese.”

11.2.3 Trong Chai (1935 -)

(11.2.3.a) Chai’s father was an owner of fishpond. Without formal education, he was very interested in public affairs and had served as the county representative for two terms during the KMT era. Chai’s mother did not have any education, either. Because her health situation was not good after getting married, she stayed inside the house most of the time.

Although without any formal education, Chai’s father learned to read both Chinese and Japanese by himself. As an ambitious and successful businessman, he spent most of time on his business and left around 50 hectares of fishponds to his children after passing away. In addition to his own business, Chai’s father was very interested in the public

affairs, too. Except the service as county representative, he was also quite active in the clan association. After helping to build an ancestral hall in Chiayi City, he was elected the head of that association.

(11.2.3.b) In childhood, Chai embraced a variant of Taiwanese identity, the “native consciousness version of Taiwanese identity,” at least after eleven years old. As a child born under the Japanese colonialism, Chai was under the Japanese educational system for three years. We are not quite sure about the status of his national identity during the Japanese era due to the lack of relevant information.

After the KMT took over Taiwan in 1945, Chai began training under the Chinese educational system. Though under the KMT’s ideological indoctrination, Chai was not convinced by the official Chinese identity at all. Rather, he developed his own version of Taiwanese identity instead. On the one hand, Teacher Lin, one of his teachers at elementary school, seemed to play a significant role in this process. Mr. Lin did not like Mainlander at all. After the breakout of “February 28 Incident” in 1947, he enthusiastically asked his students to put up posters throughout the village and participated in the military action of fighting with the KMT’s troop by himself. On the other hand, Chai was very upset to find that the KMT government could not settle the dispute about the ownership of breeding farms in his village at all. Moreover, his father was also arrested by the KMT troop with no reason. After these incidents, Chai found that this new government from another side of Taiwan Strait, the so-called “homeland,” was a “bandit regime” in actual fact.

(11.2.3.c) During adolescence, Chai possessed the same version of national identity with his previous stage. Although describing himself as a not-so-hard-working student

in the biography, Chai's educational career was quite smooth. After graduating from the elementary school, almost all schools attended by him, including Tainan First Middle School, Chiayi High School, and National Taiwan University, were the best educational institutions in Taiwan.

He chose political science as his major at college. However, due to his father's insistence that he had to keep away from the "Chinese politics," he transferred to law department in sophomore. As a student with strong Taiwanese consciousness, Chai decided to campaign for the top position of student government. He won the presidency of student government after a severe competition with the candidate supported by the KMT. This was the first time a student of non-KMT background won this title. Chai also fell in love with his future wife at that time.

During this period, the content of Chai's national identity included three elements: "anti-KMT consciousness," "democratic consciousness," and "native consciousness." However, these elements should not be equated with the political consciousness of Taiwan independence. Chai's deep interests in politics also deserves our attention. He not only participated in the operation of student organizations, but also campaigned for the presidency of student government to practice his political vision. This was very different from most of the cases chosen in this study, since other biographees tended to consciously keep distance from politics while they were still in Taiwan.

To comprehend Chai's dissident identity in this stage, two factors should be taken into consideration. On the one hand, he was deeply influenced by his father, who was quite interested in the public affairs. Basically, Chai's passion for politics was related to his father's political interests. Besides, his father's experiences and comments toward

the KMT, including his unfortunate experience of arrest by the KMT troop, his comments on the “Chinese politics,” and his negative feeling of police and tax agents, also played a role in shaping Chai’s political orientation.

On the other hand, Chai’s peers at high school and college also had some impacts upon his dissident identity. Through the means of information sharing, these young men passionately discussed various politics-related issues. As their favorite topic, the discussion of “February 28 Incident” facilitated not only endless conversation, but also the exchange of memories and expression among them. Gradually, these idealistic young students emerged a deep disappointment to the ruling KMT government and wanted to do something for a possible political reform.

(11.2.3.d) After entering early adulthood, Chai still continued his perception of Taiwanese identity shown in previous stage. Once graduating from college in 1958, Chai was conscripted for military service for one and half years. Though planning to study abroad right away after being demobilized from the military, Chai was too late to finish the required procedure on time. Thus, before going to the United States for advanced study, Chai utilized the blank on schedule, organizing a meeting to call together all his friends with Taiwanese consciousness in June 1960. Some participants of this meeting were arrested after Chai arrived in the New World in September 1960.

(11.2.3.e) After going to the United States for graduate study, Chai transformed his original version of Taiwanese identity into the “typical Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity” through the process of identity recycling. At least until 1986, his status of national identity could be understood as this pattern.

In 1960, 25-year-old Chai flew to the United States for pursuing his graduate degree.

His destination was University of Tennessee. Two and half years later, after being awarded the Master's degree, he went to the University of Southern California for continuing his doctoral program in political science.

At the same time, he began to promote the idea of Taiwan independence among Taiwanese residents in the Los Angeles area. In 1966, on behalf of the Los Angeles area, he participated in the founding meeting of "United Formosans in American for Independence" and was elected as the board member of this organization. He was in charge of keeping contact with other organizations promoting Taiwan independence around the world. Three years later, right after being awarded the doctoral degree, he was elected as the chairperson of this organization. Due to his effort, "World United Formosans for Independence," the first worldwide organization in the Taiwan Independence Movement, was formed in January 1970. In 1982, another new organization, Formosan Association for Public Affairs, was founded by Chai and his colleagues. Again, Chai was elected as the president of this new association.

As far as the content of Chai's "typical Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity" was concerned, some elements of this identity should be noted. First of all, in this new version of Taiwanese identity, Chai successfully transformed the native consciousness, which was the foundation of his national identity in previous stage, into national consciousness. As a result, he insisted that "Taiwanese are not Chinese at all." Second, Chai contended, since Taiwanese are not Chinese, Taiwan does belong to the Taiwanese people and Taiwanese want to establish a democratic country with her own sovereignty. Third, Chai believed, because Taiwan belongs to the Taiwanese people, Taiwan does not belong to the KMT party-state. This is the major reference for the

notion of Taiwan “independence.” Forth, to Chai, in addition to the KMT, another reference of Taiwan independence is the Chinese Communist Party across the Taiwan Strait. In other words, Taiwan does not belong to the CCP. Finally, facing the tyranny of KMT, Chai also promoted the revolutionary way to overthrow the Chiang regime and achieve the goal of Taiwan independence.

(11.2.3.f) Around 1986, Chai entered another round of identity recycling. During this period, he modified his previous version of Taiwanese identity into the “self-determination version of Taiwanese identity.”

In 1986, Chai published an essay in *Asian Survey*, an academic journal focusing on Asian study. In this paper, he strongly promoted to use the notion of “self-determination” as the foundation to solve the so-called “Taiwan problem” by suggesting the KMT to hold a referendum in Taiwan asking Taiwanese residents to decide their own future.

This essay signified a new stage for Chai’s content of national identity. First of all, though not necessarily acknowledging the legitimacy of KMT’s rule in Taiwan, however, Chai’s suggestion that the KMT should have a referendum implies his perception of seeing the KMT as an “effective rule” in Taiwan at least. Second, this proposal meant the shift of major reference group in Chai’s notion of “Taiwan independence.” Simply put, the Chinese Community Party at the Mainland replaced the KMT and became the number one enemy of Taiwan Independence Movement. Finally, this scheme also indicated the change of means adopted by Chai to achieve the goal of Taiwan independence. In the past, Chai and his comrades claimed to use whatever means, including revolutionary way, to pursuit the goal of Taiwan independence. After

proposing the notion of “self-determination,” it seemed that the Taiwan Independence Movement would follow the institutionalized route, rather than the revolutionary way, to achieve the aim of Taiwan independence. I label Chai’s status of national identity in this stage as “self-determination Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity.”

(11.2.3.g) In 1990, by means of attending the funeral service of his father-in-law, Chai, who was blacklisted in the past three decades by the KMT government, was issued visa to come back to Taiwan. To promoting the idea of using referendum to decide Taiwan’s future, he decided to quit his professorship in the U.S. and reside in Taiwan. In November 1990, he organized the “Association for Plebiscite in Taiwan.” Later, after deciding to campaign for the legislator in Chiayi City in 1993, he won the elections four times and served as the legislator of Democratic Progressive Party since then. Besides, to effectively facilitate the public understanding of referendum, he also successfully founded the fourth major TV network, Formosa Television, in 1997. During this period, Chai entered another phrase of “identity recycling” again. I label his status of national identity in this stage as “de facto Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity.”

Basically, Chai did not change the major themes of his national identity during this period. Nevertheless, along with these themes, the degree was somewhat deepened in this stage. First of all, after formally participating in the legislative election, Chai had completely acknowledged the legitimacy of the KMT, which he treated only as “effective ruler” in previous stage. Second, the Chinese Communist Party, which was seen as the number one enemy in his previous period, was upgraded to the “only” enemy for Taiwan independence at this moment. To fight with the CCP, there even existed some space for the possible cooperation between the Taiwan Independence Movement and the KMT.

Finally, Taiwan was a de facto independence country already. Accordingly, the only unfinished task for the Taiwan Independence Movement was the pursuit of de jure independence, whose core part was to change Taiwan's formal name from the "Republic of China" to the "Republic of Taiwan."

11.2.4 Tsing-fang Chen (1936 –)

(11.2.4.a) Tsing-fang Chen's father was a meat vendor at the fresh food market. He never accepted any formal education, neither did he have clear political consciousness. His mother, who sold cloth at the same market, did not have formal education, either. With many children, both of them had to work 14 to 20 hours a day to earn the basic necessity for survival. Consequently, they did not have clear idea about politics.

(11.2.4.b) During childhood, Tsing-fang Chen seemed to possess the "talent-centered version of low salience attitudes." Born in 1936, Chen lived under the Japanese colonialism for nine years. Following the end of World War II, his nationality became "Chinese," like all other Taiwanese. In fact, we know not much about Chen's life during his childhood. The only information we know is that he demonstrated the artistic talent since he was a little child. To some extent, we can attribute him as having the "talent-centered version of low-salience attitudes," as far as his status of national identity in this stage was concerned.

(11.2.4.c) Chen continued to possess the "talent-centered version of low salience attitudes" during his adolescence. Although coming from a poor family, Chen worked hard and had excellent academic performance since childhood. After graduating as the first-place-student from the elementary school, Chen took examination and entered

Tainan First Middle School. Due to the excellent academic record, he was first recommended for admission to Tainan First High School, then to Department of Foreign Languages, National Taiwan University, in 1955.

During this period, Chen could be seen as a youth focusing so much on literature and art. He loved painting, liked to read novels, enjoyed classical music, and dreamed to go to Paris for becoming an artist someday. At that time, he had greatly demonstrated his artistic potential already. He not only served as the president of the “Fine Art Club” at NTU, but also participated in the group show sponsored by the “Free Salon” from 1956 to 1958. While taking so much energy on imagination, love, and artistic world, there left not much space in his mind to worry about the issue relevant to national identity. Consequently, in terms of his status of national identity during this stage, Chen continued the “talent-centered version of low salience attitudes,” which was already developed in his childhood.

However, though Chen’s fundamental focus was not on issues relevant to national identity, he seemed to “slightly lean toward” Chinese identity, on the ground of conventionally official ideology, rather than Taiwanese identity proposed by the opposition movement. This was quite similar to Ming-min Peng’s status of national identity during his early adulthood.

(11.2.4.d) In early adulthood, before going to Paris for advanced study at the age of 28, Chen did not change much with respect to his perception of national identity. In 1959, Chen graduated from the NTU. After serving as a reserved officer for one-and-a-half years, he got a rare opportunity to join the “Chinese Delegation of Moral Rearmament Movement” and traveled around the world for thirteen months.

To Chen, this world trip was quite a special experience. On the one hand, this experience not only allowed him to understand the unbelievable power of ideology, but also provided him a chance to directly encounter the “calling” of religious belief. To some extent, we can claim that in addition to the original commitment to fine arts, religion became another reference framework for Chen to construction his identity during this stage. On the other hand, the experience of traveling around the world also pushed him to really move beyond the island of Taiwan to perceive the whole world, allowing him to develop another version of national identity, the “cosmopolitan version of low salience attitudes,” in addition to his original “talent-centered version of low salience attitudes.”

(11.2.4.e) In 1963, after getting a national scholarship sponsored by the French government, Chen left for Paris for further study and entered the encounter stage, as far as his status of national identity was concerned. While focusing on the marker event in his life history, it seemed that the “campus spy event” of March 1964, where he found that one of his housemates was a student spy sponsored by the KMT, was quite significant for Chen’s entrance into the encounter stage. To some extent, this event not only broke the KMT’s myth of describing itself as a “great and well-done government,” but also challenged the very Chinese identity promoted by the KMT government.

In addition to this event, in the early stage of his student life in Paris, Chen also had some other experiences to confront his original version of national identity. Taking the year of 1964, his first year in Paris, as an example, Chen observed the diplomatic setback between the KMT and French, the newly established diplomatic relationship between the People’s Republic of China and French, the inconvenience of getting the Italian visa by

holding the passport issued by the KMT government, the successful test of atomic bomb in China, and Ming-min Peng's arrest because of his opinion on Taiwan independence. These incidents, some of them were his personal experiences and some were learned through the mass media, did seriously challenge the KMT's credibility and legitimacy.

(11.2.4.f) After the encounter stage, Chen entered the immersion-emersion stage, the second stage of adult conversion, and began to explore the possibility of constructing a new identity by his own way. The length of Chen's immersion-emersion stage, which covered the years between 1964 and 1970, was quite long. In 1970, he began to participate in the activity relevant to the Taiwanese Association and entered another stage of adult conversion.

To some extent, Chen's search for this new identity was parallel to his pursuit of the painting style in his professional career. While still in Taiwan, he was deeply interested in every aspect of Western culture. However, after arriving in Paris, he rediscovered the fascination and excitement of Eastern culture, especially Taiwan's folk culture. For a not-too-short period, he could not finish any painting at all due to the anxiety of pushing himself to invent something original and creative. Finally, after constructing the so-called theory on "Five-dimensional World Culture," he solved this problem by realizing the necessity of putting the Eastern and Western cultures together. However, during this stage, even though starting to question the appropriateness of his old identity, he was still on the way to finish the mission of constructing a new identity. While describing himself as Chinese sometimes and labeling himself as Taiwanese some other time, he could be said to possess a confused identity in this period.

(11.2.4.g) In 1970, Chen finished his dissertation, which was entitled "Chinese

Calligraphy and Contemporary Painting,” began to participate in the Taiwanese Independence Movement, entered the stage of internalization, the final phrase of adult conversion, and developed his “historical/cultural Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity.”

After a long period of exploration, around 1970, Chen entered another stage in his identity journey. After being awarded the doctoral degree in art history from the University of Paris, he started to actively participated in the activities relevant to Taiwanese Association of France, the European Federation of Taiwanese Association and the World Federation of Taiwanese Association. In 1974, he even quitted his painting and served as the only professional staff for the WFTA. One year later, to promote the business of WFTA more effectively, he decided to move to the United States, the country with much more Taiwanese population than France. Chen also got married and became a father of two during this period.

Judging from his deep commitment to the Taiwanese business in this stage, we can say that Chen had not only abandoned his “low salience attitudes” of the pre-encounter stage already, but also successfully establish his new Taiwanese identity. Because he was a professional painter with good training in art history and cultural history, the content of his Taiwanese identity was quite different from other activists with the background of engineering or political science. I label his version of Taiwanese identity as the “historical/cultural Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity.” Even though devoting so much to the business related to Taiwan Independence Movement, Chen still did not see himself as a political activist. Rather, in his mind, he posited himself as a participant of cultural movement on the ground of the so-called “Taiwan

Renaissance Movement” based upon his own definition.

(11.2.4.h) After 1980, Chen returned to his original role of professional painter, entered the stage of identity recycling, and developed his “Taiwanese American version of Taiwanese identity.” In 1980, due to the change of WFTA president, Chen quit the staff job for this organization, which he worked as the only paid personnel for six years, and restarted his career as a painter. In 1983, he was issued the citizenship of the United States. One year later, to have a one-man show in Taiwan, he came back his homeland, the first time in 21 years since he left in 1964. In 1986, Chen created 100 paintings as a tribute to the Liberty Lady’s Centennial Celebration. In 1990, in homage to the inspiration from Vincent van Gogh, again, he painted 100 works for van Gogh at the 100-year anniversary of his death. Both series were very successful, attracting much attention among art critics. In 1996, with the help from his wife, T. F. Chen Cultural Center, the biggest art gallery in Soho area of New York City, was founded. Four years later, to use art as a means to dedicate to his motherland, Chen proposed a large-scale activity of concept/action/display art, which was entitled “Mt. Yu as Holy Land, Liberty and Democracy,” in Mt. Yu, the highest mountain in Taiwan.

During this period, Chen entered the stage of “identity recycling,” based upon Parham’s notion, in terms of his status of national identity. Though still holding Taiwanese identity, he did modify the “historical/cultural Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity,” which was the identity patterns of his previous stage, to some extent. On the one hand, he gradually softened his severe position toward the KMT, which was seen as a colonial regime without any legitimacy to rule Taiwan in his previous stage, acknowledging it as the effective ruler of Taiwan. On the other hand, he adopted the

idea of “world citizen,” which had roots in his earlier life stages, and began to see himself not only as a Taiwanese, but also a Taiwanese American, or even a world citizen.

11.2.5 Strong Chuang (1938 -)

(11.2.5.a) After graduating from Nan-ying Commercial College, Strong Chuang’s father worked as a staff member at the local farmer association. Without strong political consciousness, he did not participate in any political activity, either. Chuang’s mother had an eight-year-long formal education, which was quite unusual at that time. Before getting married, she also worked as a staff member at the farmer association. She possessed strong Taiwanese consciousness.

Chuang’s father, in the general sense, could not be seen as a responsible father. After having affairs, he was almost completely absent from the family most of the time. Not too long after the KMT’s occupation of Taiwan, he decided to quit his job at the farmer association, claiming that it was not easy to get along with those Mainlander staff, who came with the KMT government in 1945. After leaving the staff position, he cooperated with friends to invest on some business. Unfortunately, since none of the business was successful, he almost lost all his money.

In 1950, the KMT started the program of land reform and levied the land belonging to Chuang’s family. Chuang’s mother had no choice but to rent a small room at town and serve as a street vendor for selling daily groceries, since his father disappeared from the family after the failure of his business. Due to Chuang’s mother’s strong Taiwanese consciousness, Chuang’s older brother, who was seen by Chuang as the substitute of his father, also possessed strong Taiwanese consciousness.

(11.2.5.b) During childhood, Chuang possessed the “native consciousness version of Taiwanese identity.” Chuang experienced both the Japanese rule and Chinese rule in his childhood. However, with only several-month-long Japanese education in early 1945, Chuang was not influenced much by the Japanese colonialism. In terms of the six-year-long Chinese education during this stage, the effect was not quite visible, either, probably because both his mother and older brother, the most influential significant others in his early life, possessed a kind of strong Taiwanese consciousness. Due to this influence, we can say that Chuang had the same national identity with his mother and older brother, the “native consciousness version of Taiwanese identity.”

(11.2.5.c) In adolescence, Chuang changed the status of his national identity into the “moderate version of Chinese identity.” With the best academic record, Chuang graduated from the elementary school, passed the entrance examination, and entered the Chang Jung Middle School in 1951. One and a half years later, he had no choice but to withdraw from the school because his mother had difficulty paying the tuition. After leaving school, he worked as a part-time-laborer in the nearby factory with his older brother.

Later on, his older brother managed to send Chuang to Taipei for studying at the cram school. After intensive study, Chuang successfully passed the entrance examination to study at Nanguang High School, a private school run by the nearby sugar factory. With excellent performance on both painting and academic courses, Chuang spent three enjoyable years at this school. In 1957, Chuang got a high score at the entrance examination again and entered the Department of Civil Engineering, National Taiwan University, the best academic institution in Taiwan.

Due to the influence from the KMT's educational system, during this period, Chuang, like most of students at that time, gradually accepted the government's propaganda and finished the construction of his Chinese identity. However, though facing the influence from the KMT's elaborately designed curriculum in the formal education, as a youngster with Taiwanese identity during his childhood, Chuang did not fully accept this official version of national identity. For instance, he rejected the attempt by a schoolteacher to recruit him into the KMT when he was a senior at high school. Furthermore, facing the question like "whether Taiwanese is Chinese," even if he tried to convince himself that the answer was "yes," there was always questioning and struggling about the appropriateness of this simple answer in his mind.

It is fair to claim that Chuang had Chinese identity and Taiwanese identity at the same time during this stage. While the KMT's school education was the major source of his Chinese identity, the influence of family socialization, especially from his mother and older brother, was the reason why he still held Taiwanese identity. However, the level of these identities was different. To Chuang, his Chinese identity was a kind of "national identity," whereas his Taiwanese identity was more a kind of "ethnic identity." That was why both identities could coexist without conflict.

(11.2.5.d) After entering early adulthood, before going to the United States for advanced study at the age of 27, Chuang continued his "moderate version of Chinese identity." In 1961, Chuang graduated from the college and began his military service. One and a half years later, after being discharged from the military, he started to work as a civil engineer at the Bureau of Public Project, the Provincial Government of Taiwan, taking charge of the project relevant to water distribution. Before leaving Taiwan for

further study in 1965, he maintained his status of government employee for three years. While comparing with the previous stage, the status of his national identity did not change greatly during this period.

(11.2.5.e) Immediately after arriving in the United States for advanced study, Chuang entered the stage of encounter, the first phrase of adult conversion, as far as his content of national identity was concerned. In August 1965, the 27-year-old Chuang, with the feeling of excitement and sadness at the same time, left Taiwan and went to Manhattan, Kansas, for pursuing his Master's degree at the Kansas State University. Right after arriving at the campus, the staff at office of international service helped him to find the resident, where he shared his space with some other Taiwanese students. One student brought Chuang some magazines and a book, which was entitled *Taiwan: A Depressed History*. Surprisingly, these unnoticeable publications, all of them were released by the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement, totally changed Chuang's later course of his life journey, causing him to enter the encounter stage in terms of the status of his national identity.

All these publications were related to Taiwan, everything from history to politics to folklore. Chuang was so touched by these books. As a model student under the KMT's educational system, Chunag did not have any chance to be aware of this kind of historical interpretation of Taiwanese history, which was totally different from what he knew while he was still in Taiwan. To him, this perspective about Taiwan, where he lived and grew up during the past 27 years, was so alternative and provoking, though convincing, as least on the ground of his own personal experience. Through these publication, he suddenly learned a new way to understand the world. The reading

experience could be seen as his “encounter event” in his transformation of national identity.

(11.2.5.f) After the encounter experience, Chuang entered the stage of “immersion-emersion,” the very next stage of adult conversion. After going through the dramatic reading experience, Chuang anxiously wanted to share his new perspective with other people, to interact with other people having the similar experience like himself, and to confirm the appropriateness of this new perspective. He found that the “Taiwanese Association at the Kansas State University” was exactly the group he was eager to work with.

Several observations were pertinent regarding Chuang’s development of national identity during this period. First of all, he enthusiastically participated in any activity relevant to Taiwan or organized by the Taiwanese Association. Second, while working with other students affiliated with the Taiwanese Association, Chuang also began to fight with the so-called “Chinese Student Association,” which was controlled by the KMT and could be seen as the sponsor of Chinese identity, his old identity. Third, thanks to the anxiety to embrace this new identity, Chuang could not help but to use his pen to write down his encounter experience for expressing his excitement of discovering this new identity. Finally, because of his deep devotion to this new identity, Chuang also “extend” the domain of this new identity to include some other “non-political” personal business. For instance, to avoid the possibility that other Chinese students would make pair with Qian-mei Qiu, a female student at Kansas State University, he decided to pursue her, claiming on the ground of “gist of nation.” This was also his first love experience.

(11.2.5.g) In 1966, Chuang joined the newly reorganized “United Formosans in

American for Independence (UFAI)” with some other students at KSU, entering the internalization stage, the last phrase of his adult conversion. He could be described as possessing the “typical Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity” in this stage.

Some points were noticeable for the his content of national identity in this stage. First of all, he believed that Taiwan belongs to Taiwanese. The only workable solution to the so-called “Taiwan question” is Taiwan independence. Second, to Chuang, the KMT’s rule in Taiwan is totally illegitimate, since Taiwan belongs to Taiwanese and Taiwanese want to have their own nation-state. This means that Taiwan should be independent from the so-called “Republic of China,” which should be understood as a colonial regime from the Taiwanese perspective. Third, in addition to the KMT, another reference group of Taiwan independence is the Chinese Community Party. Simply put, Taiwan belongs neither the KMT nor the CCP. Fourth, to achieve the goal of Taiwan independence, Taiwanese should use every possible means, including the revolutionary way, to fight for this aim. Finally, Chunag had quite a deep devotion to this Taiwanese identity.

(11.2.5.h) In 1992, the World United Formosans for Independence, which was the most significant social movement organization promoting the idea of Taiwan independence, moved its headquarters back to Taiwan. Facing this new era, after a long period of consideration, Chuang did not go with other comrades to move back to Taiwan. Rather, he decided to continue his professional job in the United States. There was no dramatic change in terms of Chuang’s status of national identity in this stage. He continued to possess the “typical Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity,” contending that the name of so-called “Republic of China,” which received almost no

acknowledgement in the international community, should be abandoned as soon as possible.

11.2.6 Fang-ming Chen (1947 -)

(11.2.6.a) Fang-ming Chen's father worked as a staff at the department store run by Japanese under the Japanese era. After the end of World War II, he ran some small business by himself. He did not have much interest in politics. Chen's mother was his father's colleague before getting married with him. After getting married, she stayed at home as a homemaker. Before Chen was born, his father was arrested by the KMT government in the February 28 Incident of 1947 without rhyme or reason. After trying every possible way, Chen's mother was able to save her husband's life by bribing an official with a wristwatch. With this unfortunate incident, his father learned the necessity to keep silent and never talked any about politics since then.

(11.2.6.b) In terms of Chen's status of national identity during his childhood, we do not know much about it due to the lack of relevant information. The only thing we know is that his overall performance in school was good, since he served as the president of class for five years, from grades two to six.

(11.2.6.c) During adolescence, Chen held the "social stigma version of Chinese identity." As the post-World-War-II generation, Chen did not have any experience under the Japanese colonialism. Rather, his only educational experience in this stage was the KMT's Chinese education. After graduating from Jiucheng Elementary School in 1959, he successfully passed the entrance examination and studied at Zuoying Middle School. Three years later, he passed the examination again, starting his life as a high

school student. In 1965, after ending his experience of first love with sadness, he studied up for the entrance examination, entering the Fu Jen Catholic University to study in the history department.

The reason why Chen took the “social stigma version of Chinese identity” at this stage was straight and simple, as that was what all levels of schools from elementary school to college, which were totally controlled by the KMT government, taught through their curriculum. According to the textbooks taught at schools, everything related to China was great and splendid. Taiwanese had to forget their native culture, since there was no difference between Taiwanese and Chinese. Yet, if Taiwanese had had difficulty forgetting their past, they were reminded of their history as a “colonized” people, which was seen as a kind of “sin” from the perspective of the KMT government, the new colonizer.

Thereby, during this stage, Chen possessed not only the positive perception of Chinese identity, but also the totally negative assessment of Taiwan, where he lived and grew up since he was born. Through the KMT’s indoctrination, Chen deeply believed that Taiwan was a “cultural desert” and Taiwanese history was not a “great” research topic at all. In this manner, while seeing everything related to Taiwan as negative and trivial, Chen did not have any pride of his status as a Taiwanese.

(11.2.6.d) Before leaving Taiwan in 1974 for advanced study, Chen stayed there for five more years after entering the stage of early adulthood. During this period, he still possessed the “social stigma version of Chinese identity,” which was developed in his previous life stage. After graduating from college in 1969, Chen fulfilled his military obligation first, then entered the master program of history at National Taiwan University.

In 1973, he was awarded the Master's degree by the thesis entitled "The Concept of Loyalty to the Emperor in Song Dynasty," and married with Rui-sui Gao, his classmate at graduate school. Then, he taught the course of Chinese history at two colleges for one year, going to the United States for his doctoral degree in 1974.

While there exists no visible difference between this stage and previous period in terms of the status of his national identity, nevertheless, this was a significant period for his "practice" of Chinese identity, in both professional fields and creative writings. On the one hand, in the discipline of history, his professional area, Chen published six academic papers, in addition to his master thesis. All his publications, which was full of Chinese identity, clearly illustrated his perception of the "orthodox tradition of Central Kingdom" and "historical perspective of emperor." On the other hand, as far as his creative writings were concerned, he also adopted the China-centered ideology as the value system as well as the aesthetic standard.

(11.2.6.e) In 1974, Chen went to the United States and entered the encounter stage, the very first phrase of adult conversion. In 1974, Chen, together with his newly married wife, arrived in Seattle to study Chinese history at the University of Washington, and moved to another stage of his national identity. It seemed that the "passport incident" of 1974, at that time Chen was rejected to enter Canada from the U.S. at a Canadian custom due to his possession of passport issued by the Republic of China, which was not recognized by the Canadian government, was a significant event in transforming his national identity. To Chen, an "assured and complete Chinese nationalist," according to his own terms, this incident, which directly destroyed the myth of KMT's Chinese nationalism and challenged his own political belief, was quite cruel.

In addition to this incident, Chen also experienced some other events pressing him to rethink the content of his national identity. There were some other experiences which could also be seen as the encounter events in terms of his identity transformation, including his encounter with John S. Cheng, the former chairperson of WUFI, in 1974, his personal meeting with Ming-min Peng in 1975, his participation in the activity sponsored by the campus branch of Amnesty International in 1975, and his first experience of demonstration to protest the ban of Taiwanese Political Review, the first magazine to formally promote the idea of Taiwanese consciousness in Taiwan, in 1975.

(11.2.6.f) After the encounter stage, Chen went into the immersion-emersion stage, the second phrase of adult conversion, beginning to explore the possibility of building his new identity. Following the collapse of the original Chinese identity proposed by the KMT's right-wing ideology, Chen entered the immersion-emersion stage, starting to find the alternative information, to join the study groups, and to discuss this matter with other people. While being eager to find an alternative identity for himself, he not only shifted to the island of Taiwan to find this possibility, but also swerved toward Red China to explore another chance, due to the influence of left-wing publications.

The length of Chen's immersion-emersion stage was quite long. During this period, Chen experienced many events like the end of China's Cultural Revolution in 1976, the breakout of Taiwan's "Nativist Literature Debate" in 1977, and the establishment of formal diplomatic relationship between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China in 1978. Nevertheless, Chen did not resolve his struggle to formally embrace Taiwanese identity until the occurrence of the "Formosa Incident" and the "Lin Family Murders" around the very beginning of 1980.

(11.2.6.g) In 1980, Chen gave up his academic career and moved to Los Angeles to join the *Formosa Weekly*, which was organized by Hsin-liang Hsu for continuing the struggle of Taiwan's opposition movement that was severely suppressed in the Formosan Incident of 1979 by the KMT. During this stage, Chen successfully developed his "historical/culture Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity" and formally went into the internalization stage, the last phrase of adult conversion in terms of the development of his national identity.

After struggling with the possibility of building a new identity in the immersion-emersion stage for six years, Chen effectively abandoned his old Chinese identity, finishing the construction of his new identity, which was based on the reality of the island of Taiwan itself, rather than on the myth of the Greater China. One of the most significant indicators of Chen's entrance into the internalization stage was his commitment to this new identity. From every perspective, Chen's behavior of abandoning his nearly completed doctoral degree was quite unusual, implying his determination of changing his role from a scholar into an activist. In 1983, there emerged the so-called "Taiwanese Consciousness Debate," a debate focusing on the contrast between Taiwanese complex and Chinese complex among the opposition movement in Taiwan. Though not residing in Taiwan personally, Chen, as an overseas exile, also participated in this debate through his writing. In 1984, Chen moved back to Seattle. He served as the editor-in-chief for *Taiwanese Culture*, a newly founded bimonthly, one year later.

During this stage, Chen adopted three types of texts to construct his new identity: the historical writing of Taiwanese literature, the historical study of Taiwanese left-wing

movement during the Japanese colonialism, and political commentary. Several observations about his perception of Taiwanese identity in this stage are pertinent. The first one was the “Taiwanese historical perspective,” which attempted to understand Taiwan’s history under the framework of world history, rather than Chinese history. Second, Chen tried to place Taiwanese identity in the context of “infrastructure,” the “reality of Taiwanese society.” Third, in addition to the concern of infrastructure, Chen also saw Taiwanese identity as a collective consciousness that was part of the “superstructure.” In other words, to capture the essence of Taiwanese identity, we had to consider both infrastructure and superstructure and understand it as the product of interaction between these two elements. Finally, Chen successfully used the “historical events” as the narrating strategy to describe the forming process of Taiwanese identity during different historical periods. In sum, I use this label, the “historical/cultural Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity,” to summarize Chen’s content of national identity in this period.

(11.2.6.h) After coming back to Taiwan in 1992, Chen formally ended his eighteen-year-long exile life and developed the “post-colonial version of Taiwanese identity.” In August 1992, Chen was invited by Hsin-liang Hsu to serve as the spokesperson for the Democratic Progressive Party. Three years later, he quit the job and came back to academia for continuing his career of writing and researching. Currently, he is the Professor affiliated with the Department of Chinese Literature, National Cheng Chih University.

During this stage, to respond to the abrupt changes of political atmosphere in Taiwan, to follow the current scholarly trends of post-modernism and post-colonialism, and to

adjust the change of personal mood, Chen gradually shifted the content of his national identity again. Though still possessing Taiwanese identity, at least at the theoretical level, Chen developed a new perception of this identity, where he did not see national identity as the priority among different types of identity, but rather one of many competing identities, such as ethnic identity, gender identity, sexual identity, and the like. I label this identity as “post-colonial version of Taiwanese identity.”

11.3 The National Identity Pattern among U.S. TIM Activists: A Typological Analysis

While reviewing the literature on racial identity, Helms (1990, 6-7, 11-6) divides the relevant models into two categories: “type” and “stage” perspectives. On the one hand, type models propose that potential racial identity resolutions can be grouped into one of several or a few categories (e.g., Akbar 1979; Dizard 1970; Kovel 1970; Vontress 1971). A basic assumption of such theories is that one’s racial identity category is a fairly stable aspect of one’s personality. Accordingly, by the appropriate means of “diagnosis,” it is possible for the researcher to describe one’s status of racial identity. On the other hands, stage theories understand racial identity as a developmental “process,” rather than a static entity (e.g., Cross 1971, 1995; C. Thomas 1971). According to stage theorists, a person potentially, though not necessarily, moves from one level of identity to another.

The “type” perspective is adopted in this section.⁴²¹ In the following discussion, I

⁴²¹. In the literature on “type” models, some typologies suggested by relevant scholars deserve our further attention. For instance, Vontress (1971) suggests the existence of three types of racial identity among Blacks: (1) Coloreds: people who perceive and evaluate selves according to White standards; (2) Negroes: people who are uncertain about how they feel about themselves, Blacks, or Whites; and (3) Blacks: people who are no longer ashamed of African racial characteristics, resist affronts to human dignity. Furthermore,

shall provide an analysis of typology based upon these activists' content of national identity during their different life stages. Extracting from the summary presented in previous section, I shall divide their "national identity patterns" into four types: "Japanese identity patterns," "Chinese identity patterns," "Low-salience patterns of national identity," and "Taiwanese identity patterns."

Then, in Sections Four and Five, I shall apply the "stage" perspective to my empirical data.

11.3.1 Japanese Identity Patterns

In this study, the so-called "*Japanese Identity*" can be defined as "the perception of treating oneself as Japanese basically in terms of one's political, ethnic, and cultural identities."⁴²² The fifty-year-long colonial rule imposed by the Japanese colonial

Dizzard's (1971) framework also divides the Black racial identity into three types: (1) Assimilated: people who move comfortably and easily into White culture, except for White prejudice; (2) Pathological: people who exhibit pathology as the predominant response to life's hardships; and (3) Traditional: people who attempt to preserve a group identity and a sense of dignity.

⁴²². As contends by Yi-huah Jiang (1998, 15), the notion of national identity is a multi-dimensional concept in nature, including three different aspects of identity --- institutional identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity --- at least at the conceptual level. Following his suggestion with slight modification, I also include three aspects of concern --- politics, ethnicity, and culture --- in my definition of national identity.

However, this definition is problematic somewhat. For instance, how should we describe one's national identity if one says he or she possesses Japanese identity in political terms, Taiwanese identity in ethnic terms, and Chinese identity in cultural terms? I admit that this scenario is not only possible, but also existent. Nevertheless, at the level of everyday life, this scenario is unfeasible as well as unrealistic. Let us imagine the following scenario. Two passengers sit in the same row during an international flight and start to talk each other. The first one asks another about his nationality. Is it possible for the second one to reply that, "Oh, it is a difficult and complicated question. I see myself as a Japanese politically, a Taiwanese ethnically, and a Chinese culturally." I don't believe so. In everyday life, everybody has a basic and simplified perception about his or her national identity. Though we can't deny that some people do possess the aforementioned "multiple identity," however, it is also true that we have "a" "fundamental" national identity at the same time. It is the rationale that I put "basically" in my definition of Japanese identity and see it as "the perception of treating oneself as Japanese basically in terms of one's political, ethnic, and cultural identities."

This statement is pertinent to other patterns of national identity as well.

government could be understood as the fundamental mechanism for generating such Japanese identity among Taiwanese. Why did Taiwanese become identifying with Japanese? This result is, of course, so sarcastic and derisive historically. However, to the colonized people, this consequence is nothing but full of sadness and misery.

From the macro perspective, like other imperialism occurring in different historical time around the world, the ultimate purpose of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan was to maintain its stable dominance over the colony. Nevertheless, to be capable of retaining this dominance, it became a priority for the colonial government to transform its colonizers spiritually and consciously.⁴²³ During the five decades of Japanese rule (1895-1945),⁴²⁴ for fulfilling the goal of transforming Taiwanese into Japanese, the colonial government changed its ruling policies several times. Yet, whether the earliest “doctrine of no principle (*wufangzhen zhuyi* 無方針主義),” the later “doctrine of assimilation (*tonghua zhuyi* 同化主義)” and “doctrine of interior extension (*neidi yanchang zhuyi* 內地延長主義),” or the latest “Kominka Movement,” the ultimate

⁴²³. For the sophisticated relationship between colonialism and culture, refer to Dirks (1992a) and Cooper and Stoler (1997), especially the introduction chapter by Dirks (1992b) in his edited anthology. For empirical research about Taiwan under Japanese colonialism, especially the dialectical relationship between colonizer and colonized in terms of the colonizer’s status of national identity, see Xiao-qian Fang (2001) and Ching (2001).

⁴²⁴. For basic bibliography about Taiwan’s history under Japanese colonialism, refer to Kerr (1974); Wen-qing Lian (1988); Myers and Peattie (1984); Chiautong Ng (1989); Yanaihara (1985); and Bi-chuan Yang (1988b).

To deal with the fifty-year-long Japanese colonial rule, one of the basic issues is how to divide this historical period into several stages. While focusing on the nature of political regime during this period, most of the researchers seem to have a consensus of dividing this period into three phrases: (1) early phrase of military governor-general (*wuguan zongdu* 武官總督) (1895 – 1919); (2) phrase of civilian governor-general (*wenguan zongdu* 文官總督) (1919 – 1937); and (3) later phrase of military governor-general (1937 – 1945) (e.g., Gold 1986, 34-44; Heng-dao Lin 1988, 493-4; Chiautong Ng 1996a, 54-5; De-shui Zhang 1992, 53-91; Yong-ming Zhuang 1994, 64).

objective was quite similar --- to transform Taiwanese into the submitted Japanese citizen (Wen-qing Li 2001, 84).⁴²⁵ To put more concretely, there were four major mechanism adopted by the Japanese colonial government to impose Japanese identity.

(11.3.1.a) The first mechanism was the *education system* promoted by the Japanese colonial government. Not too long after occupying Taiwan in 1895, the Japanese colonial administration started establishing institutions to teach Taiwanese the Japanese language as well as Japanese history and culture. In 1919, the colonial government announced the “Order of Taiwan Education (*Taiwan Jiayuling* 台灣教育令),” focusing on the means to cultivate the so-called “loyal and good citizen (*zhongliang guomin* 忠良國民).” As far as the curriculum at the elementary school was concerned, it emphasized Japanese history and stories related to the Japanese Emperor, no matter at the courses of moral cultivation (*xiushe* 修身) or national language (*guoyu* 國語) (Yen-hsian Chang 1996, 433).

After 1937, the government began to strongly endorse the Kominka Movement, which prohibited the use of Chinese language in newspapers and magazines, promoted the use of Japanese in everyday life, encouraged Taiwanese to change their names based

⁴²⁵ In fact, among the Japanese officials in charge of the colonial administration, there always existed continuing debate about the best strategy to deal with their colony. On the one hand, Gotō Shimpei (*Hoteng Xinping* 後藤新平), a physician who had studied in Germany, strongly suggested the adoption of “doctrine of particular rule (*tebie tongzhi zhuyi* 特別統治主義).” He believed that the policy of assimilation was impossible as well as undesirable for the colonized people. To follow the principle of British colonialism, Gotō urged the Japanese government to see Taiwan and other newly acquired territories as “colony,” which was different from the “inland” of Japanese Empire, adopting particular law, rather than the law of “inland,” to deal with the colonial affairs. On the other hand, Hara Kei (*Yuanjing* 原敬), who was influenced by the practice of French colonialism, proposed that the Japanese government had to adopt the “doctrine of internal extension” to deal with the colonial business. He believed that Taiwanese and Korean, who were quite similar to Japanese in terms of race and culture, could viably assimilated into Japanese culture. Therefore, he suggested to treat Japan’s newly acquired territory as “part of the inland, though slightly different it” (Rwei-ren Wu 2001, 50-1).

upon the Japanese custom, abandoned the Chinese folk religion, and advanced the religious worship following the Japanese ritual. All these measures increased the Japanization among Taiwanese to some extent (Yen-hsian Chang 1996, 433).⁴²⁶ In sum, “the ultimate goal of educational policy imposed by Japanese imperialism in Taiwan was to change the mentality of Taiwanese, and to take advantage of Taiwanese for its own purposes” (Bo-zhou Lan 2000a, 115).

(11.3.1.b) Following the colonial education, the second mechanism for producing Japanese identity among Taiwanese was the colonial government’s language policy of “*Japanization*.” The connection between language and national or ethnic identity is well documented by the existing research.⁴²⁷ Accordingly, almost all colonial governments adopt their own languages as the official languages. Furthermore, these colonizers also try every effort to stigmatize the native languages of the colonized, seeing them as backward in nature and not fitting the need of modernization project.

⁴²⁶. For the influence of Japanese colonial education on the status of national identity among Taiwanese at that time, see Su-qiu Zeng’s (2003) recent dissertation “An Exploration of Taiwan’s National Identity Education under Japanese Era (1895 – 1945).” For general description about Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, refer to Tsurumi (1977). For comparative study dealing with Japanese colonial education in both Taiwan and Korea, see Tsurumi (1984).

⁴²⁷. When the French Revolution armies swarmed across Europe carrying their political understanding of nationhood as citizenship, they provoked some intellectuals into articulating a Romantic counter-nationalism that focused on culture and particularly on language (Canovan 1996, 52). For example, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1922, 215), a German scholar at that time, directly claimed that “Wherever a separate language is found, there a separate nation exists.” For the role of language in the forming process of nationalism, refer to Kamusella (2001) and Laitin (1998b).

In terms of the empirical studies dealing with the connection between language and national/ethnic identity, a series of studies conducted by Giles, Taylor and their colleagues in the United States, Canada, and Welsh deserve our deepest attention (e.g., Giles et al. 1976; Taylor, Bassili, and Aboud 1973; Taylor, Simard, and Aboud 1972). For example, in an investigation of Anglo- and Franco-American high school students, Giles et al. (1976) explore the roles played by language, cultural background, and geographic region in the formation of ethnic identity. Language emerges as an important dimension for Franco-Americans who speak French and also for Anglo-American respondents. For Franco-Americans who are not fluent in the French language, cultural background is the most salient feature.

Japanese colonialism in Taiwan is no exception. To destroy the original national consciousness among Taiwanese, the Japanese colonial government began to promote the so-called “national language movement” (i.e., Japanese language movement),⁴²⁸ adopted Japanese as the medium language at all levels of schools, and enforced Taiwanese pupils to register at the elementary school. According to the statistics of 1944, around 70 percent of Taiwanese had taken classes at elementary school and were able to read Japanese. To Taiwanese, their ability to understand Japanese had both positive and negative consequences at the same time. On the one hand, they could use Japanese to understand the new knowledge information in the modern world. On the other hand, they also got more influence from Japanese history and culture and gradually thought themselves as Japanese (Yen-hsian Chang 1996, 433).

(11.3.1.c) Third, the so-called “*modernity*,” which was an inevitable product of colonial project, also played a significant role in deepening Japanese identity among Taiwanese.⁴²⁹ Chiautong Ng contends, “If the ruler can improve the domestic living standard and enhance its international status substantially, the ruled people’s degree of identification with the ruler will also increase” (1996b, 99).

⁴²⁸. For the general description of “Japanese language movement” in Taiwan’s Japanese era, refer to Xuan-fan Huang (1995, 89-101) and Heng-jia Chen (1996).

⁴²⁹. As Cai-xiu Cai (2001, 321) correctly points out, “The imperialism, which was based upon the military power in the nineteenth century, took away their bloody clothes and exhibited their new clothes of “modernism,” “progress,” and “civilization” in the twentieth century. This new practice, under the names of scientific and cultural discourses, not only confused the colonized society, but also bewildered the colonizer itself.

In terms of the complicated relationship between colonialism and modernism, for study about Taiwan under Japanese colonialism, refer to Samuel Pao-san Ho(1984) and Ming-cheng M. Lo(2002); for study in other context, refer to Charkrabarty’s (1997) research about British Bengal.

In some sense, Taiwan's modernization project began in the Japanese era.⁴³⁰ Under Japanese rule, the colonial administration made significant improvements in public order and welfare and provided some Taiwanese with economic and advanced training opportunities (Roy 2003, 54). After World War I, Japan was seen as one of the top five superpowers in the world. Furthermore, during the early stage of World War II, Japan also had quite excellent record in the battleground. To the colonial government, these were good topics to make propaganda among Taiwanese, the colonized people (Chiautong Ng 1996b, 100). In sum, "It is fair to claim that some Taiwanese residents began to identify with Japan at that time, though this fact makes us, their descendant, feel so embarrassed" (Chiautong Ng 1996b, 100).

(11.3.1.d) Fourth, rhetorically, the colonizer always asks the colonized to forget their original identity and encourages the colonized to incorporate their new identity. However, for the purpose of maintaining the dominance substantially, the colonizer seldom, if ever, adopts the measurements of equality toward the colonized seriously. Under the Japanese era, the colonial administration took on every possible means to maintain the *institutionalized discrimination* against the colonized Taiwanese. While discussing the relationship between colonialism and culture, Cai-xiu Cai aptly captures

⁴³⁰. Some critics, especially those following the position of "post-colonialism," probably will challenge the correctness of this statement (e.g., Cai-xue Cai 2001, 338). Nevertheless, while adopting the conventional definition of "modernity" based on the Western tradition (of course, I agree that this definition, which is on the ground of "Western-centric perspective," is problematic), this statement is at least partially correct "to some extent."

Of course, we all understand that the purpose of this "modernization" project, which was conducted by the Japanese colonial government, was "to build Taiwan as an effective colony for the consideration of easy rule; and to closely incorporate Taiwan into the Japanese Empire, to provide food and other agricultural products for the inland, as well as to serve as the market for the industrial product produced in the inland" (Ruolin 1994, 54). In other words, to the Japanese colonial government, its fundamental

the “double character” of colonizer in the following way:

On the one hand, they [the colonizer] have to use every means to cultivate the colonized for imposing the superiority of colonizer culturally as well as racially. They have to make the colonized to be proud of being the new member of the colonizer’s nation-state, from external behavior to internal thought and value. On the other hand, they also have to “remind” the colonized yet again of their inherited inferiority. The purpose is to make the colonized not think about “suppressing” the colonizer and becoming the final power-holder. (Cai-xiu Cai 2001, 325-6)

In Taiwan’s case, though the Japanese colonizer attempted to promote the perception that “Taiwanese is Japanese,” however, the colonial government also reminded the colonizer that “Taiwanese is different from the Inlanders⁴³¹,” and “Taiwanese is the second-class citizen in Japanese Empire.” For example, Japanese residents in Taiwan had privileges over the locals in all aspects of life, including employment, education, and lifestyle.⁴³² Taiwanese had little hope of reaching higher positions in business or government (Roy 2003, 54).⁴³³ Even occupying the same position, the income of

motive to advance these modernization projects was to pursuit its own interest, rather than the well-being of Taiwanese people.

⁴³¹. In Japanese era, the colonizer described themselves as the “Inlanders,” or people from the inland (i.e., Japan). On the other hand, Taiwanese was labeled as the “Islanders.”

⁴³². Taking example from the educational statistics of 1926, in terms of the rate of school registration among school-age-children, Japanese residents in Taiwan was 98.2 percent, while Taiwanese was only 28.4 percent. Among the Japanese residents in Taiwan, there were 23,711 pupils at elementary schools, 6,856 students at middle and high schools, 368 students at higher education, and 477 students at professional education (*zhuanmen jiaoyu* 專門教育). Among Taiwanese, there were 210,627 pupils at elementary schools, 4,642 students at middle and high schools, 43 at higher education, and 251 at professional education. In other words, while the Taiwanese pupils at elementary schools were ten times of Japanese students, the ratio dropped to two thirds at middle and high schools, one ninths at higher education, and one half at professional education (Shineyuan 1985, 149).

⁴³³. Under the Japanese rule, there were only two Taiwanese serving as the section chiefs at Taiwan Government General, three serving as the county heads, three serving as the court judges, and nine serving as teachers of middle school. Furthermore, in Taiwan Bank (*Taiwan Yinhang* 台灣銀行), the number of Taiwanese staff was also less than ten (Bing Su 304-5).

Japanese employees was much higher than Taiwanese staff, due to the extra salary and residence subsidy (Ta-jan Hsu 1987, 61). There exists, of course, deep connection between discrimination and identity. As Cheng-feng Shih (1998b, 84) rightly points out, facing the institutionalized racial discrimination, “the inferior identity (*xiawei rentong* 下位認同) of Taiwanese was reminded again and again.”

Through the aforementioned mechanisms, two biographees in this study developed a kind of Japanese identity. Although most of the subjects in this project had lived under Japanese colonialism (Fang-ming Chen, who was born in 1947, was the only exception), however, due to the end of Japanese rule in 1945, to these biographees, who experienced Japanese colonialism only during their childhood, their “real” length of Japanese experiences was not quite long.⁴³⁴ Among those biographees with Japanese identity, Ming-min Peng possessed the “social stigma version of Japanese identity” and Mu-sheng Wu had the “moderate version of Japanese identity” (for further analysis, see Section Five of this chapter).

11.3.2 Chinese Identity Patterns

In this study, the so-called “*Chinese Identity*” can be defined as “the perception of treating oneself as Chinese basically in terms of one’s political, ethnic, and cultural identities.” To understand why Taiwanese think themselves as Chinese, we have to consider the “Chinification” project conducted by the KMT, who succeeded Japan as the

⁴³⁴. Among these subjects, Ming-min Peng, who was born in 1923, had the longest experience of living under Japanese colonialism. He lived as Japanese citizen for 23 years.

ruler of Taiwan after the end of World War II in 1945.⁴³⁵

To Taiwanese residing in this island, there is no substantial difference between Japanese colonial government and the KMT government, since both can be seen as a kind of “émigré regime.”⁴³⁶ Accordingly, some scholars also describe the KMT regime in

⁴³⁵. Some scholars, especially those with strong Chinese consciousness, probably have difficulties in accepting this statement and tend to contend that Taiwanese possess “Chinese identity” “all the time.” Nevertheless, I do think their perspective is an illusion because there is not the slightest shred of evidence to support this kind of historical interpretation. As a matter of fact, in Chinese history, the notion of modern Chinese nationalism did not emerge until the First Sino-Japan War of 1895. After China was defeated by Japan, the idea of nationalism gradually replaced the traditional role of tribalism (*zule sixiang* 族類思想) or culturalism (*wenhua zhuyi* 文化主義) and became the most dominant ideology in Chinese history since the very beginning of twentieth century. Before the emergence of Chinese nationalism, however, Taiwan, as Japanese Empire’s newly acquired colony, was detached from China already. As Rwei-ren Wu (2001, 47; emphasis original) aptly points out, “Before China transformed itself from an ‘empire’ or the ‘world (*tianxia* 天下)’ to a modern ‘nation-state,’ Taiwan had been cut out from China and became part of Japan. In other words, *Taiwan experienced a particular historical route that was totally different from China over the next fifty years since the emergence of Chinese nationalism.*” Wu continues to claim, “*Modern Taiwanese nationalism and modern Chinese nationalism, which occur from two different ‘political fields,’ are two parallel nationalism with their own existences*” (2001, 49; emphasis original).

Accordingly, from the perspective of Taiwanese residents, the so-called Chinese nationalism, which was promoted by the KMT state apparatus since the end of World War II, was totally a “new” phenomenon. In this sense, the existence of Chinese identity in Taiwanese society was deeply related to the mechanism adopted by the KMT for generating this official identity among Taiwanese people.

⁴³⁶. The notion of émigré regime, though an oft-cited term in academic works, tends to involve a lot of sentimental debate in Taiwan’s political context, because this very issue is related to the KMT’s “legitimacy” of ruling Taiwan. Here, I follow Ming-tong Chen’s (1998, 5-6) usage to depict the KMT as an émigré regime. According to Chen’s explanation, in the original context, the so-called “émigré regime” is used to describe those Royal-affiliated members who exiled abroad after the French Revolution of 1789, or those power-holder who lost domination and exiled overseas after the Russian Revolution of 1918. Later on, this term is generally referred to those who have had to leave their country permanently, usually for political reasons. From the perspective of locals, the regime established by these exiles is definitely a “émigré regime.” Conceptually, three criteria are adopted to define the nature of this kind of regime: (1) the ultimate goal and the fundamental principle of this regime are imposed by the external power; (2) the political norm and the governing structure are also imposed by the external power; and (3) the holder of state apparatus is from outside without the consent of locals.

If we use these three criteria to examine the KMT regime in Taiwan since the end of World War II, we can make the following observations. First of all, whereas *The Three Principles of the People* could be seen as the fundamental principle of this regime, “Mainland recovery (*fugong dalu* 反攻大陸)” was the KMT’s ultimate goal under Chiang Kai-shek’s leadership. However, before the KMT’s occupation of Taiwan in 1945, both *The Three Principles of the People* and “Mainland recovery” were not the goals of the six-million Taiwanese residents at all. Second, for a long time, the KMT regime adopted the party-state system as its political norm and governing structure. This kind of authoritarianism was based on the so-called “emergency situation policy,” which was made before the KMT’s withdrawal from the

Taiwan as another form of “colonial rule.” For example, Chiautong Ng (1995, 308) seriously contends that the KMT should be understood as a kind of “colonial government without homeland (*wu muguo de zhimindi zhengfu* 無母國的殖民地政府),” since it was forced to withdraw from Mainland China by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 and Taiwan was its only de facto ruling territory. In this situation, Taiwanese, who were deeply influenced by the Japanese culture before 1945, did not have a choice but to face the pressure of “Chinification” brought by the KMT after 1945 (Pen-juin Chen 2000; Strawn 1999; Richard W. Wilson 1970; Tsung-rong Yang 1992, 1993). In other words, though having withdrawn from the Chinese homeland already, the KMT still adopted every measure to promote Chinese identity for indoctrinating the Taiwanese people.

Simply put, since the World War II, the formation of Chinese identity among Taiwanese was related to the following four mechanisms.

(11.3.2.a) The first one was the “*China-centered ideology*” promoted by the KMT’s educational system. Most of the researchers agree that, for the average citizen, school is

Mainland in the late 1940s on the one hand, and was consolidated through the KMT’s party reform in the early 1950s on the other hand. This political system, which was imposed by the KMT on the Taiwanese society, was not the creation of collective will of Taiwanese residents at all. Third, almost all power-holders of the KMT’s state apparatus were from somewhere outside the Taiwanese society. From the perspective of Taiwanese residents, this state apparatus was totally not related to them at all, since it was not elected by them through the regular election, neither was it composed mainly of the local population (Ming-tong Chen 1998, 5-6).

In addition to Chen’s contention, for other rationales of treating the KMT as an “émigré regime,” refer to Hsiao-feng Li (1995b, 74); Jennhwan Wang (1989, 80); Ka-ying Wong (1996, 275-6); and Yuan-ming Yao (1999, 39). It is notable that the exact term used by Wong and Yao is “quasi-colonialism,” implying that the KMT and Taiwanese belong to the same “state” or “nation,” though the former, following the policy of Japanese colonialism, adopted the dominance and oppression as its fundamental governing principle. However, no matter whether the KMT and Taiwanese belong to the same “state” or “nation,” the “colonial nature” of the KMT is still acknowledged by Wong and Yao.

one of the most significant agents to fulfill the function of political socialization.⁴³⁷ To obtain the ruling legitimacy and to suppress the image of “émigré regime,” after occupying Taiwan in 1945, the KMT monopolized the power of national education to indoctrinate its party-state ideology. The KMT not only comprehensively controlled the curriculum design, especially in the courses of humanities and social sciences, but also assigned the standardized textbooks and reserved the teaching positions only for students trained in the normal colleges, where they had the most severe control over students’ value system (Tai 1993, 117).

Based upon the existing research, the content of these standardized textbooks was nothing but Chinese nationalism, patriotism, Chinese culture, *The Three Principles of the People* (*Sanmin Zhuyi* 三民主義), anti-Japanese sentiments, anti-Communism propaganda, and leader worship (e.g., Jian-bang Deng 1995; Hsiao-feng Li 1995a; Tsung-yi Lin et al. 1989; Ming-hui Peng 2002; Ji-sheng Shi et al. 1993; Cheng-feng Shih 2003; Tai 1993; Qian-long Wang 2001).⁴³⁸ There was only one fundamental purpose of these textbook --- to establish the KMT’s legitimacy of ruling Taiwan. The motives for

⁴³⁷. While exploring the role played by school in the process of political socialization, most research focuses on four dimensions: (1) the influence of formal instruction; (2) the influence of teachers as individuals; (3) the influence of extracurriculum activities; and (4) the influence of peer groups (Beck 1977, 128). Within the literature on political socialization, there is numerous research dealing the school-related effect (e.g., Merelman 1971; Patrick 1977; Trottier 1980; Wasburn 1986; and Ziblatt 1970). For research concerning the effect of school in political socialization in Taiwan’s context, refer to Kuo-yen Chen (1997); Qiu-xia Liu (1998); Martin (1975); J. Meyer (1988); Lin Yu (1985); and Xin-yi Zeng (2001).

⁴³⁸. Most of the aforementioned research adopts the “content analysis” or “discourse analysis” to examine the content of textbooks or curriculum-related activities. In terms of the “real” effects of the content, we can refer to Fu-chang Wang’s (1994, 1996) study of partisanship among Taiwan’s residents, where he finds that educational system plays the role of strengthening “Chinese conscioussess” as well as oppressing “Taiwanese consciousness.” Nevertheless, in Chang and Wu’s (1997) study, while using “educational achievement” as the independent variable and “unificaton-independence-inclination (*Tongdu qingxiang* 統獨傾向)” as the dependent variable, they find that education is not the comprehensive source of political socialization, since “educational achivement” has different affects on people with different backgrounds.

the KMT to extensively promote the Chinese culture were twofold. On the one hand, the KMT wanted to distinguish itself from the Chinese Communist Party by positing itself as the “real” inheritor of Chinese culture. On the other hand, facing the increasing pressure of domestic opposition movement, which was based upon the ideology of Taiwanese consciousness, the KMT also wanted to emphasize the superiority of Chinese culture for suppressing the mobilization potential brought by the opposition movement (Tai 1993, 118).

(11.3.2.b) Like the language policy of “Japanization” adopted by the Japanese colonial government, the KMT also promoted the language policy of “*Chinification*” right after occupying Taiwan. The purpose of KMT’s “national language movement” (i.e., Mandarin language movement), on the one hand, was to eliminate the circulation of Japanese in the intellectual circle, since most of the Taiwanese intellectuals did understand the world through the Japanese publication, after the fifty-year-long colonial rule. On the other hand, the KMT also prohibited the use of Taiwanese languages at schools and official settings.⁴³⁹ According to the KMT’s official propaganda, the behavior of using native languages, whether it was Hoklo, Hakka, or Aboriginal languages, in everyday life would be interpreted as “backward” as well as “unpatriotic.” In this situation, children with native languages as their mother tongue would tend to

⁴³⁹. For instance, in 1946, the second year after occupying Taiwan, the KMT began to abandon the use of Japanese language in newspapers and magazines. However, Japanese colonial government, the previous ruler of Taiwan, did not ban the use of Chinese language in newspapers and magazine until 1936, forty two years after its occupation of Taiwan in 1895 (Hwang 1995, 107). Furthermore, starting from 1956, the KMT government began to introduce the so-called “Speaking National Language Movement (*Shuo Guoyu Yundong* 說國語運動)” comprehensively, requiring Taiwanese residents to use Mandarin in governmental business, school, and public settings. One year later, the government even asked the Christian ministers to use Mandarin, rather than native languages, to preach the sermon (Hwang 1995, 109). For the brief background about the “National Language Movement” initiated by the KMT, refer to Xuan-fan Huang (1995, 102-120) and Yi-lin He (2000).

have the feeling of subordination about their own languages, think Mandarin as the more “modern” and elegant language than their mother tongue, hold bad impression about their own ethnic groups, and finally develop their identification with Chinese language and culture imposed by the KMT’s state apparatus.

(11.3.2.c) The third mechanism was the KMT’s suppression of native culture, along with the following tendency of “*Chinification of aesthetic*.” While discussing the status of racial identity among the Black in the stage of “pre-encounter,” Cross (1995, 100-1) mentions that these people tend to be socialized to favor a “Eurocentric cultural perspective.” He describes this perspective in the following way:

It is a perspective in which *notions of beauty and art are derived from a White and decidedly Western aesthetic*, as reflected in the content, themes, vehicles of emphasis, colorations, and modes of expression of numerous cultural and academic preferences. For example, [p]re-[e]ncounter parents tend to socialize their children to place greater emphasis on “high culture,” or “classical art forms.” (e.g. ballet, classical music, modern dance), and seldom encourage them to consider taking classes in jazz, African dance, or Black literature. Although [p]re-[e]ncounter persons may personally enjoy Black music and art, they may depict them as “ethnic,” “lowly,” “less important,” and something to be lost along the way toward acceptance and assimilation into the mainstream. (Cross 1995, 100-1; emphasis added)

If we replaced Black as Taiwanese and substituted White or Western as Chinese, it is surprising that this statement also fit the situation of Taiwan’s cultural taste and aesthetical standard quite well. As a matter of fact, it is fair to say that the KMT used every possible means to suppress the Taiwanese native culture after its occupation of this island. Because Hoklo constitutes a greater proportion of the whole population (about 70%) in Taiwan, since the World War II, many types of the native cultural performances,

such as the Hoklo popular song (*Taiyu liuxing gequ* 台語流行歌曲), the Hoklo film (*Taiyu dianying* 台語電影), the Hoklo puppet show (*budaixi* 布袋戲), the Hoklo opera (*gezaixi* 歌仔戲), and the like, on the ground of the market mechanism, were quite popular for a long time.

As the record industry developed in the 1950s, there emerged a very prosperous period for the Hoklo popular song. Furthermore, in terms of the Hoklo film, during its peak era in the 1960s, the number of produced films reached 114 units in the year of 1965 alone. At the same time, there were only 8 Mandarin films made in that year (Yu-yuan Huang 2000, 63). Finally, as far as the Hoklo puppet show was concerned, in the early 1970s, much of the TV primetime was also occupied by different productions of this genre of performing art (Wen-yi Lin 2001, 73).

However, starting from the mid-1960s, due to the intervening behavior from the KMT, there emerged a dramatic change in Taiwan's cultural industry. In 1966, the KMT started the campaign of "Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement (*Zhonghuawenhua Fuxing Yundong* 中華文化復興運動)," establishing the Bureau of Culture (*Wenhuaaju* 文化局) under the Ministry of Education (*Jiaoyubu* 教育部) to coordinate different types of cultural industry. Starting from 1970, the scope of the so-called cultural administration (*wenhua guanli* 文化管理) was extended to include film and television. Then, under the name of "purification work (*jinghua gongzuo* 淨化工作)," almost all personnel affiliated with either the cultural industry or educational institutions, including teachers, writers, musicians, and the like, were mobilized to participate in this movement. Since then, Taiwan's cultural landscape was thoroughly changed into a new era (Yu-yuan

Huang 2000, 6). Around 1970, the market of Hoklo popular song was almost totally collapsed; the Mandarin film became the mainstream production in cinema industry; and the Hoklo puppet show was enforced by the government to change its medium language into Mandarin and gradually disappeared from television (Yu-yuan Huang 2000, 63; Wen-yi Lin 2001, 74; Yong-ming Zhuang 1996, 180).

The implication of this phenomenon is very serious. It signifies the change of aesthetic and cultural value among the Taiwanese resident. In fact, the baby boomer, who were the first generation accepting the KMT's comprehensive education, happened to enter the consumer market in the 1970s. Accordingly, we can claim that the KMT's "Chinese education" was victorious in some sense, since it successfully created a value system based upon the notion of "Chinification."

(11.3.2.d) *State terrorism* was the final mechanism conducted by the KMT to create Chinese identity. As a matter of fact, in addition to the aforementioned "cultivation" project, the KMT also directly adopted state terrorism to maintain Chinese identity. "In Taiwan, during the forty-year-long period under the martial law, the KMT also used the way of dominance to uphold its hegemony. We all know that, during these four decades, everyone rejecting to accept the KMT's version of national identity was either arrested by the government or disappeared to nowhere. All were the product of hegemony" (Scott 2003, 3).

11.3.3 Low-salience Patterns of National Identity

In this study, the so-called "*low salience patterns of national identity*" can be defined as "the perception of not seeing one's identity in political, ethnic, and cultural

terms as an important issue.” In Cross’s (1995, 98) study of Black identity, he contends that persons who hold “low-salience” views does not deny being physically Black, but consider this “physical” fact to play an insignificant role in their everyday life. Being Black and knowledge about the Black experience have little to do with their perceived sense of happiness and well-being and contribute little to their purpose in life. In a sense, persons with low-salience attitudes place value in things other than their Blackness, such as their religion, their lifestyle, their social status, or their profession. Thus, they do have values and they do experience meaningful existence, but little emphasis is given to Blackness.

While seeing national identity as one domain of social identities, people with low-salience perspectives tend to put priority on other domains of social identity, such as class identity, gender identity, religious identity, sexual identity, and the like, and use these identities as the ground to construction their self-identity. In other words, the core of these persons’ self-identity is based upon social identities other than national identity.

The reason why a Taiwanese does not care much about “who she or he is in terms of national identity” should be placed in the specific context ideology proposed by the colonizer politically, socially, and culturally. To take from the empirical data of this study, we can find three types of “low-salience patterns” among the selected biographees: “liberalism version” (Ming-min Peng during adolescence and early adulthood), “talent-centered version” (Tsing-fang Chen from childhood to early adulthood), and “cosmopolitanism version” (Tsing-fang Chen in early adulthood). In Ming-min Peng’s case, though being categorized as the first version of low-salience patterns in his early adulthood, he could also be seen as possessing the second version to some extent.

Furthermore, in Tsing-fang Chen's case, he held the second and third versions of low-salience attitudes in his early adulthood at the same time. As a matter of fact, there exists different mechanisms for explaining the forming process of different versions of low-salience patterns. We shall provide a more detailed discussion regarding the matter in Section Five of this chapter.

11.3.4 Taiwanese Identity Patterns

In this study, the so-called "*Taiwanese identity*" can be defined as "the perception of treating oneself as Taiwanese basically in terms of one's political, ethnic, and cultural identities." It is notable that there exists exclusive relationship between "Taiwanese identity" and "Japanese/Chinese identity" in this definition. Among many different ways to define the notion of "Taiwanese identity,"⁴⁴⁰ this is, of course, only one possible definition. Nevertheless, it is the definition adopted in this study.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴⁰. It is not an easy task to define the concept of "Taiwanese identity" at all. In addition to being seen as a geographical term, the notion of "Taiwan," for sure, also has its political, economic, and historical implications. In the popular usage, the term "Taiwan" is also interwoven with some other references like "Taiwanese" (people residing in Taiwan) or "Taiwanese culture" (the lifestyle or spiritual quality relevant to the island of Taiwan). Borrowing from Cheng-feng Shih's (1999, 1-2) contention, the uniqueness of "Taiwanese identity" is that "it is a multi-dimensional, multi-layered collective identity with multiple representation." Accordingly, "the definition [of Taiwanese identity] is changeable in different settings and time frames; sometimes there also exists conflict among the different elements [of Taiwanese identity]."

Nevertheless, among student of "Taiwanese identity," the most controversial issue is related to its "nature," especially its relationship with "Chinese identity." Some scholars contend that "Taiwanese identity" is a kind of "ethnic identity" (Wen-zhi Zhang 1993), others equate it as a kind of "local identity" and "native identity" which is subordinated to "Chinese identity" (Zhang-yi Yin 1994; Zhao-ying Chen 1998a), while still others see it as a kind of "national identity," which is exclusive with "Chinese identity" from this perspective (Yang-min Lin 1988). In this study, I adopt the very last position, treating "Taiwanese identity" as a kind of "national identity" which is exclusive with "Chinese identity."

⁴⁴¹. One possible scenario is that my definition of "Taiwanese identity" is not totally as same as the biographees' own definition of "Taiwanese identity." As a matter of fact, there indeed exists this kind of situation in this study. In other words, while the biographees think they have emerged "Taiwanese

While making comparison between “Taiwanese identity” and the aforementioned “Japanese identity” and “Chinese identity,” one of the most fundamental issues is the very mechanism for generating this identity, since Taiwanese identity, different from official identity promoted by the government, is intrinsically a “dissident identity” suppressed by the official identity through every possible means.⁴⁴² *Thus, facing the powerful official identity indoctrinated by the colonizer, how can the dissident identity emerge and survive?*

At the conceptual level, I shall borrow two concepts from the literature on political socialization --- the notion of “subculture” and the concept of “free space” --- to engage with this important question. In fact, most of the earlier scholars of political socialization seem to assume that the socialization process produces an integrated nation

identity” or “Taiwanese consciousness” in some specific life stages, I do not see that kind of identity as “Taiwanese identity” based upon my own definition.

⁴⁴². All biographees in this study completed their construction of Taiwanese identity in the post-war era. Therefore, while talking about the development of Taiwanese identity, we can consider it only in the context of post-war era and neglect the context of Japanese era.

In post-war Taiwan, Taiwanese identity had been continuously suppressed by the official identity, regardless of whether it was under the Chiang regimes or during the democratization of 1990s. After the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party took power in 2000, though Taiwanese identity was no longer suppressed and oppressed by the government, nevertheless, it was still not an “official ideology,” such as Japanese identity and Chinese identity in the past, at all. After all, Taiwan still keeps its original official name --- the “Republic of China.” Furthermore, Taiwanese history is still not the national history (*beguoshi* 本國史). Rather, it is part of the curriculum called “Knowing Taiwan (*renshi Taiwan* 認識台灣),” which is treated as the “native education (*xiangtu jiaocai* 鄉土教材).”

Even though many scholars, most of them emphasize their position of “marginal groups” (Yi-huah Jiang’s usage, see Yi-huah Jiang 1998, 176) in cultural politics, began to criticize the tendency that Taiwanese identity had become a hegemonic discourse (e.g., Kuan-hsing Chen 1994, 2000; Chao 1994, 1998; Chao and Johnson 2000; Johnson 1997), yet, compared with Chinese identity, even in the year of 2004, Taiwanese identity is still a relatively marginal discourse in Taiwan, especially among the circles of popular culture and media. Part of the reason is the continuing influence caused by the so-called “Chinification of aesthetics,” which is the focus in previous sub-section. In fact, this situation can be understood from the notion of post-colonialism. While the colonized has already abandoned the colonialism in political terms, the colonizer is still able to impose their influence in non-political arena, especially culture-related domain.

of homogeneous population, at least to the degree that it succeeds (Jaros 1973, 7-18). In other words, while stressing conformity, convention and retention of the status quo, they emphasize the importance of “loyalty” to the regimes in the study of political socialization.

The first works that note that political socialization in America does not necessarily result in a homogeneous population, well-adjusted to the power system, are studies of socialization within “subcultures” (e.g., Coles 1974; Greenberg 1970a; H. Hirsch 1971; Johnston 1993; Johnston and Snow 1998; Weinberg 1982). Jaros (1973, 30) finds that any separatist culture is an obvious example of mass socialization to non-support, as is the American Revolution itself, the South in the Civil War, and Quebec today. For instance, after interviewing with Hopi children, the children of migrant farmworkers in Florida, and the children of tenant farmers in the Mississippi delta, Coles (1974) finds consistently that they had a conscious sense of not being part of the political system, and were accustomed to verbalizing their distance from it. Furthermore, in his edited book *Political Socialization*, Greenberg (1970a) also includes several studies of subculture: Black, poor White in Appalachia, and White students. In all cases, there was a preponderant absence of attachment to the system. Also, however, in all these cases except one --- the case of the students, the one non-poor group in the collection --- the subcultural socialization was to a passive dissent, as Coles also finds.

In addition to the idea of “subculture,” another useful concept to borrow is the notion of “free space” (e.g., Allen 1970; Boyte 1980; Evans and Boyte 1986; Groch 2001). In Harry Boyte’s *Backyard Revolution: Understanding the New Citizen Movement* (1980), a book about community activism around the United States, he finds

that community movement usually arose out of social arenas with some degree of independence. His report is a virtual smorgasbord of such instances, finding with regularity that community campaigns were incubated in senior citizens' centers, neighborhood parishes and congregations, union locals, and other social spaces of organic relations. Boyte adds that this paralleled the Civil Rights Movement of a generation earlier, in which Black protestors usually came from among the few institutions not controlled by Whites, the Black churches and the Black-owned business, such as beauty parlors, barber shops and mortuaries.⁴⁴³ In other words, though facing the ideological indoctrination from the state apparatus, it is still possible for us to find the existence of some "free space," which plays an important role in directing some people toward the development of a dissident identity.

On the ground of the aforementioned discussion, we can start to explore the mechanism for producing Taiwanese identity among the biographees in this study. Five observations are noted. While the first point is related to the experience when these activists were still in Taiwan, the last two points are pertinent to their overseas experience only. Then, the second and third points are applicable to both their earlier Taiwanese occurrence and their later overseas experience.

⁴⁴³. In Aldon D. Morris's *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (1984), one of the modern classics in the sociological field of social movements, the author successfully further elaborates Boyte's notion of "free space." Nevertheless, the very terms adopted by Morris are "internal organization" and "movement halfway house," rather than "free space" itself.

As a matter of fact, in the sociological field of social movements, Boyte's concept of "free space" can also be put into the newly emerging theoretical perspective of "social network" (e.g., Diani and McAdam 2002; Roger V. Gould 1991, 1995; Fernandez and McAdam 1988; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Knoke 1990; Lofland 1968; McAdam and Fernandez 1990; McPherson, Lynn, and Cook 2001). Yet, it seems that different authors, just like Morris, still adopt different terms to refer to the social arena where social movement occurs. Some use the term "youth ghetto" (Lofland 1968), others employ the term "submerged

(11.3.4.a) The first point is about the influence of *family and other social network* in the process of political socialization. Following the notions of “subculture” and “free space,” it is appropriate to contend that family and other social network (e.g., peer groups), which can be understood as a kind of non-public sphere, are probably the most important mechanisms for constructing the alternative identity that is not necessarily as same as the official identity proposed by the state apparatus. In fact, as shown in some empirical studies, through the help of socialization agents like family or other social networks, it is quite possible for people to hold a dissident identity that is totally contradictory to the official identity, as was the case for the participants of Catalan nationalist movement in Spain (Johnston 1991), the revolutionists affiliated with the Republican Sinn Féin in Northern Ireland (White and Fraser 2000), the activists of Estonian Independence Movement under the repression of Stalin (Johnston and Snow 1998), or the Protestant ministers protesting against the Communist dictatorship in former East Germany (Pieratt 1998).

In this study, there were only two biographees, Trong Chai and Strong Chuang, with Taiwanese identity during their childhood. To some extent, both of them could be understood as the product of family socialization. Then, Wu-sheng Wu and Trong Chai, both of them possessed Taiwanese identity in adolescence, could be seen as being influenced by the peer groups during this period. Finally, in Ming-min Peng’s case, the private discussion held at his house in early adulthood could also be understood as an example of the “free space,” which functioned as an important medium to transform the

network” (Melucci 1989; Mueller 1994), while still others propose the term “micromobilization contexts” (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1988).

participants' original official identity into dissident identity.

(11.3.4.b) The second mechanism for generating the dissident identity is “*feeling of injustice*.” Following Klandermans’ (1997, 38) contention, we can define “feeling of injustice” as “outrage about the way authorities are treating a social problem.” In the existing literature, several possible sources of this feeling have been identified by the researchers, ranging in focus from the existence of “illegitimate inequality” (e.g., Folger 1986; Major 1994) to “suddenly imposed inequality” (e.g., Molotch 1970; Walsh 1988) to “violated principles” (e.g., Kriesi 1993). As people begin to develop feeling of injustice, they will change their attitudes toward the authority simultaneously, no matter what the sources of this feeling are.

In this study, we can find “feeling of injustice” among three biographees at least. We turn to Mu-sheng Wu’s case first. In his autobiography, he mentions his feeling of grievance toward the KMT in different life stages again and again. For example, while witnessing the “White Terror” of 1950s conducted by the KMT, he expresses with a deep exclamation in the following way: “In my mind, I think it is those [KMT] officers, who created the environment that led those people to radicalize, that should be punished, rather than those patriotic youth” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 77). In his college years, Wu found that the KMT had changed the policy of overseas studying for two years to allow high school graduates to study abroad directly, because Cheng Chen, a high ranked KMT official, wanted his son to go to the United States for college education after graduating from high school. He wrote with anger in his autobiography: “The KMT never obeys any law and rule created by itself” (Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 98). Finally, after graduating from college and being discharged from the military, as a chemical engineer at Taiwan

Sugar Company, he realized that he did not have any opportunity to be promoted at all, not because his performance was bad, but rather because he was a Taiwanese without the KMT membership. These experiences of injustice in everyday life definitely played a significant role in the forming process of Wu's dissident identity.

We next turn to Trong Chai's case. At the age of twelve, after witnessing the incident that his father was arrested by the KMT government without rhyme or reason, Chai began to hate this "motherland" government from the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Later, as a senior at high school, he was under arrest at the detention house for over twenty hours due to some unimportant confrontation with a policeman. This incident not only caused him to be enraged, but also led him to reach the decision of "conducting political reform in Taiwan" (Chai 1990, 17). Finally, when he served as the chairperson of student government at NTU, both administrators and military instructors at school made difficulties for his every proposed activity, due to his status as a non-KMT member. "This experience," expressed in his autobiography, "led me to develop a strong sense of being oppressed" (Chai 1990, 23). To Chai, these experiences, though not necessarily being involved in the serious "national affairs," were one of the significant factors influencing the formation of his dissident identity.

Finally, we talk about Tsing-fang Chen's case. During his second year as a graduate student in Paris, Chen found that one of his housemates was a student spy sponsored by the KMT. His anger about the fact was clearly illustrated in his diary: "With the privilege of going aboard not through the examination of overseas study, they are paid \$180 dollars per month, almost double the amount of money we get from our scholarship. Furthermore, for every case report they prepare [for the government],

they can get extra pay of \$40 dollars. While we do not have enough money to buy our textbooks, they do have extra money to live luxuriously” (Tsing-fang Chen 1996a, 164).

(11.3.4.c) The third factor is the influence of significant *historical events*. Within the field of political socialization, the literature relevant to “period effect” or “historical effect,” though not a major subfield, still have produced some interesting and important research (e.g., Duncan and Agronick 1995; Raviv et al. 1998; Sears 2002; Sears and Valentino 1997; Stewart 1994; Valentino and Sears 1998). Following Alwin, Cohen and Newcomb’s (1991, 17) contention, we can define “historical effect” as historical events and social-cultural trends occurring in a society at any given time, such as political crises, natural disasters, or economic fluctuations, which affect large number of persons in a dramatic way.

In this study, I find the existence of at least two historical events that influenced the content of these biographees’ national identity: “February 28 Incident” of 1947 and “Formosa Incident” of 1979. We turn to the former event first.

In Taiwan’s modern history, it seems fair to claim that no event has been more influential than “February 28 Incident” in terms of the development of Taiwanese nationalism. Tsun-lien Chen (1995, 15), a political scientist, states in a straight line that “‘February 28 Incident’ is the event with the most serious confrontation, the greatest casualties, and the greatest influence in Taiwan’s post-war history.”⁴⁴⁴ In this study,

⁴⁴⁴. Tsun-lien Chen is not the only scholar making this kind of statement. Yen-hsian Chang (1998, 471), another prominent scholar of Taiwanese history, also expresses that “February 28 Incident is the most influential event in Taiwan’s modern history. Currently, many unsolved problems in Taiwanese society, such as political structure, ideology, national identity, and social culture, are deeply related to this incident. Without the fundamental knowledge about the February 28 Incident, it is impossible for us to understand comprehensively the core of so-called Taiwan question.” Similar perspective can also be found in Hsiao-feng Li (1993, 2) and Qin-ren Zheng (1998, 5).

almost every biographee had related to this incident: some of them encountered this event personally (e.g., Ming-min Peng, Mu-sheng Wu, and Trong Chai), others had family members being arrested or oppressed in this incident (e.g., Ming-min Peng's father and Fang-ming Chen's father), while still others used this event as the starting point in their forming process of Taiwanese identity (e.g., Tsing-fang Chen and Fang-ming Chen).

We turn to Ming-min Peng's case first. At the age of twenty-four, Peng, as a student of political science at NTU at that time, encountered the "February 28 Incident" personally. He recalls his experience at that time in the following way: "During the height of the excitement at Taipei, we students at the university gathered at the medical school auditorium to discuss the situation. There was no organization, and the meetings were inclusive" (Ming-min Peng 1994, 67). While participating in this incident only at the level of "discussion," Peng could not count to have first-hand experience of the event. However, his father, when serving as the representative to negotiate with the KMT's troops on behalf of citizen of Kaohsiung during this event, was almost killed by the military officers. After this life-or-death crisis, Peng's father was overwhelmingly disappointed with the Chinese politics thereupon. In his memoir, Peng describes the transformation of his father's attitudes toward national identity after this experience in the following way:

Henceforth he would have nothing more to do with politics and public affairs under the Chinese. His was the bitterness of a betrayed idealist. He went so far as to cry out that he was ashamed of his Chinese blood and wished that his children after him would always marry foreigners until his descendants could no longer claim to be Chinese. (Ming-min Peng 1994, 69)

In his autobiography, Mu-sheng Wu (2000, 210) also mentions that “In my mind, the notion of Taiwan independence had never been modified or changed since the ‘February 28 Incident.’” One day in March 1947, Wu, then a 13-year-old school boy who just entered the first grade at middle school for a short time, walked to school and found the following scenario:

I saw students of higher grades fetched the rifles from the storehouse, putting them on the athletic field. Nobody in the school opposed this behavior. Though still a young kid, I also agreed with their action. While facing the absolutely lawless government, what were people’s rights? They had the right to do revolution. (Mu-sheng Wu 1990, 11)

Trong Chai, then a 12-year-old child of six grade at elementary school, also helped put up poster throughout the village in the “February 28 Incident,” due to the encouragement from Teacher Lin, his class teacher. When Mr. Lin and other youth in the village went to the Chiayi Airport to attack the KMT’s troop, Chai turned the radio on all the time, wishing to learn more about their progress in the “battleground” (Chai 1990, 11).

Though not having the first-hand experience of the “February 28 Incident,” Tsing-fang Chen, as a graduate student at University of Paris, learned the fact about this incident after reading some books. Since then, “I gradually knew the bitter side of Taiwan’s history and walked off from art world in ‘ivory towers’” (Tsing-fang Chen 2003, 2). Finally, as far as the post-war generation like Fang-ming Chen, who was born after the incident, was concerned, his father was arrested during this event and almost killed by the KMT’s troop.

The second historical event with much influence on the biographees of this study is

the “Formosa Incident” of 1979. Though most of the activists mentioned the effect of this incident on their status of national identity (e.g., Mu-sheng Wu, Trong Chai, Strong Chuang, and Fang-ming Chen), nevertheless, Fang-ming Chen’s case deserves our closest attention. In addition to Fang-ming Chen, at the time when this incident broke out in 1979, all other cases had already possessed Taiwanese identity deeply. In other words, the effect of this incident was to strengthen, rather than to transform, their existing identity. In Fang-ming Chen’s case, nevertheless, he was still at the immersion-emersion stage when this incident occurred. In view of that, this event was really a great shock to him, causing him to abandon Chinese identity and to embrace Taiwanese identity. Chen expresses his perception of this event in the following way:

Personally, without the influence from the [Formosa] Incident, it was impossible for me to involve with politics. Due to the impact of this event, I began to understand the reality of Taiwan’s politics and to realize the impossibility of intellectuals in ivory towers to solve Taiwan’s real-life problem. *After the occurrence of “Formosa Incident,” I switched on everything from my academic focus to my attitudes toward literature to my political belief.* (Fang-ming Chen 1999a, 2; emphasis added)

(11.3.4.d) The forth factor is the influence from the *overseas Taiwanese organizations*. Conceptually, overseas Taiwanese organizations can be understood as a kind of “ethnic organizations.” Though the “superficial” function of ethnic organizations is to promote and preserve the ethnic heritage, nevertheless, most of the students of political socialization dealing with ethnic or minority groups have pointed out that these organizations have other functions as well. These organizations are a natural lobby for ethnic programs, keeping the government aware of their presence and needs (Hawkins 1972; Paul 1999; Reitz 1980). They may reflect minority reactions to bad

conditions and encourage their members to unite against conformity to any host norms (M. Miller 1981; Kurien 2001, 2004; Schmitter 1980). Furthermore, these organizations also may help their members to adjust the different kinds of challenges (e.g., school, language, religion, and the like) they have to deal with in the new environment (Breton 1964).⁴⁴⁵

To some extent, overseas Taiwanese organizations are the clearest example of the so-called “free space” discussed in the very beginning of this section. While these activists were still in Taiwan, it was difficult, though not totally impossible, to imagine the existence of the “free space” in reality, due to the ubiquitous presentation of KMT’s special agents under the authoritarian rule. Nevertheless, after they leaving for Taiwan, the overseas Taiwanese organization, especially those grounded on campus, became a very critical medium to transform their national identity.

For example, Strong Chuang’s identity transformation was deeply related to the activities of the Taiwanese Association at Kansas State University. As soon as arriving at KSU, Chuang entered the encounter stage immediately, thanks to those publications of overseas Taiwan Independence Movement, which were offered by some other Taiwanese students living at the same dormitory with him. He was so touched by these magazines and books. Then, through the help of the Taiwanese Association again, Chuang entered the immersion-emersion stage, as he was eager to find some other comrades sharing the

⁴⁴⁵. In a personal communication, Prema Kurien has provided me some explanations about the possible causes of diasporic nationalism in the American context, which include: (1) the host country (U.S.) context; (2) process of community formation in the U.S.; (3) migration process; (4) migration selectivity; and (5) home country factors (Kurien 2003). To my best knowledge, this is the most comprehensive analytical framework regarding the phenomenon of diasporic nationalism so far. However, due to the specific nature of data adopted in this study, I do not think it is possible to explore the appropriateness of these factors in the following discussion.

same perspective with him. He not only enthusiastically participated in the activity sponsored by the Taiwanese Association, but also actively took part in the debate on the correctness of Mrs. Becker's documentary about Taiwan on campus newspaper. Later, he happened to meet Hung-mao Tian, his classmate at middle school, again through the network of Taiwanese Association, promising Tian to join the organization of overseas Taiwan Independence Movement when the opportunity was up. Within one year after leaving for Taiwan, Chuang joined the United Formosans in America for Independence with some other friends at KSU.

(11.3.5.e) The last factor relevant to the formation of Taiwanese identity is new information acquired abroad. In this study, many of the cases, including Mu-sheng Wu, Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chuang, and Fang-ming Chen, related their formation of Taiwanese identity to the experience of reading some publications released by the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement. This result was not surprising at all. Except Fang-ming Chen, who came to the United States in 1974, all other biographees went overseas in the 1960s or earlier. At that time, the KMT used every possible means to monopolize all available information, among them the adoption of standardized textbooks at different levels of schools, the restriction on any news not fitting its ideology, and the blockage of any knowledge threatening its legitimacy of ruling Taiwan. The great power of these publications had to be understood in this context. They were totally unavailable inside the island of Taiwan; their contents were completely different from the knowledge those biographees had learned while they were still in Taiwan; and they were written by students going abroad for advanced study, just like those biographees.

11.4 The Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: A Typological Analysis

While our concern in previous section is the “patterns of national identity” in these biographees’ different life stages, in this section, we shall try to integrate these patterns into some types on the ground of the “process of national identity formation.” We turn to Table 11.2 first.

(Table 11.2 about here)

Basically, this table is the modified version of Table 11.1. In previous section, I categorize the “national identity patterns” into four types: Japanese identity, Chinese identity, low-salience attitudes, and Taiwanese identity. Since the focus of this study is the “process where these activists acquired their Taiwanese identity,” for the analytical purpose, we can treat both Japanese identity and Chinese identity as one type of national identity --- the “non-Taiwanese identity.” After all, the process where these activists transformed their national identity from “non-Taiwanese identity” to “Taiwanese identity” is the focal point of this study. In addition to the consideration of analytical convenience, the similarity between Japanese identity and Chinese identity in reality is also quite substantial in terms of their “intrinsic nature,” since both of them can be categorized as a kind of “official identity” promoted by the state apparatus. Therefore, in Table 11.2, I label both Japanese identity and Chinese identity as “non-Taiwanese identity.” In this situation, the number of “national identity patterns” decrease from four to three, including “non-Taiwanese identity,” “low-salience attitudes,” and “Taiwanese identity.”

Table 11.2

Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: Typological Analysis

	Childhood	Adolescence	Early Adulthood	Adulthood Conversion	Identity Recycling during Exile I	Identity Recycling during Exile II	Identity Recycling after Democratization ^a
Ming-min Peng (1923 -)	Japanese Identity: Social Stigma Version	Low Salience: Liberalism Version	Low Salience: Liberalism Version + Talent-centered Version	Taiwanese Identity: Liberalism Version	Taiwanese Identity: Liberalism Version + Self-determination Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: de Facto Independence Version
Mu-sheng Wu (1934 -)	Japanese Identity: Moderate Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Typical Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Taiwanese American Version
Trong R. Chai (1935 -)	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Typical Version	Taiwanese Identity: Self-determination Version	Taiwanese Identity: de Facto Independence Version
Tsing-fang Chen (1936 -)	Low Salience: Talent-centered Version	Low Salience: Talent-centered Version	Low Salience: Talent-centered Version + Cosmopolitan Version	Taiwanese Identity: Historical/Cultural TI Version	Continuation of Previous Pattern	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Taiwanese American Version
Strong C. Chuang (1938 -)	Taiwanese Identity: Native Consciousness Version	Chinese Identity: Moderate Version	Chinese Identity: Moderate Version	Taiwanese Identity: Typical Version	Continuation of Previous Pattern	Not Applicable	Continuation of Previous Pattern
Fang-ming Chen (1947 -)	Not Available	Chinese Identity: Social Stigma Version	Chinese Identity: Social Stigma Version	Taiwanese Identity: Historical/ Cultural TI Version	Continuation of Previous Pattern	Not Applicable	Taiwanese Identity: Post-colonialism Version

Source: Made by author.

Black Area = Type of “Early Socialization” White Area = Type of “Adulthood Conversion” Grey Area = Type of “Identity Recycling”

Based upon the status of national identity in these biographees' early adulthood, we can further divide them into two rough categories: some of them had possessed Taiwanese identity in early adulthood already, while others had not. Whereas Mu-sheng Mu and Trong Chai can be assigned to the former category, other cases can be treated as the latter category. We can label the former category as the "type of early socialization" (the black cells in Table 11.2), because they had held Taiwanese identity already before studying abroad and *their Taiwanese identity was the product of socialization experience while they were still in Taiwan.*

As far as the latter is concerned, I label them as the "type of adult conversion" (the white frames in Table 11.2). This type is referred to those activists who had not possessed Taiwanese identity yet when still in Taiwan. Rather, they had held Chinese identity or low-salience attitudes at that time, such as Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chuang, and Fang-ming Chen. *Their Taiwanese identity was the product of their identity transformation after they studied abroad.* Some of them had carried Taiwanese identity to some extent (e.g., Strong Chuang in his childhood). However, they finally shifted from Taiwanese identity to Chinese identity, because the power of official identity, which was promoted by the whole state apparatus, was too strong to resist. Nevertheless, after going abroad for further study, due to the influence of new experience and the stimulus of new information, they went through the process of "conversion," borrowed from the religious term, shifting their national identity from Chinese identity or low-salience attitudes to Taiwanese identity.

It is notable that I also put Ming-min Peng within the category of "adult conversion." As a matter of fact, while comparing Peng's process of national identity

formation with other cases, his situation is quite different from all of them. On the one hand, though having the experience of studying abroad, the “timing” of his identity transformation was not during this overseas period, neither did his identity transformation occur in the host countries where he studied in terms of the “location” of identity transformation. Rather, he sifted toward Taiwanese identity after coming back to Taiwan and serving the professorship at NTU for several years already. From this perspective, his experience is not as same as Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chuang, and Fang-ming Chen.

On the other hand, he was already over forty years old when he changed his national identity toward Taiwanese identity. In this view, he is different from Mu-sheng Wu and Trong Chai, both of them are categorized into the type of “early socialization.” After long consideration, I decide to put Peng under the category of “adult conversion.” Though his identity transformation did not happen in the period of overseas study, he did encounter this experience during his adulthood, which was more similar to the cases belonging to the type of “adult conversion.”

Regardless of whether these activists belong to types of “early socialization” or “adult conversion,” even after finishing their construction of Taiwanese identity, their identity journey would never totally stop. Rather, they would continue to modify the content of their national identity, due to the environmental change and personal growth. I label the identity transformation after their possession of Taiwanese identity as the “type of “identity recycling” (the gray cells in Table 11.2). We can find “identity recycling” among all biographees in this study.

In sum, we can divide these activists’ “process of national identity formation” into

three types: “type of early socialization,” “type of adult conversion,” and “type of identity recycling.”

11.5 The Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: The Establishment of an Identity Formation Model

Facing the aforementioned patterns of national identity formation (i.e., “early socialization,” “adulthood conversion,” and “identity recycling”), we can integrate them together to construct a more comprehensive model of national identity formation (see Figure 11.1). This model is grounded on the empirical data extracted from this study as well as the insights revealed in the “life span model of Black identity development” proposed by Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001).

(Figure 11.1 about here)

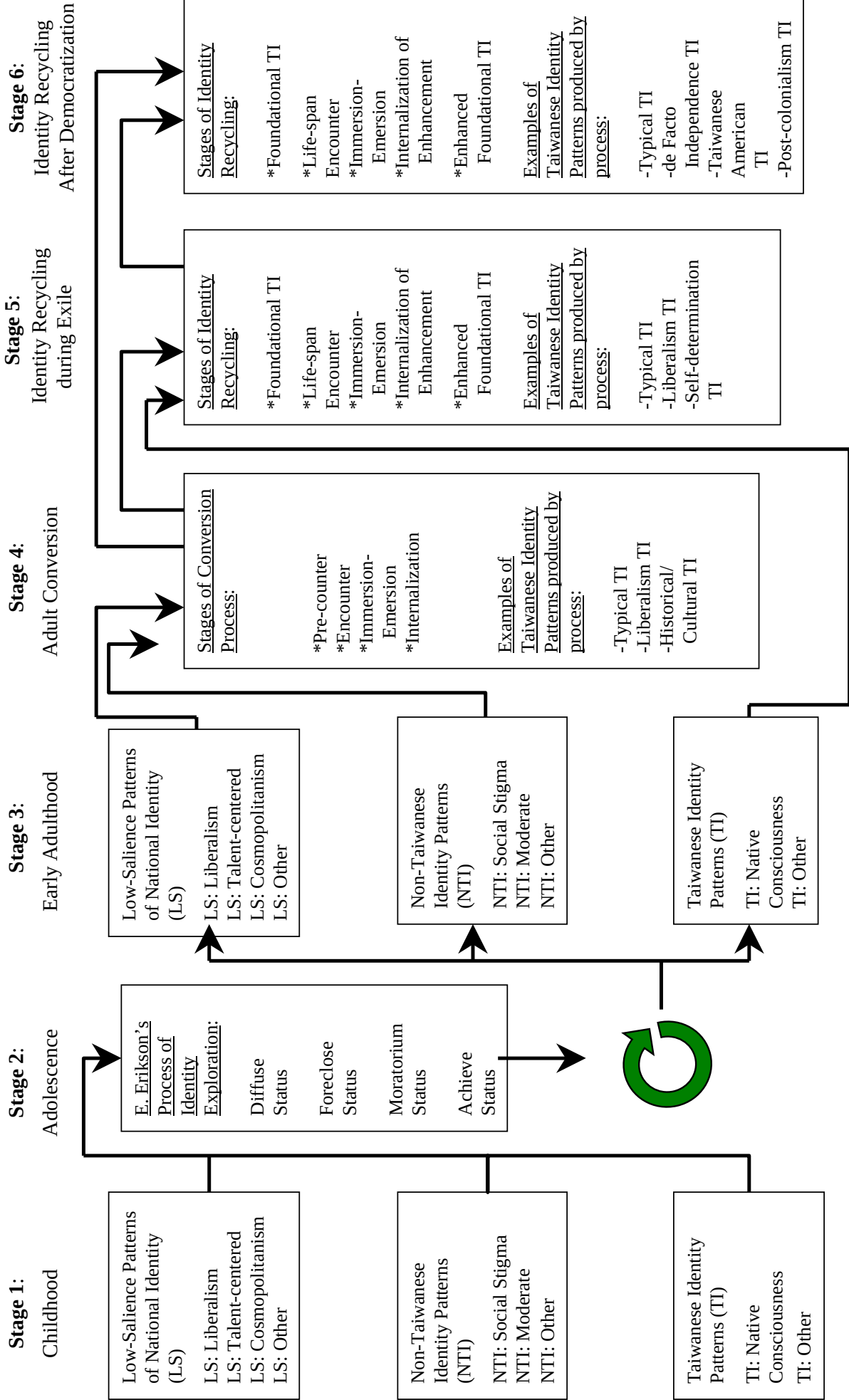
In this model, I divide the forming process of national identity among these U.S. TIM activists into six stages: (1) childhood; (2) adolescence; (3) early adulthood; (4) adult conversion; (5) identity recycling during exile; and (6) identity recycling after democratization.

I adopt three principles as the criteria of this periodization. *First of all*, to consider the status of national identity in different “life stages,” I refer to the literature on developmental psychology (especially those relevant to the study of “identity”),⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁶. In the field of developmental psychology, most of the works I refer to are the “standard” literature, including Adelson (1980); Baltes, Reese, and Nesselroade (1988); Bornstein and Lamb (1999); Fisher and Lerner (1994); Newman and Newman (1987); and Sroufe et al. (1996). For the more specific literature on “identity” in this field, refer to Adams, Gulotta, and Montemayor (1992); Block (1984); Erikson (1968); Kroger (1993); Marcia (1966); and Marcia et al. (1993).

Figure 11.1

Descriptive Model of Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists



SOURCE: Modified from Cross and Phagen-Smith (2001, 249) for the empirical data of this study

political socialization (especially those relevant to “ethnic socialization” and “political socialization of activists”),⁴⁴⁷ and life course.⁴⁴⁸ Basically, the first three stages in this model --- childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood --- are based upon the insights revealed from the aforementioned literature.

In this model, the specific age ranges of the first three stages are as following: (1) childhood (birth to 12 years); (2) adolescence (13 to 18 years); and (3) early adulthood (23-year-old to the time these activists left Taiwan for advanced study).⁴⁴⁹ Since the concern of this study is the content of “national identity,” this periodization is similar to Erikson’s notion of “stages of psychosocial development” to some extent. According to Erikson’s theory, the age ranges of each stage are only approximations, since the person moves from one stage to another after psychological events have occurred in a

⁴⁴⁷. For the general literature on political socialization, refer to Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson (1977); Dennis (1973); Greenberg (1970a); Ichilov (1990); Jaros (1973); Renshon (1977, 1992); and Sigel (1970, 1989, 1995). Due to the decline of this interdisciplinary field since the mid-1980s, most of the significant works in this field were published in the 1970s.

For the specific literature on “ethnic socialization,” refer to Greeley (1975); Greenberg (1970b); D. Miller (1999); Morris, Hatchett, and Brown (1989); Phinney and Rotheram (1987); and van Ausdale and Feagin (1996). For the works relevant to “political socialization of activists,” refer to M. Braungart and R. Braungart (1990); della Porta (1992a); Gergen and Ullman (1977); Keniston (1968, 1970); Mendelsohn and Luby (1970); and Rohter (1970).

⁴⁴⁸. In the field of life course, the works related to this project include Alwin, Cohen, and Newcomb (1991); M. Braungart (1993); Clausen (1986, 1993); Elder (1998); Gubrium, Holstein, and Buckholdt (1994); and Wasburn (1994).

⁴⁴⁹. In this model, I combine the criteria adopted by Wasburn (1994); M. Braungart (1993); and Newman and Newman (1987) to define the specific age ranges. Although I have discussed my definition of “early adulthood” in previous footnote, I shall repeat the rationale here again. In this study, I use both chronological ages and “significant event” in these activists’ life histories to determine the scope of “early adulthood.” Specifically, I see “early adulthood” as from 23-year-old to the time when these activists left Taiwan for advanced study. Among these biographees, the time they went overseas for advanced study was between ages 26 to 31.

In the field of political socialization and life course, it is not quite common to use the “marker events” as the criteria for periodizing the life history. For the basic argument regarding the viability of the event-centered model as a method for studying the temporal patterns of individual lives, refer to Clarke (1998) and Taylor (1998).

psychological sense rather than because of the coming of chronological age. In other words, each person has his or her own timetable for growth.

Second, in this model, I also have to take the “transformation stages” relevant to the national identity formation seriously. Therefore, I use the insights revealed from literature on “racial/ethnic identity formation models” as my second criteria to make this model. To these scholars (especially Cross and his colleagues), “conversion”⁴⁵⁰ seems to be the most significant concept in their effort of model construction. Following their suggestions, to see the notion of “conversion” as the key concept, I periodize this very process into three phases: pre-conversion phase (the first three sages), conversion phase, and post-conversion phase (the last two stages).

Finally, in addition to theoretical consideration, I also consider the role played by the “real” life experiences of these activists while constructing this model. In his discussion of the “life course model of political socialization,” Wasburn (1994, 8) correctly points out that the specific stages defined in every research project are different because they are “determined by the topic of research and by the theoretical interests of the investigator.” Accordingly, although there should be only one stage in the post-conversion phrase (i.e., identity recycling) from the perspective of “racial/ethnic identity formation theory,” in my model, I contend that it is more appropriate to divide this phrase into two different stages --- “identity recycling during exile” and “identity recycling after democratization.” After all, many U.S. TIM activists chose to end their

⁴⁵⁰. Most of the time, Cross and his colleagues describe the process of identity transformation as “Nigrescence” (i.e., the Negro to Black process) (see Cross 1978, 1989, 1995, 2001; Cross and Fhagen-Smith 1996; Cross, Parham, and Helms 1991, 1997). However, Cross also directly adopts the term “conversion” to label this process sometimes (see Cross 1971, 1976).

exile and come back Taiwan for launching a new battle in their homeland after Taiwan's democratization, which was gradually emerging after the lift of Taiwan's martial law in 1987. For that reason, I decide to have two stages, rather than one, for describing these activists' experiences during the phrase of "identity recycling."

11.5.1 Stage 1: Childhood

In order to understand children's conceptions of politics, we can borrow insights from two fields: developmental psychology and political socialization. On the one hand, for students of developmental psychology, as the child grows, he or she becomes better able to coordinate sensory-motor information, language develops, and cognitive structures become more complex. As the child's cognitive capabilities grow and mature through experience, his or her ability to "conceptualize" politically develops gradually (M. Braungart 1993, 80-1). However, "[l]acking the conceptual skills to comprehend politics the way adults do, the child views the political scene not so much in rose-colored pastels but in shades of black and white" (Gallatin 1980, 354). *The cognitive-developmental view emphasizes clear "limits" to children's ability to understand and learn about politics* (M. Braungart 1993, 81).

On the other hand, according to the proponents of political socialization approach, the individual's political orientations are largely learned, significantly influenced by the efforts of various "agents" of political socialization, such as parents, teachers, media, peers, and the political regime. According to the numerous empirical research in the field, the family is the first agent of general socialization as well as political socialization (e.g., Hyman 1959; Davies 1965; Easton and Dennis 1969; Greenstein 1965; Hess and

Torney 1968; Jennings and Niemi 1968; 1981).⁴⁵¹ During the initial period of their physical, intellectual and moral development, family has almost exclusive control over the children. For a long time, it is the only source to which the children can turn for the satisfaction of all basic needs. In a classical essay, Davies (1965) contends that children identify with, act, and think like those who are relevant to the satisfaction of their needs. In fact, the family is the first setting in which children can observe and participate in processes of making social decisions. It is through the family the individuals acquire many of their politically relevant identities such as religion and ethnicity (Wasburn 1994, 12).

In addition to family, after the children are old enough to begin their formal education, the school constitutes a second major agent of political socialization. In all modern societies, the school has some formal program of political education aimed at transmitting a more or less well-defined set of beliefs and values. “[A]ll national educational systems indoctrinate the oncoming generation with the basic outlook and values of the political order” (Key 1963, 316). A substantial amount of such political socialization occurs at the grade school level. In addition to the overt content of what is officially taught, teaching practices and the presentation of implicit role models, the so-called “hidden curriculum,” is also part of the process of political learning in most of the schools (Jennings and Niemi 1974; Patrick 1977; Wasburn 1986).

⁴⁵¹. I shall refer to two oft-cited quotations to emphasize the point. In his *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior*, Herbert H. Hyman --- one of the most significant scholars in the early development of the field of political socialization --- directly puts, “Foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family” (1959, 69). In *Political Socialization*, another important book in the 1970s, Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson also point out, “The family universally serves as one of the most important sources of socialization” (1977, 114).

As far as the biographees in this study are concerned, during childhood, their content of national identity is strongly influenced by the “significant others,” especially parents and teachers. To some extent, we can even claim that their statuses of different types of identity, national identity included, are the reflection of their significant others (Waterman and Archer 1990, 39). In this research, I find the existence of all three types of national identity during these activists’ childhood --- “low-salience patterns of national identity,” “non-Taiwanese identity patterns,” and “Taiwanese identity patterns.” We turn to the “low-salience patterns” first.

(11.5.1.a) The first type is “low-salience patterns of national identity” (hereafter LS patterns). In general, children raised in homes that expose them to numerous experiences that stress something other than national identity and political belief, are likely to show signs of an evolving self-concept that accords minimal significance to the fact of one’s national identity --- regardless of whether it is Taiwanese identity, Chinese identity, or Japanese identity.

In this study, in terms of childhood of these biographees, I find the existence of three subtypes of LS patterns: “liberalism version,” “talent-centered version,” and “cosmopolitanism version.” We shall turn to “liberalism version” first. While talking about the so-called “low-salience attitudes toward race,” Cross (1995, 98) mentions the existence of one subtype among his subjects. They have not given much thought to race issues, and appear dumbfounded and naïve during such discussions. They often see personal progress as a problem of free will, individual initiative, rugged individualism, and the personal motivation to achieve. Others have taken a more conscious route toward neutrality and see themselves as having reached a higher plane (i.e., abstract

humanism), beneath which lies, as they see it, the vulgar world of race and ethnicity.

When pressed to give a self-referent, they may respond that they are “human beings (or Americans) who happen to be Black.” I shall label this subtype of LS patterns as “liberalism version.”⁴⁵²

The second subtype is “talent-centered version.” In their recent essay, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 252) mention another subtype of LS patterns. For some children, they posit their identity revolving around a unique talent or competence in mathematics or the sciences, music, sports, or computer technology. In some instances, the entire notion of a “group identity” is rejected, and the emphasis is on one’s “individuality.” I use the term “talent-centered version” to describe this subtype of LS patterns.

The third subtype is “cosmopolitanism version.” It seems that the existing literature never mentions the existence of this subtype of LS patterns. Consequently, this subtype can be seen as a new discovery of this research. According to Jewell and Abate (2001, 387), cosmopolitanism can be defined as being “familiar with and at ease in many different countries and cultures.” In this sense, we can describe “cosmopolitanism version of LS patterns” as not caring much about his or her national identity because he or she regards the world as one, with people mixed together to influence each other.

⁴⁵². Cross (1995, 98) does not provide specific label for this subtype of LS patterns. Accordingly, the so-called “liberalism version of LS patterns” is created by myself for describing Ming-min Peng’s status of national identity during his adolescence and early adulthood.

Although adopting the word “liberalism” from political philosophy, it is notable that this research is not located in either the field of political thought or the field of political philosophy. In other words, while describing my subject as possessing the “liberalism version” of national identity, I do not mean that he or she “really” takes the position of “liberalism” in the sense of “political philosophy.” Rather, my intention is at best to say that his or her perception of national identity, which can be categorized as a kind of LS patterns, is based upon the “vulgar liberalism.” In spite of everything, in this context, the term is used to describe the “layperson’s” status of national identity, not the “political thinker’s” interpretation of national identity.

While taking childhood of these biographees into consideration, we can only find one subject --- Tsing-fang Chen --- with the “LS patterns” of national identity. He belongs to the “talent-centered version of LS patterns.”

(11.5.1.b) The second type is “Non-Taiwanese identity patterns” (hereafter NTI patterns). Due to the influence of significant others and the effect of school education, even though born and growing up in Taiwan, some children possess an identity not relevant to Taiwan at all. While examining the mechanism for causing this type of national identity, the educational system and cultural policy imposed by the colonizer play a quite important role in this process. Borrowing the language from Cross (1995), we can understand this situation as the product of “miseducation.” As a result of information picked up from inaccurate school texts, television programs coverage that neglects the native culture, historically distorted presentation of Taiwanese culture at museums, and the like, it is fairly easy for many children to begin to accept as fact information about Taiwanese people that is both negative and misleading.

In this study, we can find two subtypes of “NTI patterns:” “social stigma version” and “moderate version.” For children with “social stigma⁴⁵³ version of NTI

⁴⁵³. In the sociological literature, the most original and significant study about “stigma” is Erving Goffman’s *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identities* (1963, the book I refer to is 1986 version). According to his explanation, the term “stigma,” in the original Greek context, referred to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor (Goffman 1986, 1). In Goffman’s study, the term is used to refer to *an attribute that is deeply discrediting*, which can be further divided into three categories: (1) abominations of the body involving various physical deformities; (2) blemishes of individual character perceived as weak will or unnatural passions, such as mental disorder, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, and radical political behavior; and (3) tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion (1986, 3-4). In this study, the co-called “social stigma version of Japanese identity” (and “social stigma version of Chinese identity” in later discussion) can be understood as a kind of “tribal stigma.”

patterns,”⁴⁵⁴ they not only identify themselves with the colonizer (i.e., Japanese or Chinese) politically, culturally, and ethnically, but also have a kind of stigmatized perception about their own group (i.e., Taiwanese). They tend to feel very uncomfortable about their status of Taiwanese, and even see this status as a kind of “sin.” As a matter of fact, it is appropriate to claim that the “social stigma version” of national identity is purposely created by the colonizer for “cultivating” the colonized people.

This version of NTI patterns is shown on two aspects. First of all, in terms of the external behavior, the colonized people have to be able to read, write, and listen to the languages belonging to the colonizer. They also have to develop the taste of colonizer for every aspect of their everyday life, including food, clothes, habit, other lifestyles, and the like. In some extreme cases, they even want to change their skin color, physical features, and hair style, if possible, into the mode adopted by the colonizer. Second, in addition to the behavioral level, as far as the internal perception is concerned, they also have to reproduce the worldview promoted by the colonizer without any reflection. The adoption of colonizer’s ideology can serve two purposes. On the one hand, they can reinforce their superiority among the colonized. On the other hand, they can use this “real self-transformation” as an evidence to show the colonizer that they have suppressed

⁴⁵⁴. I would like to elaborate on the term “social stigma version of NTI patterns,” which may be a little bit confusing. In my usage, as far as the “social stigma version” is concerned, the identity to be stigmatized is not the so-called “Non-Taiwanese identity” (i.e., Japanese/Chinese identity). Rather, it is Taiwanese identity that is stigmatized by the subject. In other words, this term refers to those people with “Japanese/Chinese identity” and “stigmatized Taiwanese identity” at the same time.

The term “social stigma” is borrowed from Cross’s (1995, 98-9) study of the “psychology of Nigrescence.” It is notable that in Cross’s original framework, “social stigma” is treated as a variant of “low-salience attitudes toward race,” which is similar to “LS patterns” in my framework. However, in this study, “social stigma” is seen as a variant of “NTI patterns.” To some extent, the so-called “social stigma version of NTI patterns” used in this project is more similar to Cross’s earlier notion of “Anti-Black

their primordial inferiority of the colonized and are ready for the salvation from the civilization brought by the colonizer (Cai-xiu Cai 2001, 327).

The second subtype of NTI patterns is “moderate version.” Not all people with Japanese/Chinese identity possess the aforementioned “social stigma version” of identity pattern. Although having Japanese/Chinese identity, some people also possess Taiwanese identity at the same time. This statement is understandable even if it looks self-contradictory. As a matter of fact, for those people with Japanese/Chinese identity and Taiwanese identity simultaneously, the “levels” of both identities are different. While the former is seen as a kind of “national identity,” the latter is understood as a kind of “ethnic identity.” Accordingly, both identities can co-exist without real conflict. Because people with this version of national identity do have certain degree of Taiwanese identity, they do not tend to stigmatize their status as a Taiwanese. For that reason, I label this version of national identity as “moderate version of NTI patterns.”

In this study, while taking childhood of these biographees into consideration, we can only find “social stigma version of NTI patterns” in Ming-min Peng’s case, and “moderate version of NTI patterns” in Mu-sheng Wu’s case.

(11.5.1.c) The last type is “Taiwanese identity patterns” (hereafter TI patterns). Thanks to their possession of certain degree of Taiwanese identity, the significant others of some children tend to provide an environment that steers the young person toward the building of a self-concept that gives high salience to Taiwanese culture. In other words, even though facing the miseducation imposed by the colonizer, the children can still

Attitudes” (Cross 1995, 99), or his later concept of “Internalized Racism” (Cross and Fhagen-Smith 2001, 253-4).

develop a kind of Taiwanese identity because of the “protection” from their significant others.

In this study, I find eight subtypes of TI patterns during different periods among these biographees. Nevertheless, as far as their childhood is concerned, I can only find this identity patterns in Trong Chai’s and Strong Chuang’s cases. Both of them can be categorized as the “native consciousness version of TI patterns.” The co-called “native consciousness version of TI patterns” refers to the combination of “anti-KMT consciousness,” “democratic consciousness,” and “native consciousness.” However, we should not equate this version of Taiwanese identity as the political consciousness of Taiwan independence.

11.5.2 Stage 2: Adolescence

In general, the stage of adolescence can be characterized as a time of peak energy, physical vitality, and desire to be “on the go” (M. Braungart 1993, 83). In terms of the substantial life events of this stage, the experience of attending different levels of schools, including middle school, high school, and college, is probably the most significant one.⁴⁵⁵

The most important developmental change occurring during adolescence that profoundly affects the youngster’s ability to conceptualize politics is entrance into what

⁴⁵⁵. Of course, not everybody can have the educational career so smoothly. As a matter of fact, in the Taiwanese case, many people even had difficulty of entering the middle school fifty years ago. At that time, the compulsory education included elementary school only. After graduating from elementary school, for being qualified to continue their study, every pupil had to take the entrance examination. In one sense, the biographees selected in this study are quite uncommon in terms of their educational achievement. Most of them not only studies at the best college in Taiwan, but also had the doctoral degree. In other words, all of them passed the aforementioned educational route during their adolescence.

Piaget (1973) terms the stage of formal operation, where thought is capable of being abstract, hypothetical, and critical. Due to this newly acquired capacity, the adolescent develops greater conceptual ability to comprehend and evaluate civic affairs, law and government, individual rights, and the public good (Adelson 1975; Gallatin 1980). According to the proponents of psychosocial developmental theory, during this life stage, the adolescent begins to initiate a strong self-awareness and self-consciousness, attempts to find personal identity, tries to define his or her relationship to society, and strives to seek independence and autonomy (e.g., Block, Haan, and Smith 1968; Erikson 1968; Keniston 1971).

In this section, I shall limit my discussion on the identity-related topics. I shall begin with a simple introduction to James E. Marcia's (1966, 1993a, 1994) notion of "identity statuses," which can be served as the foundation for the following discussion.⁴⁵⁶ In Chapter Three, we mentioned that Marcia sees struggle relevant to identity as a required developmental task for everybody during his or her adolescence, following Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. Based upon this assumption, he develops a semi-structural questionnaire to evaluate the so-called "identity statuses" of his interviewees. Marcia describes four identity statuses for handling the psychosocial task of establishing a sense of identity: identity diffusion, identity foreclosure, identity moratorium, and identity achievement. The identity statuses are described in terms of their position on two dimensions: "exploration" and "commitment" (see Figure 3.2 in

⁴⁵⁶. After Marcia proposes the notion of "identity Status" in his dissertation (see Marcia 1964), this concept, which is the standard jargon in psychological textbook now, has been applied extensively to different types of subjects in various contexts already. For relevant literature review on these empirical studies, refer to Bourne (1978a, 1978b); Marcia (1993b); and Waterman (1982).

Chapter Three).

The first one is “identity diffusion status.” This status refers to individuals who do not have firm commitments and who are not actively trying to form them. They may never have been in an identity crisis or they may have had a period of questioning and been unable to resolve it, emerging without having made decisions regarding goals, values, and beliefs.

The second one is “identity foreclosure status.” A person is classified as this status if he or she has never experienced an identity crisis but is nevertheless committed to particular goals, values, or beliefs. These commitments are generally established relatively early in life, often on the basis of identification with parents or with other authority figures.

The third one is “identity moratorium status.” This term is used to describe a person who is currently undergoing identity exploration and is actively seeking among alternatives in an attempt to arrive at a choice. For some, the crisis is between simultaneously available alternatives for which the person is trying to weight the relative strengths and weaknesses of each. For others, the crisis is not as sharply focused but is evident in a series of changes in plans or beliefs that have been made over a number of years.

The last one is “identity achievement status.” This status refers to someone who has gone through a period of exploration and has emerged from it with relatively firm identity commitments. The choices made are generally felt to be personally expressive and provide a sense of direction for the future.

In general, before entering adolescence, children’s identity statuses can be

categorized as either “identity diffusion status” or “identity foreclosure status.”

According to Erikson, to accomplish ownership of one’s self-concept or ego identity, in adolescence, the young person must enter a phase of self-reflection and self-exploration. This process is very similar to Marcia’s notion of “identity moratorium status.” Under the best circumstances, the moratorium phase leads to a state of resolution, greater clarity of one’s thinking, and commitment to a well-conceived and reasonably integrated sense of who I am, what I represent, and the goals and aspirations that drive me. This is what Marcia calls “identity achievement status.”

The so-called “Ethnic Identity Development Model” proposed by Jean S. Phinney (1989, 1993) assumes that the identity development experiences of different ethnic and racial groups parallel the stages of Erikson’s Model. According to Phinney, ethnic and racial minorities approach adolescence with poorly developed ethnic identities (identity diffusion status), or with identities given to them by their parents or caregivers (identity foreclosure status). They may enter into an identity crisis (identity moratorium status), during which the challenges and conflicts associated with their minority or ethnic status are scrutinized. Should the person achieve a reasonable degree of resolution and clarity, his or her ethnic identity matures (identity achievement status).

Let us come back to the empirical data of this study now. Several observations are noticeable regarding the content of national identity during their adolescence among these selected biographees.

First of all, some of the cases in this stage started to challenge their parents (father particularly) and was eager to achieve their own independence and autonomy. In Ming-min Peng’s case, after being sent to Japan for further study by his father, he chose

humanity, rather than medicine, as his major. “[My parents] were ... not ... happy that I had decided not to study medicine. Suppressing their disappointment, they gave me full support, observing only that the youngest sons and daughters always have their own way” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 23). Furthermore, in Trong Chai’s case, although claiming that he was influenced by his father in terms of his interest in politics, as a sophomore at high school, he also challenged his father’s decision to remarry with another woman not long after his mother’s death. “I felt so angry. This was the first time I and my brother challenged our dad’s authority” (Tong-rong Cai 1990, 9). Finally, as far as Strong Chuang’s case is concerned, facing his father’s records of having affairs and abandoning his mother and all his brothers and sisters, Chuang “fell unfamiliar and difficult to suppress his angry [toward his father]” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 66) at the time he was ready to go to Taipei for starting his college life.

Second, with the exception of Trong Chai, in their auto/biographies, all other subjects mentioned that they were so involved in reading, especially books relevant to literature and humanity, during their adolescence. It seems fair to claim that these biographees demonstrated a precocious talent for every kind of knowledge. In Ming-min Peng’s case, while studying at high school, he not only began to read a lot of books, but also started to collect them. “I began to buy books. Soon I had a collection that was unusual for a student in the higher school. I had no cares, and could buy all the books I wanted” (Ming-min Peng 1994, 24). Furthermore, in Mu-sheng Wu’s case, he spent all available time reading different types of novels. “I went to libraries to borrow books quite often. I found that I was very interested in novels. They were either in Chinese or in Japanese. I read whatever I could borrow from the libraries”

(Mu-sheng Wu 2000, 71).

As far as Tsing-fang Chen is concerned, as a freshman at high school, he was so attracted by the Chinese classical novels. Then, in his sophomore year, he found the enjoyment of Western novels and began to read the literary works by Goethe and the like. While studying at National Taiwan University, Strong Chuang also liked to read the literary books. “There were so many books in the library. Chuang was so interested in the literary books, in particular novel. He also enjoyed the books relevant to fine arts and music” (Shuang-bu Lin 2000b, 69). Finally, in terms of Fang-ming Chen, he began his reading career at bookstand when he was still a pupil at elementary school. Then, at middle school, like other biographees, he began to find the pleasure of reading novels.

Finally, all biographees in this study had quite successful educational careers. Although not everybody studied at the best middle schools or high schools, all of them were graduates of National Taiwan University, the best university in Taiwan. The only exception is Fang-ming Chen. He studied at Fu Jen Catholic University as an undergraduate student. However, after getting his bachelor degree, he also became a graduate student at National Taiwan University. In sum, it seems that National Taiwan University played a kind of significant role in the process of these biographees’ political socialization. The possible relationship between NTU and dissident consciousness should be a research agenda deserving further examination.

In the following discussion, I shall come back to my proposed model and examine these subjects’ status of national identity during their adolescence.

(11.5.2.a) We begin with the “TI patterns.” For those subjects moving into adolescence with a positive but unexplored Taiwanese identity, they have to enter the

period of identity exploration and strive to take ownership of their self-concepts. In other words, just like most of the youngsters, they have to deal with Erikson's notion of "identity crisis" occurring in adolescence. This is depicted in Figure 11.1 by the line that connects the "TI patterns" in Stage 1 with "Erikson's process of identity exploration" in Stage 2.

To some extent, we can understand the content of their national identity during childhood as a kind of "identity foreclosure statuses," since at preadolescence one is likely to take for granted the ideas, values, beliefs, and worldview which one's parents and significant others used to construct their emergent self-concepts. However, after entering the moratorium stage of adolescence, every facet of the person's emerging identity, national identity included, is subjected to intense examination, testing, comparison, and cycles of acceptance-rejection. This tumultuous testing and sorting period allows a young person to hold up for examination the ideas about national identity that she or he wants to accept or reject. In moving from the "identity foreclosure status" that has been shaped and constructed by others to the affirmation of a self-concept based on ideas and attributes that have been "authenticated," an "identity achievement status" is accomplished.

In Phinney's theory, she seems to suggest that the dynamics of identity exploration occurring during adolescence are similar to Cross's notion of Nigrescence. The foreclosed, moratorium, and achieved identity statuses may parallel the pre-encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization stages of Nigrescence. However, two differences between Phinney's concept of identity exploration and Cross's notion of Nigrescence deserve our attention. On the one hand, in Cross's original model, the

so-called Nigrescence is thought to be solely an adult identity experience. On the other hand, in the adult Nigrescence experience, the person enters the Nigrescence cycle with a fully formed, nonrace-oriented identity that requires “conversion” to become focused on race and Black culture (Cross and Fhagen-Smith 2001, 254-5).

On the basis of these points, in this study, the subjects with Taiwanese identity before entering the stage of adolescence should not be seen as going through the process of Nigrescence. First of all, they began their identity exploration during adolescence, not adulthood. This is different from Cross’s notion of Nigrescence. Second, before entering the stage of identity exploration, they had already possessed Taiwanese identity. That is to say, they did not need the process of “conversion” to change their identity from “non-Taiwanese identity” to “Taiwanese identity.” The focus of their struggle was one of “authentication”: Of the Taiwan-centered ideas, values, and beliefs given to them by their parents and mentors, which would they authenticate and make a permanent part of their self-concepts?

In this study, there were two cases possessing the “TI patterns” during their childhood: Trong Chai and Strong Chuang. In Chai’s case, after passing through the stage of identity exploration, he successfully reconstructed his (rather than his significant others’) own Taiwanese identity. However, in Chuang’s case, after entering adolescence, he shifted his content of national identity from “TI patterns” to “moderate version of NTI patterns.” One possible explanation was that the influence of school education gradually suppressed the influence of Chuang’s mother and older brother and effectively imposed Chinese identity on Chuang.

(11.5.2.b) After discussing the “TI patterns,” we can now turn to another type of

national identity --- the “LS patterns.” To children with the “LS patterns,” national or ethnic identity does not play any significant role in their construction of self-concepts. Rather, a wide range of other social identities, such as religious-spiritual belief, gender consciousness, gay or lesbian identity, and the like, take the place of issues relevant to national identity. In some cases, they develop this kind of orientation because of their focus on some specific talents, like fine arts, music, science, or the like. In other stances, they take a kind of “vulgar individualism” or “humanist philosophy,” which may have greater weight than issues of national identity. Some extreme cases even reject any notion of “group identity.”

After entering adolescence, these children with the “LS patterns” will also experience moratorium, just like other youngsters in this stage. In Figure 11.1, the line connecting the “LS patterns” in Stage 1 with the “Erikson’s process of identity exploration” in Stage 2 reflects this very process of moratorium. However, in most of the cases, rather than issues relevant to national identity, they will center on whatever other issues, which are their concern before entering adolescence, as the core of their emergent identity.

For example, in Tsing-fang Chen’s case, he possessed the “talent-centered version of LS patterns” during his childhood. Then, facing the identity crisis in adolescence period, his focus was still on his special talents (i.e., painting), rather than on issues relevant to national or ethnic identity.

(11.5.2.c) Next, we change our subject to the “NTI patterns.” In figure 11.1, the “NTI patterns” located in Stage 1 is also linked with the “Erikson’s process of identity exploration” shown in Stage 2. In general, if there exists no obvious change in terms of

the distortion of “Taiwanese identity” imposed by the educational system, due to the youngsters’ continuous exposure to cultural values relevant to the colonizer, the chance is high that by late adolescence the people with “NTI patterns” will keep their national identity developed in the previous stage.⁴⁵⁷

However, for Ming-min Peng and Mu-sheng Wu, both of them possessing the “NTI patterns” during their childhood, they changed their content of national identity from “NTI patterns” to other types of national identity. After entering the stage of identity exploration, while Peng became “LS patterns,” Wu transformed his identity into “TI patterns.” How can we explain these changes? This is the focus in the following discussion.

(11.5.2.d) Our last topic is the “spiral figure” at the base of Stage 2 in Figure 11.1. In general, each of identity patterns depicted in childhood (i.e., Stage 1) is subject to more elaborate development during adolescence (i.e., Stage 2). It is why all the types of identity patterns listed in Stage 1 have lines that connect to the adolescent experience depicted in Stage 2. If things proceed in a somewhat linear fashion, persons who enter adolescence with a low salience type of identity will leave adolescence having achieved and habituated a more elaborate version of that low salience identity. This is true of the other types of identities as well.

However, life is seldom linear and the “spiral figure” at the very bottom of Stage 2 is meant to indicate that the identity patterns a child brings to adolescence may change so that she or he exits adolescence with a different kind of identity patterns that might have

⁴⁵⁷. This statement is based on Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s (2001, 256) observation about the identity status of those with “internal racism” in their adolescence.

been predicted.

For example, during his childhood, Ming-min Peng possessed the “social stigma version of NTI patterns.” However, after entering adolescence, he found the “liberalism” as the philosophical foundation for reconstructing his identity. Accordingly, he transformed his status of national identity from “NTI patterns” to “LS patterns.” In Mu-sheng Wu’s case, he could be categorized as the “moderate version of NTI patterns” during his childhood. Nevertheless, after experiencing the stage of identity exploration, due to the influence from his peer groups, he changed the content of his national identity into the “TI patterns.” Finally, in Strong Chuang’s case, he possessed the “TI patterns” during his childhood due to the influence from his mother and older brother. Then, after accepting more and more education, he was gradually assimilated into the Chinese culture imposed by the KMT government and shifted his national identity to “NTI patterns.”

In general, most of the people develop their national identity in a fairly linear fashion, whereby they enter and exit adolescence with the same identity content of focus. However, some of them may change the focus of their previous identities, exiting adolescence with a substantially reworked self-concept. The spiral at the bottom of Stage 2 represents the nonlinear or profound change potential of one’s adolescent years.

11.5.3. Stage 3: Early Adulthood

In general, the adult years are an important time for ego development, forming deep, close relationships, and achieving self-actualization (Erikson 1968; Roger L. Gould 1978; Sapiro 1994; Vaillant 1977). In the literature on political socialization, we can even find

the existence of so-called “impressionable years hypothesis.” According to proponents of this theoretical perspective, late adolescence and early adulthood is a particular critical period in the life span for developing lasting political orientations. In this life stage, any dispositions are unusually vulnerable, as far as given strong enough pressure to change. In other life stages, people are resistant to change, and even in the most vulnerable life stage, they will not change in the absence of substantial pressure to change (e.g., Alwin, Cohen, and Newcomb 1991; Alwin and Krosnick 1991; Marwell, Aiken, and Demerath 1987; Newcomb 1943; Newcomb et al. 1967; Sears 1983).

Early adulthood itself is distinguished from adolescence by the occurrence of a number of major “role transitions.” Two of the most important of these are entering the world of work and establishing a family of procreation (Wasburn 1994, 14). We turn to the former first. Many students of political socialization focusing on work or workplace have pointed out, entering the world of work has numerous consequences for the young adult’s political socialization (e.g., Lafferty 1989; Levin 1990; Peterson 1992; Wagner 1988). After all, for most of the remaining years of life, work and work related activities will consume a good deal of time and energy, and serve as a major source of social identity.

On the other hand, research on the socializing role of the newly established family of procreation has focused on “political partisanship.” Political party agreement between partners is about 95 percent, reflecting the phenomenon that mate selection is based on similar social grounds, and possibly political grounds as well (Wasburn 1994, 15). Another possible explanation of this phenomenon is through the means of “conversion,” i.e., the close interaction between wife and husband which results in the

similarity of partisanship (Beck 1974).

However, on the ground of the empirical data in this study, the early adulthood is probably the most insignificant period in these biographees' life histories. We can check the Table 11.1 again. According to this table, almost all biographees continued their previous patterns of national identity in this period, except Ming-min Peng and Tsing-fang Chen. Even in Peng's and Chen's cases, both of them did remain the basic patterns of national identity developed in their adolescence, only with some new elements added in this life stage. Why does early adulthood is not a key period to these biographees in terms of their development of national identity? How can we explain this result? Overall, I have some observations regarding these biographees' life events occurring in this period.

(11.5.3.a) First, under the KMT's conscription system, most of the biographees did start their military service right after graduating from college. The only exception was Ming-min Peng, who had to serve in the Japanese military force but chose to become a draft dodger. Generally speaking, to most of the veterans, the experience of military service is quite influential in terms of its effect on their political socialization.⁴⁵⁸ Nevertheless, among the five biographees with veteran status, none of them mention much about their military experience in their auto/biographies. In this situation, we have no choice but to assume that this experience does not have too much influence on their developmental process of national identity.

(11.5.3.b) Furthermore, most of the biographees also began to enter the workplace in

⁴⁵⁸. For the possible influence of military service on political socialization in the American context, Lovell and Stiehm's (1989) paper provides a quite comprehensive literature review. For the role of military in Taiwan's development, refer to Bullard (1997).

this period (Trong Chai was the only exception, he went overseas for advanced study not long after finishing his military service). In Ming-min Peng's case, he ever worked as a bank staff after graduating from college for one month. Then, because not interested much in the business world, he came back to NTU to serve as a teaching assistant and worked there for three years before going to Canada for his graduate study. Mu-sheng Wu started to work in the Taiwan Sugar Company right after being discharged from the military. Before going overseas for advanced study in 1963, he stayed there for four years.

In Tsing-fang Chen's case, he joined the "Chinese Delegation of Moral Rearmament Movement" and traveled around the world for thirteen months after being released from the military. Then, before going Paris for advanced study in 1963, he served as a English teacher at a middle school located in Tainan City for one year. Strong Chuang started his career as a government employee after finishing his military service. As a civil engineer under the Provincial Government of Taiwan, he took on this job for three years before leaving Taiwan for graduate study. Finally, Fang-ming Chen restarted his student career at NTU as a graduate student after being discharged from the army. After being awarded the Master's degree, he taught Chinese history at two colleges for one year, then went to the United States for pursuing his doctoral degree.

Judging from these biographees' life histories, it seems fair to claim that these working experiences did not have much influence on their national identity, since most of them continued their patterns of national identity developed in previous life stage.

(11.3.3.c) Third, besides Tsing-fang Chen and Strong Chunag, all other biographees did find their partners in this period: they either had got married during this stage

(Ming-min Peng, Mu-sheng Wu, and Fang-ming Chen), or had had a close girlfriend already (Trong Chai). Unfortunately, we do not know much about their partners' political orientation since these biographees do not offer much this kind of information.

(11.3.3.d) Part of the reason why early adulthood does not play a pivotal role in transforming these biographees' national identity is that I adopt a idiographic and limited definition about the scope of this life stage. While being defined as from age 23 to the time when these biographees went overseas for advanced study (occurring between ages 26 to 31), the length of this stage is much shorter than all other stages in my model. In some cases, it covers only four years. Furthermore, to most of the biographees, this period is a kind of "transition stage" in their life histories. On the one hand, before entering this stage, they had finished their college education and adolescence phase of identity exploration already. On the other hand, after a relatively short time staying in this stage, they went overseas for their further study in their next life stage. Compared with the new stimuli acquired in the new host country in next stage, the "new" experience occurred in this stage is relatively trivial and has not much influence on their political orientation.

11.5.4 Stage 4: Adult Conversion

This stage begins from the time these biographees left Taiwan for their advanced study. From their own perspective, the experience of studying overseas is definitely a marker event in their life journey, having some substantial influences on their political orientation as well as their professional career.

In the literature on political socialization, we can also find some researchers

focusing on immigrants as their subjects. Most of the students affiliated with this line of literature agree that the experience of immigration, during this process people move from the home country to the resettlement country, can be understood as a kind of “resocialization” (e.g., Avruch 1981; Elcott 1981; Eisenstadt 1954; Hoskin 1989; Vargas-Ramos 2000; Paul Wilson 1973). At the more general conceptual level, we can see “resocialization” as a variation of “adult socialization.” Research on either “resocialization” or “adult socialization” has come increasingly to recognize the malleability of political orientations during adulthood in response to life transitions, social change, mass media, and other socializing influences (Glaser and Gilens 1997, 72). To put simply, the environmental influence may continue to shape political view in adulthood. Similarly, the experience of immigration, which is a dramatic change in terms of immigrants’ social environment, may also influence the political orientation of these immigrants.

In this section, I shall discuss the possible direction of change among these biographees, based on the status of their national identity patterns in previous life stage. In next section, I shall continue the discussion, adopting a more theoretical perspective, i.e., the insights borrowed from the “racial/ethnic identity development theory,” to analyze the process of identity transformation occurring in this stage.

(11.5.4.a) We turn to “Taiwanese identity patterns” first. If the biographee acquires a sense of Taiwanese identity as a result of his or her early socialization from childhood to early adulthood, such a person will not be in need of an adult conversion experience to become what he or she already is --- people with Taiwanese identity. Therefore, in terms of Mu-sheng Wu and Trong Chai, as shown in Table 11.1, we can find the wording

of “not applicable” in the stage of adult conversion, since both of them had possessed Taiwanese identity already before going overseas for advanced study.

Accordingly, in Figure 11.1, there is no line to connect “Taiwanese identity patterns” in Stage 3 with “adult conversion” in Stage 4. If the biographees change or modify their national identity after going overseas, I will treat the very process as “identity recycling” (see later discussion), rather than “adult conversion.”

(11.5.4.b) Next, we shift attention to “low-salience patterns of national identity.”

To some people, their formative experiences help them construct a vision of the world, themselves, and others with categories, processes, and a sense of history in which national identity plays a nonessential role. Their lives are rich, textured, vital, dynamic, and full of nuance. Thus it cannot be said that they are without an identity. On the contrary, their cases do show that, with or without an emphasis on national identity, they have been ingenious in their discovery of multiple pathways to personal happiness and success.

Why, then, if such persons are living a fulfilling life, does a line connect the “low-salience patterns” in Stage 3 with “adult conversion” in Stage 4? Does not the connection suggest an inherent inadequacy or latent negativity about the low-salience patterns of national identity? In fact, such persons are prime targets for “adult conversion” because, should they encounter an incident, experience, or episode which exhausts the explanatory powers of their extant, non-national-oriented frame of reference, they might go through “adult conversion” as a means of radically changing their frame of reference. As long as persons with low-salience patterns of national identity are able to find an ecological niche that supports and sustains their identities, “adult conversion” will

not be triggered.

However, the very nature of the low-salience patterns of national identity puts them at risk of “adult conversion” because, in the face of an “encounter” which requires an explanatory system that does give salience to national-identity-related issues, such persons essentially have no answers. The “encounter” experience forces them to come to terms with the limitations of their “pre-encounter identity,” and they may slide, head first, into an identity metamorphosis. At the end of their resocialization, they will have a new or greatly modified reference group orientation that is focused on Taiwanese identity.

In this study, Ming-min Peng and Tsing-fang Chen, who had possessed the low-salience attitudes in previous stage, formally entered the phrase of “adult conversion” and began their identity journey toward Taiwanese identity.

(11.5.4.c) Finally, we turn to “non-Taiwanese identity patterns.” Very similar to people with “low-salience patterns,” after experiencing “encounter events,” people with “non-Taiwanese identity” will also have difficulty to provide themselves with a satisfactory explanation about the meaning of these events. Nevertheless, not surprising, we can find a line that runs from the “non-Taiwanese identity” in Stage 3 to “adult conversion” in Stage 4. In this study, both Strong Chunag and Fang-ming Chen, who had possessed either the “moderate version” or the “social stigma version” of non-Taiwanese identity before going abroad, entered the phrase of “adult conversion” during this period.

11.5.5 Stage 4: Adult Conversion (Cont.)

In this section, I shall put two types of national identity --- “low-salience patterns” and “non-Taiwanese identity patterns” --- together to examine their complicated process of “adult conversion.” We can refer to the box of “adult conversion” (i.e., Stage 4) in Figure 11.1. Four biographees --- Ming-min Peng, Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chunag, and Fang-ming Chen --- went through this process and finished the construction of Taiwanese identity during this stage.

(11.5.5.a) The first phrase is “pre-encounter.” The so-called “pre-encounter” can be defined as the period before the biographees entering the process of “adult conversion.” In this study, both “low-salience patterns” and “non-Taiwanese identity patterns” can be seen as the identity patterns occurring in the stage of “pre-encounter.”

(11.5.5.b) The second phrase is “encounter.” The so-called “encounter” pinpoints experiences and events that are likely to challenge the identity pattern of “pre-encounter” stage. These experiences or events force them to reconsider either their current notion of national identity, or their attitudes, feelings, and behavior toward Taiwan and Taiwan-related phenomena.

The key of Ming-min Peng’s entrance into the encounter stage was his reconsideration of “Taiwan’s international status” on the ground of his professional training. Though Peng’s encounter experience was not a visible “event” itself, it did force him to rethink the meaning of being a Taiwanese citizen under the KMT’s authoritarian rule. As a graduate student at University of Paris, after finding that his housemate was a campus spy working for the KMT government, Tsing-fang Chen was very agitated and entered the encounter stage since then. Strong Chuang came in the

encounter stage due to his experience of reading magazines and books released by the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement right after arriving at the campus of Kansas State University in 1965. Fang-ming Chen passed into the encounter stage through the “passport incident,” in which he was rejected to enter the Canadian territory because of his holding of the passport issued by the Republic of China, which did not have the formal diplomatic relationship with Canada.

While examining the commonality of these encounter experiences, we can make several pertinent observations. First of all, besides Ming-min Peng, all other biographees did have their encounter experiences not too long after going overseas for advanced study: Tsing-fang Chen experienced the “campus spy incident” after arriving in Paris for about half year, Strong Chuang fell into the encounter stage almost right after arriving in the United States, and Fang-ming Chen’s “passport incident” occurred in his first semester of graduate study in America.

Second, through these encounter experiences, these biographees were forced to question their current feelings about themselves. To these biographees, part of the reason these experiences were so influential on their identity transformation was that the reference framework they possessed in the previous stage could not provide them a satisfactory explanation about these experiences at all.

Why, if the KMT had been a “great government,” as depicted in the textbook under its own educational system, would the government have sent campus spy overseas to monitor the activity of its own citizens? Why, if Taiwanese had been as same as Chinese, based upon the KMT’s claim, would the government have assassinated all Taiwanese elites during the “February 29 Incident” of 1947? Why, if the Republic of

China had been the sole legitimate government of China in the world, just like the KMT's assertion, would other countries have not acknowledged its passport? Obviously, all these questions could not find the appropriate answers at all. In this situation, the biographees in this study had no choice but to develop a new explanatory system to solve these puzzles.

Third, all these experiences involved a strong sentiment of angry as well as a mad feeling of being deceived. Definitely, these experiences led the biographees to arouse anxiety, anomie, confusion, and confusion. They suddenly realized that one's frame of reference, worldview, or value system, which was created by the KMT government to propagandize these biographees, was "wrong," "incorrect," and "dysfunctional." To a thirty-year-old adult studying at graduate school, this was quite a great shock to their belief system.

(11.5.5.c) The third phrase is "immersion-emersion." The "immersion-emersion" can be understood as a period of transition in which the individual begins to demolish the old perspective and search for a new perception of self in terms of national identity. After experiencing the encounter events, all four biographees entered the phrase of "immersion-emersion" right away and endeavored to seek for an alternative reference frame of their national identity.

In Ming-min Peng's case, using his own home as the "base," he brought together a group of concerned students and local politicians to hold discussion regularly. They enthusiastically talked about various political issues, ranging from the KMT's corruption to Taiwan's international status. For Tsing-fang Chen, after entering the "immersion-emersion" stage, he began his long journey of searching for an alternative

identity, putting the seeking of new national identity together with the discovery of new painting style.

In Strong Chuang's case, he used Taiwanese Association of Kansas State University as the "basic field" during his "immersion-emersion" stage, exploring the possibility of establishing a new identity with the help from other Taiwanese students. To Fang-ming Chen, after entering the "immersion-emersion" stage, though had abandoned his old Chinese identity promoted by the KMT already, he was still torn between loyalty to the island of Taiwan, his "real" homeland, and love for Communist China, his "imagined" dreamland.

It is notable that the length of "immersion-emersion" stage was somewhat different from case to case. The length of Strong Chuang's "immersion-emersion" stage was the shortest one. His decision to join the UFAl, which could be seen as the indicator of "internalization" stage in terms of identity transformation, occurred after his entrance of "immersion-emersion" stage for less than a year. In Ming-min Peng's case, his "immersion-emersion" stage lasted about four years, ranging from his reconsideration of issue relevant to Taiwan's international status in 1960, to his action of distributing "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation" in 1964. In terms of Tsing-fang Chen and Fang-ming Chen, while the former ended his "immersion-emersion" stage after his decision to organize the Taiwanese Association of France in 1970, the latter entered the "internalization" stage after his decision to serve as the editorial staff of *Formosa Weekly* in 1980. Accordingly, the length of "immersion-emersion" stage of both of them was quite long, lasting for six to seven years.

(11.5.5.d) The last phrase is "internalization." "Internalization" marks the point of

dissonance resolution and a reconstitution of one's steady-state personality and cognitive style. By the "internalization" phrase, the new identity outwardly manifests as a natural part of the person's identity repertoire. In most of the cases, the best indicator of "internalization" phrase is whether the person begins to devote certain degree of "commitment" to this new identity. If the answer is positive, then we can easily claim that the person has formally entered the "internalization" stage in terms of his or her identity transformation.

In this study, three versions of Taiwanese identity could be found among these biographees in their "internalization" stage: "typical version of Taiwan independence," "liberalism version of Taiwan independence," and "historical/cultural version of Taiwan independence."

First of all, the "typical version of Taiwan independence," which was held by Strong Chuang, could be seen as the standard discourse promoted by the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement in general, or WUFI in particular. To some extent, we could claim that this version of Taiwanese identity was a kind of reaction to Chinese identity advocated by the KMT. In other words, wherever the KMT had a proposition about Chinese identity, this version of Taiwanese identity suggested a counter-proposition about Taiwanese identity.

For example, first of all, whereas the KMT claimed that Taiwanese is Chinese in its version of Chinese identity, this version of Taiwanese identity followed the logic of the KMT's assertion and proposed a counter-proposition saying that Taiwanese is not Chinese. Second, when the KMT advanced that Taiwan is part of China, this version declared that Taiwan is not part of China. Third, facing the KMT's proposition that the

Republic of China is the sole legitimate government of China, this version directly called for the establishment of the Republic of Taiwan in the island. Finally, while the KMT held that Taiwan has to maintain a political structure representing the whole China, this version believed that the KMT's rule in Taiwan is illegitimate and insisted that Taiwanese has the right to use revolutionary way to overthrow this government.

The second version of Taiwanese identity was "liberalism version," which was held by Ming-min Peng in his "internalization" stage of identity transformation. The core of this version of Taiwanese identity was grounded on Peng's liberal philosophy and Renanian voluntarism which were developed in his adolescence. Following Renan's notion that modern nation-state is formed on the basis of a sense of common destiny and a belief in shared interests, Peng adopted the island of Taiwan as the root of his new identity, stating that "all people residing in Taiwan," either native Taiwanese or Mainlander, should work together to build a new nation in the island of Taiwan.

The third version of Taiwanese identity was the "historical/cultural version" embraced by Tsing-fang Chen and Fang-ming Chen. This version of Taiwanese identity emphasized more on the historical and cultural discourse, rather than on pragmatic political consideration or abstract political philosophy. Accordingly, though the conclusion brought from this version of Taiwanese identity was not so different from the aforementioned versions of Taiwanese identity, it seemed that their elements were based on very different grounds.

11.5.6 Stage 5: Identity Recycling during Exile

In this stage, all biographees in this study, either "type of early socialization," who

acquired their Taiwanese identity through the socialization process in Taiwan, or “types of adult conversion,” who shifted from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity in their adulthood, finished the construction of their Taiwanese identity and began their career as activists of overseas Taiwan Independence Movement. However, facing the KMT’s authoritarian rule on the ground of Chinese identity, their possession of dissident identity meant that they were put under the KMT’s blacklist policy, banned from going back to their homeland, and forced to begin their exile life in host countries.

Exile, as one of the most profound dilemmas of the human experience, is “..... that unhealable rift between a human being and his native place, between the self and its true home” (Said 1984, 49). As a matter of fact, exile represents a social disruption at structural levels which leaves no domain of social experience untouched, with profound and existential consequences. The condition affects the lives of refugees in all their vital dimensions (social, cultural, emotional and even physical), including national identity, as it ruptures the basis of the social world of those affected and attacks their ontological security (Eastmond 1997; Escobar 2000; Hite 2000).

The notion of “identity recycling” is the key concept in the following two sections. Though I mentioned the term again and again in previous chapters as well as former sections in this chapter, I have not systematically explored this concept from a more theoretical perspective yet. In the following discussion, therefore, I shall focus on the theoretical discussion of this concept first.

Thomas Parham, in his essay entitled “Cycles of Psychological Nigrescence” (1989), notices that well-grounded Black people will, from time to time, go in and out of Nigrescence stages. He labels this process as “recycling.” The recycling is typically

triggered by a negative or positive racial and cultural experience that partially challenges aspects of one's pre-existing Black identity. Not having an answer or explanation to the triggering event or experience, the person engages the issue and processes it through to resolution. The new insight is absorbed and added to the person's pre-existing Black identity. The developmental outcome is not a new identity, as happens with conversion, but a modified or enhanced extant identity.

According to Parham (1989), over the course of one's life span, a person may be presented with any number of such challenges, encounters, new questions, and unanticipated insights which, if he or she is able to resolve and internalize, can lead to a state of wisdom about what it means to be Black. Such persons come to understand that one's Black frame of reference, at age twenty five, is not able to address, without modification, the issues, circumstances, and life events that surface at age thirty five, forty five, and so on. Being Black, single, and just out of college is different from being thirty five, married with two children, and in the middle of phases of a career path. Divorce, illness, addiction, the death of one's parents or close friends, being discriminated against and fired from an attractive job, or being harassed by the police, are negative examples that can trigger recycling. On a more positive note, building a life with a spouse or loved one, watching and helping one's daughters and sons develop, successfully overcoming a major midlife crisis, participating in the creation and building of a new Black organization, are proactive experiences that can stimulate recycling.

On the ground of original Nigrescence model proposed by Cross, Parham (1989), in his paper, employs all of the stages of original Nigrescence model: "pre-encounter," "encounter," "immersion-emersion," and "internalization," except

“internalization-commitment,” the very last stage in Cross’s original model. However, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 264) contends that, while taking the very process of Nigrescence into consideration, some of the terms adopted by Parham tend to cause confusing and ambiguous. Table 11.3 is the contrast between Parham’s (1989) original terminologies and Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s (2001, 264-5) suggested modified terminologies.

(Table 11.3 about here)

First of all, we turn to “pre-encounter,” the first stage proposed in Parham’s model. Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 264) think that incorporating the “pre-encounter” stage in an identity enhancement model is confusing, because it suggests that the person must first revert to a low salience or negative identity before he or she can progress through the stages, as a way of achieving some sense of resolution for the issues that triggered the recycling in the first place. In order to fit Parham’s insights into the current developmental scheme, they suggest changing the so-called “pre-encounter” stage in Parham’s model into “foundational Black identity.”

I totally agree with Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s perspective. As a matter of fact, in this study, regardless of “type of early socialization” (i.e., Mu-sheng Wu and Trong Chai) or “type of adult conversion” (i.e., Ming-min Peng, Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chunag, and Fang-ming Chen), before entering the so-called “identity recycling” stage, all of them had possessed the Taiwanese identity already, though with different versions. Accordingly, I don’t think it is appropriate to follow Parham’s usage to describe their status of national identity as a kind of “pre-encounter” identity. Rather, “foundational Taiwanese identity,” a term modified from Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s notion of “foundational Black

identity,” is much better to depict the content of their national identity before entering the process of “identity recycling.”

Table 11.3

Comparison between Parham’s “Recycling Stages” and Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s “Modified Recycling Stages”

Parham’s “Recycling Stages”	Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s “Modified Recycling Stages”
1. Pre-Encounter	1. Foundational Black Identity
2. Encounter	2. Life-span Encounter
3. Immersion-Emersion	3. Immersion-Emersion
4. Internalization	4. Internalization of Enhancement
5. (implicit change)	5. Enhanced Foundational Black Identity

Source: Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 264)

Second, the next stage in Parham’s model is the “encounter.” To distinguish between the earthshaking racial epiphany associated with a conversion experience, as well as to better capture the more limited focus of the recycling stimulus, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 265) suggest that “encounter” be changed to “life span encounter.” I agree with this insight. Therefore, in Figure 11.1, the second phrase in the “identity recycling” (Stages 5 and 6) is termed as “life span encounter.” This better communicate that the recycling encounter does not challenge the entirety of one’s foundational identity, as is the case with “encounter” during conversion. Instead, it is the discovery of a new question, issue, or challenge that goes beyond, but is essentially a potential extension of, one’s current frame of reference.

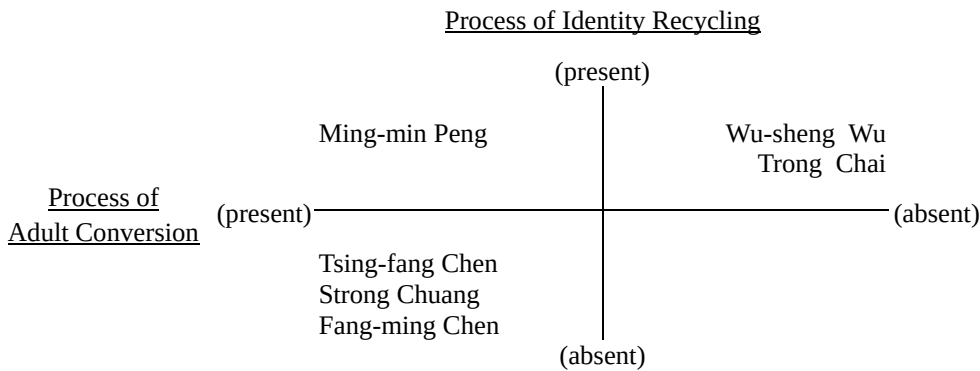
Third, the following stage in Parham's model is the "immersion-emersion." Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 265) agree that it is an appropriate label for the transition stage, suggesting the label remain unchanged. *Forth*, to more effectively capture the limited focus of the "internalization" phrase of recycling, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 265) suggest that "internalization" be changed to "internalization of enhancement." *Last*, Parham's conceptualization implicitly suggests that recycling results in a changed identity. In Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001, 265) modification, they endeavor to make this change more explicit by suggesting that the developmental outcome of recycling is an "enhanced foundational Black identity." I agree with all Cross and Fhagen-Smith's suggestions. Therefore, in Stages 5 and 6 of Figure 11.1, the third phrase of "identity recycling" is "immersion-emersion;" the fourth phrase is listed as "internalization of enhancement," and the last phrase is termed as "enhanced foundational Taiwanese identity."

After reviewing the theoretical background, we shall continue our analysis of the process of identity transformation among these activists of U.S. TIM. We can turn to Table 11.2 again. As far as the first phrase of "identity recycling" (i.e., "identity recycling during exile I" and "identity recycling during exile II") was concerned, these biographees could be further divided into three categories (see Figure 11.2). Some of them entered the "identity recycling" directly without dropping in the stage of "adult conversion" (i.e., Mu-sheng Wu and Trong Chai). Others experienced both stages of "adult conversion" and "identity recycling," changing their status of national identity twice (i.e., Ming-min Peng). And others did not change much after entering the first phrase of "identity recycling," though they did involve in the process of "adult conversion" (i.e., Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chuang, and Fang-ming Chen).

(Figure 11.2 about here)

(11.5.6.a) First, Mu-sheng Wu and Trong Chai, both of them belonged to the “type

Figure 11.2
Typology of Biographees’ Identity Patterns
in the Stage of Identity Recycling during Exile



Source: Made by author.

of early socialization,” did not come across the stage of “adult conversion,” since they had possessed Taiwanese identity already before going abroad for advanced study. However, after arriving in the United States, they did somehow change the content of their Taiwanese identity from the “native consciousness version” to the “typical version of Taiwan independence.” We could categorize this very process of identity transformation as “identity recycling,” since it only involved “partial” change, rather than “comprehensive” change, of the status of national identity. Therefore, in Figure 11.1., we can find a line connecting the “Taiwanese identity patterns” in Stage 3 and the “identity recycling during exile” in Stage 5 directly. It is clear that this line does skip the phrase of “adult conversion,” without any relationship with Stage 4.

It is noticeable that Trong Chai experienced “identity recycling” twice during his exile period. In the “identity recycling during exile I,” he successfully developed the “typical version of Taiwan independence.” However, though still in exile, he partially shifted his status of national identity again, changing from “typical version of Taiwan independence” to “self-determination version of Taiwan independence” after publishing an essay in *Asian Survey* in 1985. The so-called “self-determination version of Taiwan independence,” which was Chai’s response to the environmental change ranging from Taiwan’s appearing democratization to the CCP’s emergent tendency of annexing Taiwan, should be understood as the product of “identity recycling,” since it was still, in terms of its intrinsic nature, a kind of Taiwanese identity.

(11.5.6.b) Ming-min Peng belonged to the “type of adult conversion.”

Nevertheless, after finishing the construction of Taiwanese identity in the stage of “adult conversion,” he partially changed the content of his Taiwanese identity again in the stage of “identity recycling,” shifting from the “liberalism version of Taiwan independence” to combination of the “liberalism version of Taiwan independence” and the “self-determination version of Taiwan independence.” In Figure 11.1, we can find a line between the “adult conversion” (Stage 4) and “identity recycling during exile” (Stage 5). Peng’s process of national identity formation could be understood as this pattern.

(11.5.6.c) Tsing-fang Chen, Strong Chuang, and Fang-ming Chen also belonged to the “type of adult conversion.” Nevertheless, after finishing the construction of their Taiwanese identity through the stage of “adult conversion,” different from Ming-min Peng, they did not change their content of national identity during the exile period. To some extent, we can claim that they did not encounter the stage of “identity recycling

during exile” at all. Instead, they had to wait until next stage, “identity recycling after democratization,” to partially change the content of their Taiwanese identity. Therefore, in Figure 11.1, we can find a line connecting the phrase of “adult conversion” (Stage 4) and the phrase of “identity recycling after democratization” (Stage 6). This line does not involve in the “identity recycling during exile,” anyway.

11.5.7 Stage 6: Identity Recycling after Democratization

After a long period of exile, starting from the late 1980s, due to change of political atmosphere in Taiwan and the termination of the KMT’s blacklist policy, the biographees in this study could make their own choice whether come back to Taiwan to expand their “battleground” finally. Some of them chose to come back to Taiwan to continue their political activism (Ming-min Peng, Trong Chai, and Fang-ming Chen), others decided to stay in the United States for continuing their professional career or using “alternative” way to contribute to Taiwan (Mu-sheng Wu and Strong Chuang), while still others resided in both Taiwan and the United States, sometimes coming back to their original homeland and sometimes staying in their new motherland (Tsing-fang Chen). During this period, to respond to the environmental change, these biographees would enter the process of “identity recycling” again and partially adjusted the content of their existing Taiwanese identity.

While using the content of their Taiwanese identity as a criterion, we can further divided these biographees into four subtypes: “de facto Taiwan independence version,” “Taiwanese American version,” “post-colonialism version,” and “typical version of Taiwan independence.”

(11.5.7.a) We turn to “de facto Taiwan independence version” first. Both Ming-min Peng and Trong Chai belonged to this version of Taiwanese identity in this period. It is quite coincidental that they were also the ones who getting involved in the “real” politics after coming back to Taiwan. While Peng ever served as the presidential candidate for Democratic Progressive Party in 1996, Chai worked as the legislator of Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan for four terms starting from 1992, and is still a legislator of DPP at this moment.

To some extent, we can see their modification of national identity, either shifting from the “liberalism version of Taiwan independence” and “self-determination version of Taiwan independence” to the “de facto Taiwan independence version” in Peng’s case, or revision from the “self-determination version of Taiwan independence” to the “de facto Taiwan independence version” in Chai’s case, as a kind of change of their “fundamental reference group.” While they were still in the United States, both of them were significant leaders of overseas Taiwan Independence Movement. Accordingly, they adopted social movement organizations affiliated with the U.S. TIM --- WUFI in the 1970s and FAPA in the 1980 particularly --- as their reference groups. Nevertheless, after coming back to Taiwan, both of them joined the Democratic Progressive Party sooner or later.⁴⁵⁹ In this situation, the Democratic Progressive Party replaced these overseas organizations to become their major reference group. As a matter of fact, the so-called “de facto Taiwan independence version of Taiwanese identity” is exactly the official position of DPP in terms of its discourse on national identity.

⁴⁵⁹. Peng withdrew his DPP membership not long after his failed campaign in the 1996 presidential election. However, after Shui-bian Chen won Taiwan’s presidency in 2000, Peng was appointed by Chen as his advisor in the Presidential Office.

(11.5.7.b) The second one is the “Taiwanese American version of Taiwanese identity.” Both Mu-sheng Wu and Tsing-fang Chen belonged to this version of Taiwanese identity in this stage. It is interesting that both of them chose to stay in the United States, rather than coming back to Taiwan, after Taiwan’s democratization.⁴⁶⁰ This version of Taiwanese identity could be seen as a kind of modification responding to their choice of staying in the United States.

(11.5.7.c) The third one is the “post-colonialism version of Taiwanese identity.” Fang-ming Chen was the only biographee possessing this version of Taiwanese identity. It is noticeable that he was also the only biographee choosing to stay in the academia in this stage. As a matter of fact, the so-called “post-colonialism” was one of the most popular trends in the academic disciplines related to humanities as well as social sciences since the 1990s. Therefore, we can also see Chen’s this new version of Taiwanese identity as a kind of reaction to the changing academic atmosphere in his affiliated discipline.

(11.5.7.d) The final one is the “typical version of Taiwan independence.” Strong Chuang was the only activist still holding this version of Taiwanese identity. To certain degree, we can claim that Chaung did not have much change in terms of his national identity after joining the UFAT, the forerunner of WUFI, in 1966. Since then, either during exile or under Taiwan’s democratization, he adopted the “typical version of Taiwan independence” as his core belief; continued to criticize Taiwanese government’s policy of maintaining the status quo rather than persuading Taiwan independence directly;

⁴⁶⁰. Tsing-fang Chen resided in both Taiwan and the United States during this period. However, since his studio was in America, I assume that he stayed in the US longer than in Taiwan.

and enthusiastically promoted this version of Taiwanese identity, though he did not choose to move back to Taiwan finally.

Chapter Twelve

Conclusion

12.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall discuss the main contribution of this research, highlight the limitation of this research, and indicate the necessary further research on the issue of national identity transformation among the U.S. TIM activists. First of all, in terms of the significance of this study, I shall focus on the contribution of this research to the literature on nationalism as well as racial/ethnic identity formation model. Second, three shortcomings about this research, all are related to sampling problem, will be examined: problem of gender distribution, problem of generation distribution, and problem of distribution in terms of immigration and educational background.

Finally, six directions for future study will be proposed, including using different theoretical frameworks to analyze the activists selected in this study, continuing to study the U.S. TIM activists, continuing to study the U.S. TIM, studying Taiwanese American, studying the TIM activists in other areas and at different eras, and studying activists of other political/social movements.

12.2 Contribution of this Research

This study has aimed to shed light on personal experiences and social historical factors that help explain why and how people change their national identity. Through

the research design of the biographical method as well as the analytical framework of racial/ethnic identity formation theory, this research has significant contribution to at least two lines of literature: nationalism and racial/ethnic identity formation.

12.2.1 Contribution to Literature on Nationalism

As a micro-level study bringing the notion of national identity back into the tradition of social psychology, this research makes a solid contribution to literature on nationalism. In this field, most of the students of nationalism tend to neglect the essence of national identity, especially the elements relevant to the construction of subjective meaning from the subject's own perspective, in their research.

However, some researchers in the field of nationalism have found this problem and begun to argue for the necessity of paying more attention on the micro-level dimensions while conducting research of nationalism. For instance, Michael Billig's *Banal Nationalism* (1995), Thomas C. Davis's dissertation "The Subjectivity of National Identity: A Q-methodological Study of Individual Attachment to the Basque Nation" (1997), Daniel Druckman's essay "Social-psychological Aspects of Nationalism" (1995), Hank Johnston's *Tales of Nationalism: Catalonia, 1939-1979* (1992), David H. Kaplan's journal article "Nationalism at a Micro-scale: Educational Segregation in Montreal" (1992), and Joshua Searle-White's *The Psychology of Nationalism* (2001), all address the importance of micro-level analysis in the study of nationalism. Nonetheless, these researchers do not use the "individual" as the unit of analysis in their studies, nor do they pay too much attention to the subject's "lived experience." Furthermore, it seems that none of them is aware of the existence of the racial/ethnic identity formation model or

how it might be useful in their works.

In reading these works it is easy to find that all these authors acknowledge the necessity of seeing national identity as constructed by competing discourses, the usefulness of understanding national identity as a kind of social identity, and the possibility of changing one's national identity at different times and spaces. However, due to the lack of appropriate theoretical tool, they cannot aptly describe the very process of national identity formation from the subject's perspective. Racial/ethnic identity formation theory, I suggest, would add an enriching dimension to such accounts. From every perspective, this study is a new attempt in the "traditional" field of nationalism.

12.2.2 Contribution to Literature on Racial/Ethnic Identity Formation

From another perspective, this research also makes a significant contribution to literature on racial/ethnic identity formation, demonstrating the possibility of extending the application of this theoretical model to include phenomena relevant to national identity.

In terms of the application boundary of the original "Nigrescence model" proposed by Cross, he sees this model as applicable to Black identity today and yesterday (Cross 1995, 95). Accordingly, he suggests the model could be applied to Nat Turner, the Virginian slave who led a major slave revolt, to the intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois, or Black nationalists like Marcus Garvey. Nat Turner changed from a humble into a racially-conscious and rebellious slave; W. E. B. Du Bois's pre-Fisk University outlook did not entail strong racial consciousness; and Marcus Garvey, prior to traveling abroad, held a perspective that can be characterized as believing Blackness to be a stigma. More

recently, Cha-Jua (1998) also used the Nigrescence model to show how C. L. R. James initially had a low salience toward race attitude, but gradually became a radical Black nationalist as a result of specific experiences.

As pointed out in Chapter Three, based upon the insights borrowed from the Nigrescence model, whose original scope of application was limited to African Americans, other research on identity development has also been conducted for Asian Americans, Hispanic/Latino Americans, Jewish Americans, and even Euro-Americans. Furthermore, a similar process of identity development for nonracial/ethnic minority groups, such as feminist identity and sexual identity, has also been noted.

However, as a “native” model based on the racial/ethnic experiences in the American context, the racial/ethnic identity formation theory needs to be applied to different cultural context to test the application scope of this theory (Ponterotto 1989; Ponterotto and Wise 1987). Up to date, the application of this model is limited within the physical boundary of the United States, neither is it applied to phenomena relevant to national identity.⁴⁶¹ Based upon the empirical finding of this study, we can claim that it is quite positive to use the racial/ethnic identity formation theory to study national identity. This claim is a significant achievement in this line of literature.

12.3 Limitations and Shortcomings of this Research

As a qualitative research based on only six research subjects, the selection of

⁴⁶¹. To my best knowledge, Charles Reavis Price’s dissertation “No Cross, No Crown: Identity Formation, Nigrescence, and Social Change among Jamaica’s First- and Second-Generation Rastafarians” (2001) seems to be the only exception. This study uses “Nigrescence model” to analyze the racial consciousness as well as religious identity among Rastafarians in Jamaica.

biographee plays a critical role in influencing the final product of this research.

Unfortunately, as a study entirely depended on published biographical source, there is not much choice while making the decision about the finalist of selected research subjects, since the number of total “population” with available biographical data is only 22. In this situation, the “generalability” of research finding of this project is problematic in at least three dimensions: gender distribution, generation distribution, and distribution in terms of immigration and educational background.

12.3.1 Sampling Problem of Gender Distribution

First of all, the gender imbalance of this research is quite visible. Among these six research subjects, none of them is female. Accordingly, this study is difficult, if not impossible, to infer to the experience of female activist in the U.S. TIM. Basically, this problem is related to the original “population” with available biographical data. Among the 22 U.S. TIM activists with biographical data, Tina Chang and Grace Chou are the only two female activists. Nevertheless, Tina Chang’s autobiography, *Tina Chang’s Story* (2000), is a short book with only 150 pages. After excluding 17-page-long prefaces along with 30-page-long appendix (i.e., essays written by herself), only 100 pages remain in the main text of this book. Furthermore, there are still many photos put in the main text. In this situation, this book is not rich enough to serve as the data source for this study. As far as Grace Chou’s biography by Shuang-bu Lin (2000e) is concerned, since I decided to choose only one biographee from Lin’s works as the research subject and Strong C. Chunag is a very promising case for this study, I had no choice but to omit Grace Chou’s biography from this study.

To correct this sampling bias, in the future study, we have to use research techniques other than the biographical method, such as in-depth interview, to collect data relevant to the experience of female activist in the U.S. TIM. In other words, whether the empirical finding and the proposed model of this study are applicable to the female activist in the U.S. TIM is still an open question.⁴⁶²

12.3.2 Sampling Problem of Generation Distribution

In addition to gender imbalance, generation distribution is another sampling problem in this study. Among the six research subjects, four of them were born in the 1930s (Mu-sheng Wu, Trong R. Chai, Tsing-fang Chen, and Strong C. Chuang). Only Ming-min Peng (who was born in the 1920s) and Fang-ming Chen (who was born in the 1940s) did not belong to this generation. However, this distribution is actually not too different from the “demographical characteristics” of the U.S. TIM activists in general. In my previous research about the TIM activists in the United States, I found that most of them were born in the 1930s and 1940s. There are not many activists born in the 1950s (ranging from 9% to 14% according to different datasets selected by my research) and

⁴⁶². In the existing literature, most researchers acknowledge the critical role of gender in influencing the different dimensions of life experience. For general literature on the matter, see Allatt, Keil, Bryman, and Bytheway (1987); Lieblich and Josselson (1994); Rossi (1989); and Young and Dickerson (1994). For literature concerning gender as a mediator of the activist experience, see Allatt, Keil, Bryman, and Bytheway (1987); Lieblich and Josselson (1994); Rossi (1989); and Young and Dickerson (1994).

For research focusing on the special experience of female activist, see Blee (1991); Conzett (1994); Kelly and Boutilier (1978); Klatch (1987); Noggle (1996); Pharr (1981); Robnett (1997); and M. White (1988). For literature on the subtle relationship between national identity and gender, see Self (2002); Walby (1996); and Yuval-Davis (1997).

few in the 1960s (ranging from 0% to 7%)(Shu 2002, 55-7).⁴⁶³

Although it is true that the U.S. TIM is consisted of many activists born in the 1930s and 1940s, the neglect of activists belonging to other generations is still a serious problem to this research. Researchers of generation have demonstrated that the notion “*generational effect*” --- the shared historical experiences on a birth group in a similar stage of the life cycle --- is a powerful explanatory variable in the field of political socialization (e.g., R. Braungart and M. Braungart 1984; Carlsson and Karlsson 1970; Cutler 1970, 1977; Dunham 1998). In other words, even facing the same historical event, people of different generations tend to hold different perspectives on the same event and have different influences from the same event.⁴⁶⁴ Judging from this perspective, generation is an important variable for any research concerning the formative process of national identity, especially in the Taiwanese context, where two different colonial regimes ruled this island in the past one hundred years.⁴⁶⁵ While compared with the generation born before 1945, the post-War generation definitely has different experience in terms of their formative process of national identity. Accordingly, it is

⁴⁶³. For more detailed explanation about this phenomenon, see footnote on Section 7.1 of Trong Chai’s case study (Chapter Seven).

⁴⁶⁴. For example, the generation that entered the electorate during the Depression-New Deal years continue to have a strong Democratic party identification as they age over the life cycle (Abramson 1983). Similarly, the generation that was reaching young adulthood during the era of Vietnam and Watergate subsequently are more liberal on social issues, more likely to have an alternative political agenda, less supportive of the political system, less likely to be involved in mainstream politics, more Democratic in vote, but less Democratic in long-term party allegiance (Delli Carpini 1986).

⁴⁶⁵. Karl Mainheim is probably one of the most significant scholars consciously beginning to treat “generation” as a valuable concept in social science literature (see Mainheim 1952). For the literature on “generation” as well as “political generation,” see R. Braungart (1984, 1993) and R. Braungart and M. Braungart (1984, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1993). Nevertheless, to my best knowledge, I am not aware of any research using the notion of “generation” to explain the formation of national identity. Nai-teh Wu (1999) once adopted the concept of “family socialization” to explain the generation difference in party

fair to claim that whether the model suggested by this study is applicable to the post-War generation remains unknown.

12.3.3 Sampling Problem of Immigration and Educational Background

The last sampling problem is related to the immigration and educational background of my research subjects. Generally speaking, most Taiwanese Americans can be roughly divided into two types based upon their immigration background: student background and non-student background. On the one hand, the former tended to come to the United States with student visas for advanced studies. Most of them sought employment in the United States and stayed in this country after their graduation. Given the high level of education among these Taiwanese with student backgrounds, it is not surprising that many of them are in professional occupations. On the other hand, those of non-student background did not arrive in the United States through the advanced study route but, instead, immigrated to this country directly in order to search for economic opportunities which they were needed. They applied for immigration through kinship ties, occupations (such as cooks, restaurant chefs, nurses, and so forth), or out of willingness to invest funds to create employment in the United States.⁴⁶⁶

As far as the immigration background of my research subjects is concerned, almost all of them are affiliated with the former category.⁴⁶⁷ None of them can be categorized

identification among Taiwan's voters. Unfortunately, this paper did not deal with the issue of national identity directly.

⁴⁶⁶. For a brief review of Taiwanese immigration in the United States, refer to Franklin Ng (1998, 15-20).

⁴⁶⁷. Since the United States is not the place where Ming-min Peng and Tsing-fang Chen received their advanced study (while Peng studied in Canada and France, Chen studied in France), both of them are not the "typical" Taiwanese Americans with student background. Nevertheless, with Ph.D. degree from the

as non-student background. In this situation, unless conducting another study focusing on the U.S. TIM activists of non-student background, it is difficult to claim that the model developed by this study is applicable to those persons.⁴⁶⁸

There also exists another sampling problem in terms of the educational background of the research subjects. It is not only all of them are graduates of National Taiwan University, the best university in Taiwan,⁴⁶⁹ but also all of them hold a doctorate degree, except Fang-ming Chen.⁴⁷⁰ Again, this situation is partly a reflection of the attributes of the U.S. TIM activists. In my previous study, I found that the educational background of the U.S. TIM activists in general is very high, and more than 70 percent of them have a doctorate or master's degree (Shu 2002, 61-2). Since this study is entirely based on published biographical data, the sampling bias relevant to educational background is more apparent. Accordingly, I have to acknowledge that the subjects of this study are not "normal" persons at all. Rather, they have quite privileged background, especially in terms of their level of education. In this situation, it is probably difficult to claim the applicability of their experience to the "normal" U.S. TIM activists.

University of Paris, both of them are more like the Taiwanese Americans with student background, rather than the Taiwanese Americans with non-student background.

⁴⁶⁸. Among the U.S. TIM activists with non-student background, Kenjohn Wang's *Memoirs of Kenjohn Wang: The Struggling History of Immigration of a Taiwanese American* (1999) can be seen as the most representative biography. I should consider Kenjohn Wang as a potential research subject in my future study.

⁴⁶⁹. Fang-ming Chen got his bachelor degree from Fu Jen Catholic University. Later, he was also awarded a Master's degree from National Taiwan University in 1973.

⁴⁷⁰. After passing the qualification examination and becoming a doctoral candidate, Fang-ming Chen decided to end his student career and serve as the editor of the newly established *Formosa Weekly*, due to the shock from the Formosa Incident of 1979.

12.4 Future Study

While claiming that providing a basic picture of the U.S. TIM activists is the major research objective of this project, I have to acknowledge that the final product of this study is still far away from this goal. Many further studies are needed to fulfill the research objective. In this part, I shall discuss six directions on the matter: using different theoretical frameworks to analyze the activists selected in this study, continuing to study the U.S. TIM activists, continuing to study the U.S. TIM, studying Taiwanese American, studying the TIM activists in other areas and at different eras, and studying activists of other political/social movements.

12.4.1 Using Different Theoretical Frameworks to Analyze the Activists

Selected in this Study

This research has demonstrated the potential usefulness of adopting the racial/ethnic identity formation theory as an analytical framework to analyze national identity. However, this analytical framework is only one possibility, since we can still use many different theoretical perspectives to analyze the empirical data presented in this study. Although this study only involves the biographical data of six subjects, I believe that the empirical data itself is rich enough to make dialogue with many other theoretical perspectives. In the following discussion, I shall focus on three possibilities: social movement participation, political socialization, and life course.

(12.4.1.a) The first possibility is to use the literature on “*social movement participation*” as the theoretical reference. To tell the truth, since I posit myself as a student of social movements, at the very beginning of this project, I once conceived the

academic field of social movement participation as my major theoretical ambition in this study.

In the academic field of social movements, the quantitative method has long been considered as a major methodological tool among scholars concerning the cause of social movement participation (e.g., Barkan, Cohn, and Whitbaker 1995; Beck and Jennings 1982; R. Braungart 1971; Cable, Walsh, and Warland 1988; Cole, Zucker, and Ostrove 1998; DeMartini 1983; Fendrich 1977; Klandermans and Oegema 1987). However, after the publication of Keniston's influential work, *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth*, in 1968, many students of social movements also began to consider the possibility of using life history or in-depth interview as a research tool to understand the participants of social movements, especially after the 1990s (e.g., e.g., Andrews 1991; Bermanzohn 1998; R. Braungart and M. Braungart 1980; della Porta 1995; Klatch 1999; Robnett 1997; Roth 2000; Whalen and Flacks 1989; Whittier 1995).⁴⁷¹

However, it is surprising that within the qualitative literature of social movement research, very few researchers adopt the published biographical data as their major data source.⁴⁷² Although the existence of serious limitations on the nature of biographical data itself, there are also some advantages of the biographical data, while compared with data extracted from in-depth interview or other research methods. On the basis of biographical data, if I adopt the literature on social movement participation as my major theoretical reference in this study, then I can pay more attention on issues such as why the

⁴⁷¹. For advantages as well as shortcomings of conducting social movement research through life history or in-depth interview, see two excellent review essays by della Porta (1992b) and Blee (2002).

⁴⁷². For the existing research using the published biography as major data source, see Section 4.2.1 of Chapter Four.

U.S. TIM activists decide to join this movement; why they continue in their involvement in collection action after joining this movement; how they are affected by the participation experience; and what they get out of the participation experience, as far as their career development, social network, and political consciousness are concerned. While analyzing the biographical data from this perspective rather than the racial/ethnic identity formation theory, it is apparent that we will encounter a different research finding.

(12.4.1.b) The second possibility is to analyze the data from the perspective of “*political socialization*.” In addition to the literature on social movement participation, I also find the potential usefulness of adopting the literature on “political socialization,” especially those focusing on “political socialization of activism,” as the theoretical reference for this study.

For example, in an influential essay, Sears (1990) identifies four different perspectives on the development and maintenance of political beliefs, attitudes and self-identities that can be found in the vast research literature on political socialization: persistence perspective, impressionable years perspective, life cycle perspective, and lifelong openness perspective. At one extreme, the *persistence perspective* asserts that the residues of preadult political learning are relatively immune to changes in later years (e.g., Easton and Dennis 1967; Flacks 1967; Greenstein 1965; Jennings and Niemi 1974). At the other extreme, the *lifelong openness perspective* maintains that political dispositions have an approximately uniform potential for change at all ages (e.g., Brim and Kagan 1980; Brim and Wheeler 1966; Fein 1990; Ichilov 1990; Sapiro 1994; Sigel 1989).

The *impressionable years perspective* and the *life cycle perspective* fall between these two positions. The former position asserts that political beliefs and attitudes are unusually vulnerable in later adolescence and early adulthood. In other stages of life, people are resistant to change. But at any stage in life, their political self-identities and the contents of the beliefs and attitudes are irrelevant to the likelihood of change (e.g., Alwin, Cohen, and Newcomb 1991; Alwin and Krosnick 1991; Newcomb 1943; Newcomb et al. 1967). The latter maintains that people are especially susceptible to adopting particular dispositions at certain life stages, such as radicalism in youth and conservatism in later years (e.g., Baltes 1979; Hogan 2000; Levinson 1986; O'Rand and Krecker 1990).

If we put the empirical finding of this study into the aforementioned theoretical context, there must be some interesting and valuable result. Which theoretical perspective --- persistence, impressionable years, life cycle, or lifelong openness --- is more suitable to describe the very process of identity development of the research subjects? Can we claim that the subject's preadult political learning is the most influential one? Can we claim that the subject's political beliefs and attitudes formed in later adolescence and early adulthood are the most influential one? It is suitable to adopt the term "radicalism" to label the subject's political orientation in their youth? Is it appropriate to use the term "conservatism" to describe the subject's political beliefs in their later years? Or, is it really possible for the researcher to assert the relative significance of a specific life stage in the formation process of one's political identity, since political dispositions have an approximately uniform potential for change at all ages? On the basis of existing empirical data, the exploration of these "different" theoretical

questions is not only challenging but singularly illuminating.

(12.4.1.c) The final possible theoretical orientation is the literature on “*life course*.”

I once proposed an interpretive strategy to divide the literature on “social movement participation” into two parts: the one focusing on the cause of social movement participation and the one focusing on the personal outcome of social movement participation. Based on this simple dichotomy, two serious shortcomings deserve more attention in the existing literature on social movement participation. First of all, the existing literature mainly focuses on causes, rather than outcomes, of political activism. Among the students of social movements, the issues about the cause of social movement participation surfaces repeatedly as one of the dominant focal concerns throughout the large body of literature.⁴⁷³ However, most of the researchers pay less attention to the issues relevant to the personal outcome or individual consequence of political activism.⁴⁷⁴

Second, probably due to the overemphasis on causes of political activism, very few

⁴⁷³. I once finished a 100-page-long literature review about social movement participation (see Shu 2003). In this manuscript, in terms of the literature on the cause of social movement participation, I divided them into four categories: psychological approach, attitudinal approach, rational choice approach, and social network approach.

The psychological approach can further be divided into four orientations: authoritarian personality, psychoanalytical theory, mass society theory, and relative deprivation theory (e.g., Blumer 1955; Hoffer 1989; Kornhauser 1959; Turner and Killian 1987). The attitudinal approach can further be divided into two orientations: family socialization and political efficacy (e.g., Block 1972; R. Braungart 1979; DeMartini 1983; Wood 1974; Wood and Ng 1980). The rational choice approach can further be divided into two orientations: psychological incentives and expectations about others’ behavior (e.g., Chong 1991; Lichbach 1994; 1995; Oberschall 1973; Olson 1971). The social network approach can further be divided into three orientations: interpersonal ties, organizational ties and biographical availability (e.g., Diani 1995; McAdam 1986; Passy 2001; Passy and Giugni 2001; Rosenthal et al. 1985).

⁴⁷⁴. In the manuscript mentioned in previous footnote, I also attempted to review the literature on the personal outcome of social movement participation. I divided the literature into two approaches: group socialization approach (e.g., Downton and Wehr 1991; Melucci 1996; Epstein 1991; Fantasia 1988; E. Hirsch 1990) and biographical consequence approach (e.g., M. Braungart and R. Braungart 1990; R. Braungart and M. Braungart 1980; Fendrich 1993; Hoge and Ankney 1982; Whalen and Flacks 1989).

authors of social movement participation are interested in linking the “cause” models and the “outcome” models together to describe the process of becoming active in social movements. Accordingly, in terms of the dynamics of political activism, we are still longing for an appropriate analytical framework to aptly integrate the cause and the outcome of social movement participation together.

In terms of this shortcoming in the literature on social movement participation, I believe the notion of “life course” is one of the possible solutions to this problem. To put it simply, we can define “life course” as an “age-graded pattern of events and social roles that is embedded in social life and structures” (Elder, George, and Shanahan 1996, 249).⁴⁷⁵ From this perspective, we can see the activist’s decision to join a specific social movement organization as a “marker event” in his or her life history. Then, we can further explore the preceding factor leading to this event as well as the outcome of this event. In other words, there exists much space to make conversation between the literature on social movement participation and the literature on life course.⁴⁷⁶

In Chapter Eleven, while attempting to establish a preliminary model for comprehending the life story of the research subjects, I once referred to the literature on life course to shed light on the very process of national identity formation. Nonetheless, my major concern is to make dialogue with the racial/ethnic identity formation model,

⁴⁷⁵. For the relevant literature on “life course,” see footnote on Section 11.5 of Chapter Eleven.

⁴⁷⁶. After reviewing the relevant literature on “social movement participation” and “life course,” it is quite easy for any researcher to realize the necessity of dialogue between both fields. Unfortunately, this possibility has long been ignored by most relevant scholars. To my best knowledge, except few unpublished dissertations (e.g., Hannon 1990; Roth 1997), Margaret M. Braungart and Richard G. Braungart’s essay “The Life-course Development of Left- and Right-wing Youth Activist Leaders from the 1960s” (1990) seems to be the only formal publication working toward the direction to bring both lines of literature together.

rather than the literature on life course. I believe it will be quite fruitful to use the notion of “life course” to analyze the empirical data of this study.

12.4.2 Continuing to Study the U.S. TIM Activists

From every perspective, this study is only a small step toward understanding the U.S. TIM activists, the proposed “population” of this project. More empirical analysis is needed in the future study. In this section, I shall propose five possible directions on the matter.

(12.4.2.a) First, I shall continue to analyze some other *existing data* collected for this project. Up-to-date, to study the U.S. TIM activists, I already have collected three datasets on the basis of three research methods respectively: in-depth interview, social survey, and written documents. First of all, I have conducted *life history interview* with 40 U.S. TIM activists over a very long period from September 1995 through January 2004. Most of the interviews took from one and a half hours to two hours. Nine interviews took longer than 4 hours, since they were conducted at the respondents’ residences over the course of multiple visits. While all interviews were conducted in Hoklo and tape-recorded, more than half of the taped interviews were transcribed into interview transcript in either Hoklo or English already. In sum, 25 Hoklo transcripts and 10 English transcripts provided more than 1,000 pages of text.

The second dataset is on the basis of *social survey*. In February 2001, with the help of WUFI’s Working Committee on Organization and Training (*Zuzhi Xunlian Gongzuo Weiyuanhui* 組織訓練工作委員會), a 21-page-long life history questionnaire was distributed to 200 randomly selected WUFI members. By February 28 (the designated

end of the survey), 29 questionnaires had been returned. Due to the low response rate, I sent a reminder e-mail to all of WUFI's listserv subscribers. In this reminder, I encouraged those selected recipients to finish the questionnaires as soon as possible, extended the deadline to the middle of March, and emphasized the significance of this survey for promoting the visibility of OTIM in academic circles. By the end of March, 61 questionnaires had been returned (a total response rate of 30.5%). In truth, this dataset is quite valuable because there exists no such kind of data in the literature on the U.S. TIM in the past. However, this dataset is not used in this project yet.

The third dataset is the *written documents* relevant to the U.S. TIM activists. In addition to the aforementioned 40 in-depth interviews and 61 mailed questionnaires, after conducting intensive library research, I also found written documents related to 148 U.S. TIM activists.⁴⁷⁷ Of course, the degree of comprehensiveness of the data is not consistent. Some data contains not much information. For instance, the 76-person-list of "Taiwanese-American Homeland Visit Groups (*Meiguo Taiwanren Fanxiang Fangwentuan* 美國台灣人返鄉訪問團)" provided by Dang (1991, 171-9) contains least information, with only the activist's name, year of birth, native place, educational background, professional experience, and community involvement. Activists with the published biographical data are those with the most fruitful information. They are also the sampling "population" of this study.

All three datasets are quite valuable and deserve our further analysis, though I only adopted part of the third dataset as the major data source in this project. In the future,

we can use any dataset to reconstruct the life history of some other U.S. TIM activists not chosen in this study. On this basis, we can further “test” the validity of the “descriptive model of process of national identity formation among U.S. TIM Activists” developed by this study. Furthermore, on the ground of my previous study of the U.S. TIM activists (Shu 2002), we can also conduct another more comprehensive project about the demographic characteristics of these activists through the help of the existing datasets.

(12.4.2.b) The second direction is to study activists affiliated with *more “moderate” SMOs* (e.g., FAPA) in the U.S. TIM. Although I posit the U.S. TIM activists in general, rather than activists affiliated with a specific SMO, as the “population” of this study; in terms of the finalist selected by this project, most research subjects, except Fang-ming Chen, are relevant to the WUFI to some extent. I acknowledge that WUFI is one of the most important SMOs in the U.S. TIM. However, in terms of demographic characteristics and life history, we are not sure whether there exists difference between activists affiliated with WUFI (a self-proclaimed “revolutionary” group) and other more moderate organizations.

I once contacted with the FAPA and asked the staff to provide their member list for my attempted survey of this organization. They did send me the list with more than 3,000 members, though I did not finish this survey due to some technical consideration. This is definitely another possibility to study the U.S. TIM activists in the future.

(12.4.2.c) The third direction is to study the Taiwanese Americans with Taiwanese identity but *not involving in the U.S. TIM*. Since the major concern of this study is the

⁴⁷⁷. This does not include the 439 Taiwanese Americans listed under “Taiwanese Blacklist Classified: USA Portion” provided by Dang (1991, 197-205), since the covering information about those people’s biographical data is too limited in this list.

identity formation process of the U.S. TIM activists, one possible research design is to select some non-activists as the “control group” to compared with the activists. Through this comparison, we can learn more about the mechanism between “social movement participation” and the formative process of national identity among the U.S. TIM activists.

As a matter of fact, this kind of research design is not only persuading, but also adopted by some previous studies already. For example, Richard Flacks’ (1967) research about left-wing student activists in the Chicago area is based on two datasets that compared student activists with non-activists. The first dataset includes approximately 50 student activists and their parents, matched with 50 non-activists and their parents. The second dataset involves students at the University of Chicago where an anti-Vietnam draft sit-in became a building occupation in 1966. The respondents include randomly selected sit-in participants, uninvolved students, and students opposed to the sit-in. In addition to this study, in the academic field of social movements, other projects adopting the similar research design to compare activists with non-activists include at least Richard G. Braungart’s *Family Status, Socialization and Student Politics* (1979)⁴⁷⁸ and Larry C. Kerpelman’s *Activists and Nonactivists: A Psychological Study of American College Students* (1972).

(12.4.2.d) The fourth direction is to study the *veteran activists* in the U.S. TIM. In addition to non-activists, veteran activists are another potentially useful candidates to serve as “control group” for our study of activists. As I argue on Section 4.2 of Chapter

⁴⁷⁸. This book was originally the Ph.D. dissertation Braugart wrote for the Pennsylvania State University in 1969.

Four, if we want to get a fuller glimpse of the TIM activists, the veteran activists, who withdrew from the TIM after participating in the TIM for a long time, really deserves our further attention. From the perspective of social movement research, the comparison between the “withdrawer” and the “persistent activists” can help researcher to understand the mechanism why and how the activists can keep persistent participation over a long period of time.⁴⁷⁹

(12.4.2.e) The fifth direction is to provide a more detailed *psychobiography* for the selected research subjects of this study. Although the volume of this project is beyond the “regular” dissertation already, to certain extent, I think the selected case studies are not detailed and subtle enough to really catch these subjects’ mind’s journey yet. If I still want to continue the study of these selected activists, I believe “psychobiography” (e.g., Erikson 1958; 1969; George and George 1956; Wolfenstein 1971) is an appropriate tool on the matter. I seriously consider to choose few cases to explore the possibility of conducting psychobiographical research for them in the future.

12.4.3 Continuing to Study the U.S. TIM

In fact, activist is only one dimension of social movement research. If we want to get a more comprehensive glimpse of the U.S. TIM, more research agendas are needed on

⁴⁷⁹. In the academic field of social movements, “persistent participation” and “commitment” have long been considered important issues in interpreting the dynamics of political activism (e.g., Andrews 1991; Downton and Wehr 1997; Klandermans 1994; Passy and Giugni 2000; Rogne 1999; R. Williams 1989; and Teske 1997). Albert O. Hirschman’s *Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations and States* (1970) can be seen as a pioneer work on the matter, though his research subject is not directly related to social movements.

However, compared with “persistent participation,” “disengagement” is the topic relatively ignored by most students of social movements. For representative works on the matter, see Klandermans (1994) and Richardson, van der Lans, and Derks (1986).

the matter. In this section, I shall propose two issues for our continuous study of the U.S. TIM: ideological analysis and social movement industry.

(12.4.3.a) The first direction is to conduct an “*ideological analysis*” on the basis of the U.S. TIM publications. To understand the activist’s political identity, it is inevitable to deal with the ideology advocated by the social movement industry and relevant social movement organizations he or she belongs to. After all, there is a strong relationship between the activist’s thought and the movement’s ideology. Some people engage in collective action because they share certain norms and values with a specific social movement. Some other people transform their political identity during the process of movement participation due to the influence of ideology proposed by this movement. In some extreme cases, some activists are even the original theorists of the specific ideology advocated by this movement.

While acknowledging the significance of ideological analysis in social movement research, the publication issued by the specific social movement becomes a critical firsthand data source for any students interested in that specific social movement. In this consideration, at the initial period of this project, I spent a lot of time collecting the journal as well as other publication issued by different SMOs affiliated with the U.S. TIM, culminating over ten boxes of photocopied material in my basement. However, the material is almost not used at all in the current dissertation.

I once wrote an investigative report about the U.S. TIM publication, covering over forty journals published by different U.S. TIM groups (Shu 2001a). However, this is only a small step toward a more systematic study of the ideological discourses within the U.S. TIM. Further analysis of these publications is definitely needed.

To understand the ideology of Palestinian nationalist movement, I once adopted the theoretical tool of “rhetoric analysis” to analyze one document issued by the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine, a faction within the Palestine Liberation Organization (Shu 1994). In another conference paper, through the analysis of a debate on Taiwanese nationalism occurring between 1979 and 1982, I also attempted to use the tool of “discourse analysis” to analyze the different ideologies between right- and left-wing TIM groups (Shu 1996b). In the future, I can consider to use “rhetoric analysis,” “discourse analysis,” or even “content analysis” to study the TIM ideology of different periods on the basis of these voluminous publications.

(12.4.3.b) The second direction is to analyze the *social movement industry* of the U.S. TIM. Since Zald and Ash (1966) introduce the distinction between social movements and social movement organizations (SMOs), social movement literature directs its attention more to SMOs than to social movements as objects of study. Researchers have agreed that social movements often emerge from preexisting networks, and that broad actions and campaigns require systematic organization. Under the circumstances, proponents of the resource mobilization approach point out that social movements generally rely on a complex “social movement industry,” a network of cooperating, competing, and antagonistic SMOs (Zald and McCarthy, 1980).

From this perspective, to comprehend the U.S. TIM, it is inevitable to pay some attention to the social movement industry of this movement. It is certain that the exploration of this “industry” will increase our understanding of the U.S. TIM activists, since the life history of these activists should be put into the context of this “industry.” On the one hand, in the U.S. TIM, there existed different SMOs at different historical

periods. Even within the same SMO, there existed different organizational forms, ideologies, modes of recruitment, and even names (for instance, the WUFI) at different times. On the other hand, given a specific time period, there still existed more than one SMO in the U.S. TIM. How can we determine the interorganizational relations among different SMOs affiliated with the TIM? These issues deserve more systematic exploration in the future.

12.4.4 Studying Taiwanese American

Another significant context of this study is, in addition to the U.S. TIM, the Taiwanese American communities, or, adopting a more fashionable terminology, the Taiwanese diaspora in the United States. As pointed out in Chapter One, due to various reasons, Taiwan American is not considered an “independent” research subject by most relevant scholars, no matter in the field of Taiwan studies or American studies. Nonetheless, to comprehend the U.S. TIM activists, it is important to put their life history into the context of relevant literature on Taiwanese American. In this section, I shall propose two possible research agendas about Taiwanese American in the future study.

(12.4.4.a) The first agenda is the basic *demographic analysis* of Taiwanese American on the basis of census data released by the U.S. Census Bureau. To study Taiwanese American systematically, it is a fundamental task to offer a general demographic description about this ethnic group, such as their population size, space distribution, and other relevant demographic variables. Unfortunately, there exists almost no research on the issue at all.

According to the 2000 census data released by the U.S. Census Bureau, among the

foreign-born population, 325,000 of them were born in Taiwan (USCB 2002a).⁴⁸⁰ In all Asian countries, this number is ranked sixth, following Philippine (1,222,000), India (1,007,000), Vietnam (863,000), People's Republic of China (871,000) and Korea (863,000).⁴⁸¹ This number is less than the real number, since it excludes the second generation, or even the third generation Taiwanese American. But at least, we can learn from the number that this is an ethnic group with at least three hundred thousand people.

Sarcastically, this number indeed represents almost all knowledge about Taiwanese American in the existing literature. Except few studies, it is very difficult for us to find any research about Taiwanese American. First of all, in terms of the traditional "Chinese sojourner (*Huaqiao* 華僑)" studies, probably due to the influence of researchers' own ideology, most researchers take "Chinatown" or traditional "Chinese American" (most are Cantonese descent), rather than "Taiwanese American," as their research subjects.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸⁰. This is an estimated, rather than exact, number, and the standard error is 58,000 (USCB 2002a). It is notable that the U.S. Census Bureau has more than one criterion to estimate the population number of ethnic groups. In addition to "birth place," other oft-adopted criteria include "race," "ancestry," etc. While using "race" as the criteria, in Census 2000, 144,795 people identify themselves as "Taiwanese" (Barnes and Bennett 2002, 9). Since Taiwanese is not included as the "response category" for the question on race in Census 2000 (i.e., question 6), those self-identified Taiwanese checked "other" as their racial identity first, then write down "Taiwanese" next.

⁴⁸¹. In the original table I quote, Taiwan is listed as a sub-item under the item "China." The item "China" includes three sub-items: People's Republic, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (USCB 2002a).

⁴⁸². The "Chinese sojourner" is actually a research field with long history as well as good reputation (e.g., Hong-ting Gu 1994; Gungwu Wang 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002; for detailed bibliography of the field, see Tang and Xu 2001). Nonetheless, most research in this field deals with the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, not other parts of the world. For research focusing on the overseas Chinese residing in the United States, see Jing-yu Chen (2000); Mau-thai Chen (1988); and Jian-xiong Wu (1993). It is notable that the focus of latter research is still the traditional "Chinese sojourner," rather than "Taiwanese American."

Few studies in the field do deal with the subject of Taiwanese American, such as Hsiang-shui Chen (1992); Franklin Ng (1998); and Chuen-rong Yeh (1989). However, though taking Taiwanese American as a research subject, conceptually, these researchers do not see Taiwanese American as an independent ethnic group at all. Rather, they tend to see this group of people as a sub-group under the category of

Second, in terms of ethnic studies or Asian American studies in the context of American studies, Taiwanese American is still a subject seriously ignored by most scholars. The reason is probably twofold. On the one hand, the tendency of “Chinification” in the field is quite apparent; on the other hand, there are not many Taiwanese Americans choosing social science or humanity as their professional fields, though many of them do work in academia.⁴⁸³

Finally, in terms of the newly emerging field of diaphora studies in Taiwanese academia, most researchers either focus on Taiwanese entrepreneur working in Mainland China or Southeast Asia, or emphasize on “foreign bride (*waiji xinniang* 外籍新娘)” and “foreign worker (*waiji laogong* 外籍勞工)” working in Taiwan.⁴⁸⁴ It seems that the issue of Taiwanese American has not emerged as a research agenda for scholars working within this inquiry of literature yet.

(12.4.4.b) The second agenda about Taiwanese American is the *immigration history* of this group of people from the perspective of social history. After finishing the basic demographic study of Taiwanese American, we should also conduct immigration history research about this group of people. In fact, the core issues relevant to social history of

“Chinese American.” For example, in Hsiang-shui Chen’s ethnographic study of Taiwanese immigrants in contemporary New York City, he finds that “Taiwanese American” (in fact, Chen does not directly adopt this term to refer to Taiwanese residing in the U.S., he label this group of people as “Taiwan immigrants”) is quite different from Chinese American in terms of immigration motivation, social organization, political participation, and even cultural identity. Nevertheless, his conclusion is that we should extend the conceptual boundary of “Chinese sojourner” to include the new phenomena relevant to Taiwanese American.

⁴⁸³. For a general description about the field, refer to footnote on Section 1.4.2 of Chapter One.

⁴⁸⁴. For literature on Taiwanese entrepreneur working in Southeast Asia or Mainland China, see Chang and Cheung (2000); Yi-hsuan Chen (2002); Deng (2002); Hsiao, Kung and Wang (2002); I-chun Kung (2002); and Tseng (2000). For literature on “foreign bride” in Taiwan, see Hsiao-chuan Hsia (2000, 2002, 2003);

immigrants --- such as their socioeconomic background before immigration, their immigration motivation, as well as their process of adaptation after immigrating to the United States --- are deeply related to their process of identity formation. To further analyze the process of national identity transformation among the U.S. TIM activists, the issues about their immigration history are quite necessary and valuable.

12.4.5 Studying the TIM Activists in Other Areas and at Different Eras

If we want to learn more about the TIM activists, a comparative study between the contemporary U.S. TIM activists and the TIM activists in other areas and at different times deserves our further attention. Specially, there is potential usefulness among three “populations” affiliated with the TIM for this purpose: participants of the Taiwanese Communist Party during the Japanese era, the TIM activists in Japan, and the TIM activists inside the island of Taiwan. On the basis of the life history of the TIM activists in places other than the United States, we can further test the application scope of the “model of process of national identity formation among U.S. TIM Activists” developed by this study.

(12.4.5.a) The first possibility is the study of *participants of the Taiwanese Communist Party* under the Japanese era. The Taiwanese Communist Party (hereafter TCP), which was established as a branch of the Japanese Communist Party in 1928, was the first political organization formally advocating the idea of Taiwan independence.⁴⁸⁵

Chien-chia Liu (2003); Hong-zen Wang (2001); and Zhao-juan Xiao (2000). For literature on “foreign worker” in Taiwan, see Lucie Cheng (2002) and Pei-chia Lan (2000, 2002).

⁴⁸⁵. For research of the Taiwanese Communist Party, see Fang-ming Chen (1998b); Chien (1997); Hsiao and Sullivan (1983); Hsiu-yi Lu (1990); and Pei (1986).

During the past one and a half decades, there emerged some newly published historical data and original research about the TCP, such as Xue-hong Xie (1901 – 1970)⁴⁸⁶ and Xin Su (*Su Xin* 蘇新 1907 – 1981).⁴⁸⁷

Because most activists affiliated with the TCP fled to Mainland China after the February 28 Incident of 1947, they not only spent their later life in China, but also worked for China's task of propaganda to persuade Taiwanese on the behalf of China's policy on "Taiwan liberation." In this situation, their developmental process of national identity becomes a very fascinating research topic, especially considering that they held the ideal of Taiwan independence when they were still young. I believe a comparative study between post-War TIM activists with these TCP activists will generate some very interesting results.

(12.4.5.b) The second possibility is to study *the TIM activists residing in Japan*. In fact, the earliest overseas TIM organization appeared in Japan, not in North America. In 1950, Thomas W. I. Liao started the Formosa Independence Party (*Taiwan Minzhu Duli Dang* 台灣民主獨立黨) in Tokyo. In September 1955, a group of Taiwanese living in Tokyo, together with the Formosa Independence Party, established the "Provisional

⁴⁸⁶. For research about Xue-hong Xie, in addition to Fang-ming Chen's *A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie: Flower Not Withering after Falling to the Earth on a Rainy Night* (1994s), see also Shu Chen Hsu's master thesis "Politics and the Writing of Biography: The Change of Xue-hong Xie's Images" (1999). Furthermore, in 1990, Rui-yun Gu published a book entitled *Taichung's Storm: These Days with Xue-hong Xie* (1990) about Xie's activity during the February 28 Incident. Lastly, Xie's memoirs *My Half-life*, which was dictated by Xie herself and recorded by Ke-huang Yang, was also published in 1997 (i.e., Ke-huang Yang 1997).

⁴⁸⁷. For research about Xin Su, see Fang-ming Chen (1998b, 125-92) and Li-min Qiu (2003, 83-96). Times Cultural Press once published Su's biography *The Unreturned Soul of a Taiwanese Communist: Autobiography and Anthology of Xin Su* in 1993 (i.e., Xin Su 1993). In addition, Xin Su's other works include *Looking for the Motherland Forever: A Subsequent Anthology of Xin Su* (Xin Su 1994) and *Taiwan in Anger* (Jia-nong Zhuang 1990). Jia-nong Zhuang is Xin Su's penname, and this book was originally published in 1948.

National Assembly of the Republic of Formosa (*Taiwan Gongheguo Linshi Guomin Yihui* 台灣共和國臨時國民議會)” to organize their anti-KMT activities. On February 28, 1956, they formally announced the founding of “Provisional Government of the Republic of Formosa” in Tokyo (Lai, Myers, and Wei 1991, 189; Chiautong Ng 1994, 198-9; Cheng-feng Shih 2000b, 10). This provisional government was the first influential organization in the TIM after the end of World War II.

During the past one and a half decades, there emerged not a few biographical data about the activists affiliated with the Provisional Government. Among them, Thomas W. I. Liao (1910 – 1976) is the one with most relevant data (e.g., Yen-hsien Chang 1992, 2000; Shi-jie Li 1988; Hsiao-feng Li 1987c; Fengshan Zhang 2002f, 2002g). Furthermore, Ji-nan Huang (*Huang Jinan* 黃紀男, 1915 -), who was sentenced three times and staying in jail for 22 years due to his participation in the TIM, also attracted much attention and generated some valuable oral history records (e.g., Hsueh-chi Hsu 1993; Ling-zhu Huang 1991; Ying 1995; Fengshan Zhang 2002h; Qiu-mei Zeng 2000). Lastly, in 2000, Yen-hsien Chang and his colleagues published two volumes of oral history about 17 activists affiliated with the Provisional Government (see Chang, Hu, and Zeng 2000a, 2000b). On the basis of the data, we can see to what extent my “model of process of national identity formation among U.S. TIM Activists” can be applied to the “Japanese experience”?

In addition to the Provisional Government, in Japan, there are still some other significant organizations and activists affiliated with the TIM. Except for Ioktek Ong

(1924 – 1985) and Bing Su (1918 -),⁴⁸⁸ both of them have been mentioned in previous chapters, Chiautong Yuzin Ng (1932 -)⁴⁸⁹ and Se-kai Koh (1934 -)⁴⁹⁰ are also good candidate deserving our further analysis.

(12.4.5.c) The last possibility is to study *the TIM activists inside the island of Taiwan itself*. If we take the identity transformation process of the U.S. TIM activists as the major research objective, I believe that the TIM activists in Taiwan are probably more valuable than the preceding groups of activists.

Roughly starting from 1990, there were more and more biographical data about the TIM activists inside the island of Taiwan. Some critical works include Shu-zhi Lin's *The Wrong Cases Unearthed, Volume One* (1992) and *The Wrong Cases Unearthed, Volume Two: The Miserable History of Political Prisoners* (1989), Ming-hsiong Shih's *A Bitter History of Taiwanese in the Dark Age of White Terror* (1998), Editorial Team of Oral History for the Formosa Incident's *Toward the Formosa: The Emergence of Oppositional Consciousness after World War II* (1999a), and Institute of Modern History's *Oral History, Issue 10: Special Issue on the Political Case of Tong-qi Su* (2000). Basically, these authors adopted the form of case study to briefly describe the activists'

⁴⁸⁸. For Ioktek Ong's information, see footnote on Section 9.4.1 of Strong C. Chuang's case study (Chapter Nine). For Bing Su's information, see footnote on Section 10.3.4 of Fang-ming Chen's case study (Chapter Ten).

⁴⁸⁹. For Chiautong Ng's biography, see Geoffroy (1997, 140-1); Ying-zhe Huang (1991b); and Fengshan Zhang (2002e). Since all of them are not book-length-publication, there is actually not much biographical data relevant to Ng. However, as a Ph.D. of sociology from the University of Tokyo, Ng is a significant theorist of the TIM with many publications (e.g., Chiautong Ng 1989, 1993, 1998a, 1998b; Peng and Ng 1995).

⁴⁹⁰. For biographical data relevant to Se-kai Koh, see Geoffroy (1997, 141-2) and Ying-zhe Huang (1991c). Furthermore, Koh once wrote a short self-introduction-article entitled "Draft of Autobiography" (see Koh 1998b). Koh also has many publications. For his important works, see Koh (1984, 1993a, 1993b, 1998a).

biographical background, ideological transformation, as well as their motivation to join the TIM.

In addition to these “collective” biographies, we can also find some books about TIM activist in Taiwan using the form of “pure” “individual” biographies. For example, Rev. Chun-ming Kao’s *Memoirs of Rev. Jun-ming Gao: The Road to Crucifix* by Hui-ling Hu (2001a), Ming-teh Shih’s *Ming-teh Shih's Early Biography* by Ang Li (1993), Chen-yuan Lee’s (*Li Zhenyuan* 李鎮源) *The Master of Taiwanese Medical Circles: Chen-yuan Lee* by Qiong-yue Li (1995), Cao-de Xu’s autobiography *Memoirs of Cao-de Xu: The Life History of a Taiwanese* (1990), etc. However, one problem of studying the TIM activists inside the island of Taiwan is the difficulty of defining the so-called “Taiwan Independence Movement” explicitly. Different from the TIM activists in the overseas context, before the year of 1992, anyone proclaiming the ideal of Taiwan independence inside the island would be interpreted as “sedition” against the state. Some of them even were sentenced by death penalty and lost their lives due to the political belief of Taiwan independence. Accordingly, though possessing strong Taiwanese consciousness, many people did not dare to say the word “Taiwan independence” before the 1990s. In this situation, how to define the TIM activists in the Taiwanese context becomes a serious problem for any researcher interested in the issue.

However, if we adopt a qualitative, rather than quantitative approach, to study the TIM activists inside the island of Taiwan, just like the research design used in this project, I believe we can avoid the “definition” problem to certain extent and make a fascinating research. After selecting several representative activists affiliated with the TIM in Taiwan and presenting their life history, we can compare the empirical result with the

finding of this current project, modifying the “model of process of national identity formation” extracted from this project, and make serious contribution to the literature on Taiwanese nationalism as well as the Taiwan Independence Movement.

12.4.6 Studying Activists of Other Political/Social Movements

In addition to the TIM, the applicability of this model to activists affiliated with other types of political/social movements --- including the Chinese Unification Movement (*Zhongguo Tongyi Yundong* 中國統一運動, hereafter CUM) or other “normal” social movement such as environmental movement, women’s movement, student movement, and gay and lesbian movement --- is another important direction for further study.

(12.4.6.a) The first possibility is to study *the activists affiliated with the Chinese Unification Movement*. This kind of study is related to several important theoretical questions. For instance, what is the relationship between Taiwanese nationalism and Chinese nationalism? What are the similarities as well as differences between the TIM activists and the CUM activists? At least before the year of 2000, while the TIM could be seen as a kind of non-conventional dissent movement, the ideal of the CUM was more consistent with the official propaganda advocated by the KMT government. Nevertheless, both movements can be categorized as “nationalist movement” and share some features to certain extent, though their basic goals are quite different, if not entirely contradictory.

So, in terms of activists of both movements, do they share the similar demographical features as well as life course to some degree? To what extent can the “model of

national identity formation among the U.S. TIM activists” be applied to those CUM activists? These are definitely very interesting and challenging research questions.

(12.4.6.b) The second possibility is to study *activists affiliated with other types of social movements*. This is also a very interesting theoretical question. Is it possible for us to find a similar identity transformation process among non-TIM activists in terms of the developmental process of their political (not national) identity? If we replace the so-called “Taiwanese identity” in this study by “feminist identity” and “environmental consciousness,” can we still identify the different “stages” of identity development such as “encounter,” “immersion-emersion,” and “internalization”? These issues really deserve our further attention.

APPENDIX

A Brief Introduction to the TIM-related Organizations in the United States

1. Formosan Association for Human Rights, Inc. (*Taiwan Renquanhui* 台灣人權會)

Founded in 1976, FAHR works for the defense of human rights and justice in Taiwan by setting goals which include: ending human rights violations in Taiwan; collecting, translating, and distributing human rights information; and cooperating with Amnesty International and other human rights organizations for their cause. In the past, FAHR has worked very persistently for the release of Taiwanese political prisoners of consciousness.

<http://www.fahr.org>

2. Formosan Association for Public Affairs (*Taiwanren Gonggong Shiwuhui* 台灣人公共事務會)

FAPA was established in 1982 to promote freedom, human rights, and democracy for the people of Taiwan. It is a non-profit policy research and education organization. Its goals are to enhance Taiwan's safety and security in the international community and to protect and enhance the rights, interests and welfare of Taiwanese communities throughout the world. FAPA is a large membership organization, which has chapters nationwide and around the world.

<http://www.fapa.org>

3. Incercollegiate Taiwanese American Student Association

ITASA was officially established in 1991. It was founded to provide a network for

Taiwanese American college students to communicate on issues relevant to Taiwan and second generation Taiwanese such as identity, race relations, political activities, and current events. ITASA acts as a resource to assist in forming new student groups, finding resources for speakers and activities, offering leadership training, and encouraging involvement in the Taiwanese community.

<http://www.itasa.org>

4. North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (*Beimeizhou Taiwanren Jiaoshou Xiehui* 北美洲台灣人教授協會)

NAPTA was established in 1980. NAPTA promotes the utilization of scientific and professional knowledge, facilitates international understanding, educational exchanges, and cultural contact among the people of Taiwan, within the United States, and abroad. NAPTA sponsors scholar research and education on subjects relevant to Taiwan. It also seeks to advance and improve the general welfare of Taiwanese communities in North America.

<http://www.napta.org>

5. North America Taiwanese Women's Association, Inc. (*Beimeizhou Taiwan Funühui* 北美洲台灣婦女會)

NATWA was established in 1988. NATWA is a non-profit organization founded by overseas Taiwanese women in the United States and Canada. The goals of NATWA are to improve gender equality, promote the well-being of Taiwanese American women, and encourage participation of Taiwanese women in the public arena.

<http://www.natwa.com>

6. North American Taiwanese Medical Association (*Beimeizhou Taiwanren Yishi Xiehui* 北美洲台灣人醫師協會)

NATMA was established in 1984 and presently has 1200 members across the United States. NATMA strives to protect and promote the rights and professional activities of its members. NATMA's objectives are to represent the organization's interest in the North American society, promote linkages, and provide assistance for future generations of Taiwanese Americans in establishing careers. NATMA members hope to be as politically active as a coalition as their counterparts in India and the Philippines.

<http://www.natma.org>

7. Society of Taiwanese Americans

SOTA was founded by post-graduate, second generation Taiwanese in 1993. Most members of SOTA are young professionals in their mid-20s. SOTA's objectives are to build a more unified community of Taiwanese Americans for the future generation, to retain their Taiwanese heritage, and to strengthen the identity of Taiwanese Americans in the American society.

8. Taiwan Era (*Taiwan Shidai* 台灣時代)

TE, the name of both a pro-socialist magazine and a leftist group, was established in 1977. It was the most significant pro-socialist group in the OTIM. Furthermore, it also took up the line of strident Taiwanese nationalism as a necessary element in a national liberation movement against imperialist forces and their supporters. As a group they have avoided public attention except on strategically-chosen occasions, and have maintained the strictest secrecy. Only a few spokesmen have appeared. Despite its stated Taiwan nationalism, this group could not before about 1982 escape the public-opinion assumption, both in Taiwan and the US, that those who criticize

capitalism and US imperialism must be equated with partisans for the People's Republic of China.

9. Taiwan Revolutionary Party (*Taiwan Gemingdang* 台灣革命黨)

TRP was established by Cary Hong and Hsin-liang Hsu in 1985, made up of the political left of the WUFI. It was eclipsed in 1987, when Hsin-liang Hsu announced formation of the Taiwan Democratic Party (*Taiwan Minzhudang* 台灣民主黨) and said it would return to Taiwan.

10. Taiwanese Association of America, Inc. (*Quanmei Taiwan Tongxianghui* 全美台灣同鄉會)

TAA was established in 1970. Currently, it has 63 local chapters under 6 regional councils. TAA works to promote the interest and welfare of the Taiwanese community. The goals of TAA are to enrich and further the appreciation of the Taiwanese heritage and culture in America and to promote fellowship and harmony among the citizens in the community.

<http://taa.formosa.org>

11. Taiwanese American Citizens League

TACL was established in 1989. Members include first- and second-generation Taiwanese Americans of all ages. The main objectives of TACL are: Identity --- building an understanding of Taiwanese American heritage, encouraging pride in the Taiwanese American identity, helping to contribute to the Taiwanese American culture; Networking --- interacting with other Taiwanese American organizations so as to promote and resolve issues concerning Taiwanese Americans; Citizenship --- helping to instill in the Taiwanese American community a greater sense of citizenship and providing

leadership training to build a strong future.

<http://www.tacl.org>

12. Taiwanese Christian Church Council of North America

TCCCNA was established in 1976 and facilitates communication among Taiwanese Christian churches throughout the United States and Canada. The main objective of TCCCNA is to coordinate the Taiwanese Christian churches in North America. Activities include theological extension course for church leaders and other relevant activities that benefit the Taiwanese Christian churches in North America.

13. Taiwanese Collegian (Taiwan Xueshengshe 台灣學生社)

TC was established in 1983. The goals of TC are to awaken Taiwanese students on issues relevant to Taiwan and to promote awareness for Taiwanese independence among students at home and abroad. TC holds a summer or winter camp once a year, and local universities invite speakers and conduct other activities relevant to Taiwan.

<http://tc.formosa.org>

14. World United Formosans for Independence --- USA Headquarters (Shijie Taiwan Duli Jianguo Liangmeng Meiguo Benbu 世界台灣獨立建國聯盟美國本部)

WUFI was established in 1970. The members of WUFI-USA are mostly first-generation Taiwanese Americans. Its purpose is to promote Taiwan as an independent and democratic country, a Republic of Taiwan that is free from China. Its headquarters are in Strongsville, Ohio, and it has many chapters in the United States, but it also maintains links with branches in Taiwan, Japan, Europe, Canada, South America, and elsewhere. It is active in holding talks and meetings and publishes the Taiwan Tribune (*Taiwan Gonglunbao*) to publicize its goal.

<http://www.wufi.org>

GLOSSARY

<u>Hanyu Pinyin</u>	<u>Chinese Character</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
Abu Youfu	阿部祐輔	Yusuke Abe
Abu Xianyi	阿部賢一	Kenichi Abe
Achao	阿朝	A-chao
Ali Shan	阿里山	Mt. Ali
Alian	阿蓮	Alian
anyaoxue	漢藥學	Chinese medicine
Baersan Jinmen Paozhan	八二三金門炮戰	August 23 Artillery War in Kinmen
Baersan Paozhan	八二三炮戰	August 23 Artillery War
Baise Kongbu	白色恐怖	White Terror
Banshan	半山	Half-Mountain
bao	保	bao
bao Tai jianguo	保台建國	Protect Taiwan, build a nation
baodao biaoge	報到表格	report form
Baodiao Yundong	保釣運動	Diaoyutai Protection Movement
baofujin	包袱巾	cloth wrapper
baojia	保甲	baojia
Baojia Tiaoli	保甲條例	Baojia Regulations
Baowei Taiwan Weiyuanhui	保衛台灣委員會	Taiwan Protection Committee
Baowei Taiwan Zhuquan Liangmeng	保衛台灣主權聯盟	Coalition for Protecting Taiwan's Sovereignty
baozheng	保正	bao leader

Baxi Taiwan Tongxianghui	巴西台灣同鄉會	Taiwanese Association of Brazil
Beimei Shiwu Xietiaohui	北美事務協調會	Coordination Council for North American Affairs
Beimeizhou Taiwan Funühui	北美洲台灣婦女 會	North America Taiwanese Women's Association, Inc.
Beimeizhou Taiwan Yanjiu Xuehui	北美洲台灣研究 學會	North American Taiwan Studies Association
Beimeizhou Taiwanren Jiaoshou Xiehui	北美洲台灣人教 授協會	North America Taiwanese Professors' Association
Beimeizhou Taiwanren Yishi Xiehui	北美洲台灣人醫 師協會	North American Taiwanese Medical Association
Beimenliao	北門寮	North Gate
Beipu Xiaoxue	北蒲小學	Kitagama Primary School
Beitou	北投	Beitou
Bendaoren	本島人	Islanders
bendi yishi	本地意識	indigenous consciousness
bendiren yishi	本地人意識	local people consciousness
Benshengren	本省人	People of Local Province
bentu de zizhu de xinnian	本土的自主的信 念	indigenous and autonomous belief
bentu yishi	本土意識	native consciousness
Bi Zhen	畢珍	Zhen Bi
Bianyi Guang	編譯館	National Institute for Compilation and Translation
Bilishi Taiwan Tongxiang Huzhuhui	比利時台灣同鄉 互助會	Belgium Taiwanese Benevolent Association
Bilishi Taiwan Tongxianghui	比利時台灣同鄉 會	Belgium Taiwanese Association
Bitan	碧潭	Bitan

bixu shi zhenzheng fuchu xingdong, caineng chansheng juti de yiyi	必須是真正付出 行動，才能夠產生 具體的意義	They should really be put into action to generate any solid significance.
bubian shaner, zhijiang jieji	不辨善惡，只講階 級	being unable to distinguish good from the evil, talking only about class
Budai Zhen	布袋鎮	Budai Township
budaixi	布袋戲	Hoklo puppet show
bujie bujing	不潔不淨	dirty
Buli	埔里	Puli
buqie shiji de huaxiang	不切實際的幻想	impractical imaginations
butan renxing, youhe wenxue	不談人性，有何文 學	No Human Nature, No Literature
buxiban	補習班	cram school
Cai Jiayin	蔡嘉寅	Chia-yin Tsai
Cai Lirong	蔡麗蓉	Li-rong Chai
Cai Shunli	蔡順利	Shun-li Cai
Cai Tongrong	蔡同榮	Trong R. Chai
Cai Yi	蔡一	Yi Cai
Cai Zhenglong	蔡正隆	Cheng-lung Robert Tsai
Chang Jiang	長江	Yangtze River
Changan	長安	Changan
changba ji	瘡疤集	The Scars
Changqi	長崎	Nagasaki
Changqi Yike Daxue	長崎醫科大學	Nagasaki Medical School
Changrong Zhongxie	長榮中學	Chang Jung Middle School
Chen Anlan	陳安瀾	An-lan Chen
Chen Bozhou	陳伯舟	Bo-zhou Chen

Chen Cheng	陳誠	Cheng Chen
Chen Du	陳都	Mike Chen
Chen Guoguang	陳國洸	Guo-guang Chen
Chen Jianming	陳建銘	Chian-ming Chen
Chen Jianong	陳嘉農	Jia-nong Chen
Chen Jiazhe	陳嘉哲	Jia-zhe Chen
Chen Jinfang Wehuaguang	陳錦芳文化館	T. F. Chen Cultural Center
Chen Jinfang Wenhuaguan/ Xinshijie Wenhua Zhongxin	陳錦芳文化館/新 世界文化中心	T. F. Chen Cultural Center/New World Art Center
Chen Jinglu	陳敬睦	Jing-lu Chen
Chen Jingren	陳鏡仁	Ching-jen Chen
Chen Longfeng	陳隆豐	Long-feng Chen
Chen Longhui	陳隆輝	Long-hui Chen
Chen Longzhi	陳隆志	Lung-chu Chen
Chen Luan	陳履安	Li-an Chen
Chen Mingying	陳明英	Ming-ying Chen
Chen Nantian	陳南天	Nan-tian Chen
Chen Qili	陳啓禮	Chi-li Chen
Chen Rongcheng	陳榮成	Rong-cheng Chen
Chen Ruoxi	陳若曦	Jo-shi Chen
Chen Shimeng	陳師孟	Shih-meng Chen
Chen Shuhong	陳樹鴻	Shu-hong Chen
Chen Shuibian	陳水扁	Chen Shui-bian
Chen Tangshan	陳唐山	Mark Chen
Chen Tingkai	陳廷楷	Ting-Kai Chen
Chen Wanzhen	陳婉真	Stella Chen
Chen Wencheng	陳文成	Wen-chen Chen

Chen Wencheng Jiaoshou Jijinhui	陳文成教授基金會	Professor Chen Wen-Chen's Memorial Foundation
Chen Wencheng Shijian	陳文成事件	Wen-chen Chen Incident
Chen Xikuan	陳希寬	Michael Chen
Chen Xin	陳忻	Hsin Chen
Chen Xiuxi	陳秀喜	Xiu-xi Chen
Chen Yi	陳儀	Yi Chen
Chen Yide	陳以德	I-te Chen
Chen Yingzhen	陳映真	Ying-chen Chen
Chen Yisong	陳逸松	Yi-song Chen
Chen Yongsen	陳永森	Yong-sen Chen
Chen Yongxing	陳永興	Yung-hsing Chen
Chen Youfu	陳有福	You-fu Chen
Chen Zhaonan	陳昭南	Zau-nan Chen
Chen Zhaoying	陳昭瑛	Zhao-ying Chen
Cheng Zhongmo	城仲模	Chung-mo Cheng
Chenggong Gaozhong	成功高中	Chengkung High School
Chikan	赤崁	Chikan
Chingchuankang	清泉崗	Chingchuankang
Chongyangjie	重陽節	Chongyang Festival
Chuangzhi Fujuefa Caoan	創制複決法草案	Initiative and Referendum Law Draft
chuhai Mazu	出海媽祖	Sea-bound Matsu
chulu	出路	outlet
Chun Zhi Yilang	春之藝廊	Spring Gallery
chusheng yu Riben Taiwan de Meiji gongmin	出生於日本台灣 的美籍公民	a U.S. citizen born in Taiwan, Japan
Cixingzi	刺杏仔	thorny amaranths

da Zhongguo yishi	大中國意識	greater Chinese consciousness
Daban	大阪	Osaka
Dabi Hu	大埤湖	Great Pond Lake
Dadongya Zhanzheng	大東亞戰爭	Greater East Asia War
Dai Mingfu	戴明福	Ming-fu Dai
Dai Zhengnan	戴振南	Zhen-nan Dai
daibiao lianhehui	代表聯合會	representative assembly
Daliao	大寮	Daliao
Daliao Guomin Xuexiao	大寮國民學校	Daliao Elementary School
Daliaozhuang	大寮庄	Daliaozhuang
Dalinpu	大林埔	Dalinpu
Dalu shi muqin/ Taiwan shi qizi/ Xianggang shi qingren/ Ouzhou shi waiyu	大陸是母親/台灣 是妻子/香港是情 人/歐洲是外遇	Mainland is my mother/Taiwan is my wife/Hong Kong is my lover/Europe is my mistress
dalun wenhua	大陸文化	mainland culture
Dalu Xinbao	大陸新報	Mainland New News
dang nide qingren yi gaiming Mali, ni zeneng song ta yishou Pusaman	當你的情人已改 名瑪麗，你怎能送 她一首菩薩蠻	When your lover has changed her name to Mary, how could you send her a Bodhidattva dance?
Dangwai	黨外	Dangwai
Dangwai minzhu yundong de jishi	黨外民主運動的 基石	base for the <i>Dangwai</i> democracy movement
daone xuanchuan	島內宣傳	In-Island Propaganda
dashijie zhuyi	大世界主義	greater universalism
Datong Gongzhi	大同工職	Tatung Industrial Vocational School
Daxue	大學	the University
Dayuan Zhongxue	大園中學	Dayuang Middle School

dazhangfu neng qu neng shen	大丈夫能屈能伸	A man of fortitude and courage should be flexible
Dazheng Youzhiyuan	大正幼稚園	Taisho Kindergarten
Dazhongguo zhuyi	大中國主義	greater China doctrine
Deng Xiaoping	鄧小平	Deng Xiaoping
dexing	德性	morality and conduct
Diaoyutai Lienyu	釣魚台列嶼	Diaoyutai Isles
Diaoyutai Shijian	釣魚台事件	Diaoyutai Incident
Dier Gaodeng Xuexiao	第二高等學校	Second Higher School
difang zhuyi	地方主義	localism
dikang zhimindi tizhi de douzhengshi	抵抗殖民地體制的 鬥爭史	a struggling history of resistance to colonial systems
Ding Maoshi	丁懋時	Mou-shih Ding
Disan Gaodeng Xuexiao	第三高等學校	Third Higher School
Disan Shijie wenxue lun	第三世界文學論	Thesis on the Third World Literature
diwang shiguan	帝王史觀	historical perspective of the emperor
Diyi Gaodeng Xuexiao	第一高等學校	First Higher School
dongfang de gongyuan	東方的公園	Eastern Park
Donggang	東港	East Harbor
Donggang Jichang	東港機場	East Harbor Airport
Dongjing Diguo Daxue	東京帝國大學	Tokyo Imperial University
Dongjing menghua lu	東京夢華錄	Reminiscences from the East Capital
Dongyuan Kanluan Shiqi Linshi Tiaokuan	動員戡亂時期臨 時條款	Period of National Mobilization for the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion
Duli Taiwan	獨立台灣	Independent Formosa
er erba	二二八	the words "February 28"
Ererba Shijian	二二八事件	February 28 Incident

Ererba Shijian Chuli Weiyuanhui	二二八事件處理 委員會	February 28 Incident Settlement Committee
Erluanbi	鵝鸞鼻	Erluanbi
Faguo Taiwan Tongxianghui	法國台灣同鄉會	Taiwanese Association of France
Fan Lenian	范樂年	Le-nian Fan
Fan Liangxin	范良信	Liang-shing Fan
fan Taidu tuanti	泛台獨團體	pan-Taiwan independence organizations
Fan Zhensheng	范振聲	Zhen-sheng Fan
Fandui Zhongguo Bingtun Taiwan Dahui	反對中國併吞台 灣大會	Say No to China Rally
Fangong Dalu	反攻大陸	Recovery of the Mainland
fanlun Taiwan Duli Yundong: duli zhi lu	泛論台灣獨立運 動：獨立之路	A General Discussion on the Taiwan Independence Movement: The Road to Independence
fanlun Taiwan duli zhi biyao	泛論台灣獨立之 必要	On the Necessity of Taiwan Independence
FAPA Gongmin Toupiao Weiyuanhui	FAPA 公民投票委 員會	FAPA Plebiscite Committee
fatong	法統	constitutional continuity
Fawubu Diaochaju	法務部調查局	Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice
Faxiang Taiwan	發現台灣	Discovering Taiwan
Fazheng Daxue	法政大學	Hosei University
fei zhuliu pai	非主流派	non-mainstream faction
Feilengcui	斐冷翠	Florence
Fengshan	鳳山	Fengshan
Fengshan Gongxuexiao	鳳山公學校	Fengshan Public School
Fengshangxi Guomin Xuexiao	鳳山西國民學校	Fengshanxi Elementary School

fenlei Taiwan heimingdan --- Meiguo bufen	分類台灣黑名單 --- 美國部分	Taiwanese Blacklist Classified --- U.S.A. Portion
Fu Sinian	傅斯年	Ssu-nien Fu
Fu Zheng	傅正	Cheng Fu
Fuda Xinwen	輔大新聞	Fu Jen News
Fukian	福建	Fujian
Fujian Sheng	福建省	Fujian Province
Fulao shawen zhuyi	福佬沙文主義	Hoklo chauvinism
Fuyuan	傅園	the Fu Garden
Fuzhong	傅鐘	the Fu Bell
Fuzhou	福州	Fuzhou
Fuzhouhua	福州話	Fuzhou language
Gaixingming Yundong	改姓名運動	Name Change Movement
Gansu Sheng	甘肅省	Gansu Province
Gao Junming	高俊明	Chun-ming Kao
Gao Ruisui	高瑞穗	Rui-sui Gao
gao Taiwan tongbao shu	告台灣同胞書	A Letter to Our Fellow Countrymen in Taiwan
Gao Yingmao	高英茂	Michael Ying-mao Kau
Gao Yushu	高玉樹	Yu-shu Kao
Gao Zhicheng	高志誠	Zhi-cheng Gao
gaodeng gongye xuexiao	高等工業學校	higher industrial school
gaodeng shangye xuexiao	高等商業學校	higher business school
gaodeng shifan xuexiao	高等師範學校	higher normal school
gaodeng xuexiao	高等學校	higher school

Gaoxiong Diyi Zhongxue	高雄第一中學	Kaohsiung First Middle School
Gaoxiong Shangzhi	高雄商職	Kaohsiung Business Vocational School
Gaoxiong Dier Zhongxue	高雄第二中學	Kaohsiung Second Middle School
Gaoxiong Fuchanpin Jiagongchang	高雄副產品加工廠	Kaohsiung By-products Processing Factory
Gaoxiong Gongye Zhiye Xuexiao	高雄工業職業學校	Kaohsiung Industrial Vocational School
Gaoxiong Nuzhong	高雄女中	Kaohsiung Girls' Middle School
Gaoxiong Shuizhi	高雄水職	Kaohsiung Aquaculture Vocational School
Gaoxiong Yaosai	高雄要塞	Kaohsiung garrison quarters
Gaoxiong Zhongxue	高雄中學	Kaohsiung Middle School
Gecheng Tongxun	哥城通訊	Columbus Correspondence
geming	革命	revolution
Geming Shijian Yanjiuyuan	革命實踐研究院	Vanguard Institute of Policy Studies
gezaixi	歌仔戲	Hoklo opera
Jianguo Hui	建國會	Nation-building Union of Taiwan
gongfa yanjiusuo	公法研究所	Graduate Institute of Public Law
Gongheguo	共和國	The Republic
gongmin toupiao shouze	公民投票手冊	Plebiscite Manual
Gongmin Toupiao Zujinhui	公民投票促進會	Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan
gongnongbing wenxue	工農兵文學	Worker, Farmer and Soldier Literature
gongtou jueshi	公投絕食	hunger strike for plebiscite
gongxuesheng	共學生	co-students

gongxuexiao	公學校	public school
goze	狗仔	dogs
Gu Kuanmin	辜寬敏	Kuan-min Koo
guang shi er bu zuoshi	光食而不做事	eat without doing anything
Guangdong	廣東	Guangdong
Guanguo Xuesheng Yundong Lianmeng	全國學生運動聯盟	National Union of Student Movement
Guangyuan	廣元	Guangyuan
Guanmiao	關廟	Guanmiao
Guantian	官田	Guantian
Guanxi Xueyuan	關西學院	Kansei Gakuin
Guanziling Huiyi	關仔嶺會議	Guanziling Meeting
Guiren	歸仁	Guiren
guixiang yidong	歸鄉藝動	homecoming art activities
gumiantong	顧面桶	take care of your wash basin
Guo Beihong	郭倍宏	Pei-horng Kuo
Guo Bochuan	郭柏川	Po-chuan Kuo
Guo Chongguo	郭重國	Chung-kuo Kuo
Guo Chongwen	郭崇文	Chong-wen Guo
Guo Guoji	郭國基	Kuo-chi Kuo
Guo Jianghai	郭江海	Jiang-hai Guo
Guo Qingjiang	郭清江	Ching-chiang Kuo
Guo Rongjie	郭榮桔	Rong-jie Guo
Guofangbu Jingbei Zongbu	國防部警備總部	Garrison Headquarters of the Ministry of National Defense
guoge	國格	national character
guohai Mazu	過海媽祖	Sea-crossing Matsu
Guoji Guanxi Yanjiu Zhongxin	國際關係研究中心	Institute of International Relations

Guojia Anquan Fa	國家安全法	National Security Law
Guoli Chenggong Daxue	國立成功大學	National Chengkung University
Guoli Jinan Daxue	國立暨南大學	National Chi Nan University
Guoli Taibei Daxue	國立台北大學	National Taipei University
Guoli Taiwan Daxue	國立台灣大學	National Taiwan University
Guoli Taiwan Meishuguan	國立台灣美術館	National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts
Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue	國立台灣師範大學	National Taiwan Normal University
Guoli Zhengzhi Daxue	國立政治大學	National Cheng Chih University
Guoli Zhongxing Daxue	國立中興大學	National Chungsin University
guoma	國罵	national curses
guomin yishi	國民意識	citizen consciousness
guomin zhuquan	國民主權	citizen sovereignty
guoshi huiyi	國是會議	National Affairs Conference
guoshi shengming	國事聲明	Statement on Our National Fate
guoyu	國語	national language
gushu xiao	古樹下	Under the Old Tree
Haiwai Lianluobu qian ji daonei de Duli Xuanyan	海外聯絡部潛寄島內的獨立宣言	The Declaration of Independence Secretly Delivered into the Island by the Overseas Liaison Department
Haiwai Taidu Yundong	海外台獨運動	Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement
haiwai Taiwanren shihui	海外台灣人社會	Taiwanese communities throughout the world
haiyang wenhua	海洋文化	ocean culture
Han Shiquan	韓石泉	Shi-quan Han
Hangzhou	杭州	Hangzhou
Hanren	漢人	Han

Hanren shawen zhuyi	漢人沙文主義	Han chauvinism
Hanren yimin	漢人移民	Han settlers
hanshu	漢塾	traditional family school
Hanwen	漢文	Chinese
hanzei bu liangli	漢賊不兩立	the righteous government does not stand together with the bandits
Hanzu yishi	漢族意識)	Han consciousness
haoshi	好事	good deed
He Kangmei	何康美	Kang-mei Ho
He Yingqin	何應欽	Ying-chin Ho
Heilongjiang	黑龍江	Heilongjiang
Helaoren	鶴佬人	Hoklo
Hengchun	恆春	Hengchun
heping zhuan yi zhengquan	和平轉移政權	peaceful transfer of regime
Hexi Zoulang	河西走廊	Hexi Corridor
Hong Wenzhi	洪文治	Wen-zhi Hong
Hong Yaoben	洪堯本	Yao-ben Hong
Hong Yaodong	洪耀東	Yao-dong Hong
Hong Zhisheng	洪哲勝	Cary Hong
Hou Dejian	侯德健	De-jian Hou
Hou Dejian shijian	侯德健事件	De-jian Hou Incident
Hou Rongbang	侯榮邦	Eng-pang Hau
houji de houji	後記的後記	A Postscript to the 'Postscript'
Houteng Xinping	後藤新平	Shimpei Goto
Hu Baolong	胡寶龍	Bao-long Hu
Hu Minxiong	胡敏雄	Min-hsiung Hu
Hu Shi	胡適	Shih Hu

Hu Zhongxi	胡忠信	Chung-hsin Hu
huanbao wenxue	環保文學	environmental literature
Huang Chaoqin	黃朝琴	Chao-chin Huang
Huang Congmei	黃聰美	Chhong-Bi Ng.
Huang He	黃河	Yellow River
Huang Heyi	黃和義	He-yi Huang
Huang Hunsheng	黃混生	Vincent Huang
Huang Jinan	黃紀男	Ji-nan Huang
Huang Jinlai	黃金來	Jin-lai Huang
Huang Juan	黃娟	Juan Huang
Huang Kunhu	黃崑虎	Kun-hu Hwang
Huang Mingchuan	黃明川	Ming-chuan Huang
Huang Mingqing	黃銘清	Ming-qing Huang
Huang Ruijuan	黃瑞娟	Rui-juan Huang
Huang Shiding	黃石定	Shi-ding Huang
Huang Wenxiong	黃文雄	Peter Huang
Huang Wudong	黃武東	Wu-dong Huang
Huang Xinjie	黃信介	Hsin-chieh Huang
Huang Yiming	黃義明	Robert Y. M. Huang
Huang Yuegu	黃月桂	Yueh-kuey Huang
Huang Yunbei	黃允北	Yun-bei Huang
Huang Zhanghui	黃彰輝	Shoki Coe
Huang Zhaotang	黃昭堂	Chiautong Yuzin Ng
Huang Zhecao	黃哲操	Che-tsao Huang
huangmin	皇民	Komin
Huangmin Fenggonghui	皇民奉公會	Komin Hokokai

Huangminhua Yundong	皇民化運動	Kominka Movement
Huaqiao	華僑	Chinese sojourner
Hubei	湖北	Hubei
hui	輝	hui
hui jiaxiang	回家鄉	go back to homeland
Huishe Xizi	會社溪仔	the Company Creek
huiyou	會友	member
Hukou	湖口	Hukou
huoguo yangmin	禍國殃民	brought disaster upon the country and the people
Huwei	虎尾	Huwei
Jenjianshi	人間世	Chinese Humanist
Ji Hengzhao	紀恒昭	Heng-zhao Ji
Jia	甲	Jia
Jian Shikun	簡世坤	Shi-kun Jian
Jianada Taiwan Renquan Weiyuanhui	加拿大台灣人權 委員會	Committee for Human Rights in Formosa
Jianada Taiwan Tongxianghui	加拿大台灣同鄉 會	Taiwanese Association of Canada
Jianan	嘉南	Chianan
Jianan Pingyuan	嘉南平原	Chianan Plain
Jiancheng Xiaoxue	建成小學	Kensei Primary School
Jiang Gaishi	江蓋世	Kai-shih Chiang
Jiang Jieshi	蔣介石	Chiang Kai-shek
Jiang Jingguo	蔣經國	Chiang Ching-kuo
Jiang Weishui	蔣渭水	Wei-shui Chiang
Jiang Wenguo	江文國	Wen-guo Jiang
Jiang Xiaowu	蔣孝武	Hsiao-wu Chiang

Jiange Qundao	尖閣群島	Senkaku Islands
Jiangnan	江南	Jiangnan
Jiangnan An	江南案	Henry Liu Murder Case
Jianguodang	建國黨	Taiwan Independence Party
jianjin de gaige	漸進的改革	gradual reform
jianli xin Zhongyuan	建立新中原	establishing a new middle kingdom
jiaoguan	教官	military instructors
jiaoguan gunchuqu	叫棺滾出去	Military instructors get out
jiaotiao de, xueshuxing de yufu guandian	教條的、學術性的 迂腐觀點	the pedantic points of view in doctrine and academia
jiaoyu leyu	教育勒語	order of education
Jiaoyubu	教育部	Ministry of Education
Jiayi Xian	嘉義縣	Chiayi County
Jiayi Zhongxue	嘉義中學	Chiayi Middle School
jiazhang	甲長	head of jia
jieji maodun	階級矛盾	class contradiction
jiguan	籍貫	native place
Jijinhui	基金會	Foundation
Jilong	基隆	Keelung
Jin Meiling	金美齡	Alice M. King
Jincheng Zhongxue	金城中學	Jincheng Middle School
jindaishi de minzu minzhu fankang yundong	近代式的民族民 主反抗運動	a modern national resistance as well as a democracy movement
jing siyou anhe zhichu	竟似有暗合之處	are surreptitiously in line with
jinghua gongzuo	淨化工作	purification work
jingsi	驚死	timidity
jingwa	井蛙	The Well Frog
Jingyi Daxue	靜宜大學	Providence University

Jinmen Paozhan	金門炮戰	Kinmen Artillery War
Jinri Taiwanren De Zhengjiu Dahui	今日台灣人的拯救大會	Conference on Salvation of Today's Taiwanese
Jinri Zhi Zhongguo	今日之中國	The Modern China
Jinyihe Boli Gongchang	金義和玻璃工廠	Jinyihe Glass Factory
Jishui Xi	急水溪	Jishui River
jiuba Taipei dayouxing	九八台北大遊行	9/8 Taipei Grand Parade
Jiucheng Guoxiao	舊城國小	Jiucheng Elementary School
jiuling niandai Zhongguo guozu zhuyi de shouhushen	九零年代中國國族主義的守護神	Guardian Goddess of Chinese nationalism in the 90s
Jiuzhou	九州	Kyushu
juancun wenxue	眷村文學	juancun literature
jueshi gongto ruxian yundong	絕食公投入憲活動	Hunger Strike for the Inclusion of Plebiscite into the Constitution
juewu	覺悟	conscientization
Junshi Qingbao Ju	軍事情報局	Military Intelligence Bureau
juxing gongmin toupiao jinru Lianheguo	舉行公民投票進入聯合國	holding a plebiscite to enter the United Nations
Kaifeng	開封	Kaifeng
kangju de xingge	抗拒的性格	combate characteristics
kaoyan	考驗	testing
Ke Cai Zongqinhui	柯蔡宗親會	Kes and Chais Clan Association
Ke Qihua	柯旗化	Chi-hua Ke
keguan yinsu	客觀因素	objective factors
Keji Zixun Weiyuan	科技諮詢委員	Consultant on Science and Technology
Kejia yishi	客家意識	Hakka consciousness
Kejiaren	客家人	Hakka

Kongjun Diliu Dadui	空軍第六大隊	Sixth Air Force Group
Kongjun Guanxiao	空軍官校	Air Force Academy
Kongjun Zhunbei Xuexiao	空軍預備學校	Air Force Preparatory School
Kongjun Zongbu	空軍總部	Air Force Headquarters
kongxiang Hanzu zhuyi	空想漢族主義	Imaginary Han Nationalism
kongzhong-loge de mubiao	空中樓閣的目標	mirage-like goal
kumen de Taiwan	苦悶的台灣	A Depressed Taiwan
Lai He	賴和	Ho Lai
Lai Wenxiong	賴文雄	Wen-xiong Lai
lan yu hei	藍與黑	Blue and Black
Lanjing haiyang wenhua	藍鯨海洋文化	blue whale ocean culture
Lanling	蘭陵	Lanling
lao yuze	老芋仔	old taro
Laojiang	老蔣	Old Chiang
Laoqiao	老僑	old sojourner
leishui qihang	淚水七行	Tears in Seven Rows
Li Ao	李敖	Ao Li
Li Benjing	李本京	Thomas B. Lee
Li Ge	李格	Ge Li
Li Guoze	李國澤	Guo-ze Li
Li Hao	李浩	Victor Hao Li
Li Hongxi	李鴻禧	Hung-hsi Lee
Li Huan	李喚	Huan Li
Li Huashun	李華順	Hua-shun Li
Li Jiemu	李界木	James J. Lee

Li Mingjun	李明峻	Ming-juinn Li
Li Mingxiong	李明雄	Ming-xiong Li
Li Qi	李乞	Qi Li
Li Qingtang	李慶堂	Qing-tang Li
Li Qingxiong	李慶雄	Ching-hsiung Lee
Li Qiulong	李秋龍	Qiu-long Li
Li Ruimu	李瑞木	Raymond R. M. Lee
Li Wanju	李萬居	Wan-chu Li
Li Wenrui	李文瑞	Wen-rui Li
Li Xian	李嫌	Xian Li
Li Xianrong	李憲榮	Shane Lee
Li Yingyuan	李應元	Ying-yuan Lee
Li Yongzhi	李永熾	Yung-chih Lee
Li Youyi	李友義	Andrew Y. Lee
Li Zhenyuan	李鎮源	Chen-yuan Lee
Li Zhenzhou	李鎮洲	Zhen-zhou Li
Li Zhunsan	李隼三	Zhun-san Li
lian de lianxiang	蓮的聯想	The Imagination from Lotus
Liang Wenying	梁文穎	Wen-ying Liang
liangzhan chedeng	兩盞車燈	two headlights
Lianhe Wenxue	聯合文學	Unitas
Lianhe Zuozhan Zhongxin	聯合作戰中心	Cooperated Operation Center
Lianhebao	聯合報	United Daily News
Lianmeng Benbu	聯盟本部	WUFI headquarters
Lianmeng Zongbenbu	聯盟總本部	General Headquarters of WUFI
Liao Jichun	廖繼春	Chi-chun Liao
Liao Mingzheng	廖明徵	Ming Liao

Liao Wenyi	廖文毅	Thomas W. I. Liao
Liao Xianhao	廖咸浩	Hsian-hao Liao
Liao Xiuping	廖修平	Shiou-ping Liao
Liao Zhaoyang	廖朝陽	Chaoyang Liao
Lin Biao	林彪	Biao Lin
Lin Dengda	林登達	Deng-da Lin
Lin Fengsheng	林峰生	Feng-sheng Lin
Lin Guanghui	林光輝	Kuang-hui Lin
Lin Hengzhe	林衡哲	Heng-zhe Lin
Lin Jie	林界	Jie Lin
Lin Jiying	林吉寅	Ji-yin Lin
Lin Kezhong	林克忠	Ke-zhong Lin
Lin Maosheng	林茂生	Mosei Lin
Lin Meihui	林美惠	Mei-hui Lin
Lin Mingzhe	林明哲	Ming-zhe Lin
Lin Moniang	林默娘	Moniang Lin
Lin Rongchang	林榮長	Rong-chang Lin
Lin Rongde	林榮德	Rong-de Lin
Lin Rongxun	林榮勳	John Lin
Lin Shantian	林山田	Shan-tien Lin
Lin Shuangbu	林雙不	Shuang-bu Lin
Lin Shumin	林樹民	Shu-min Lin
Lin Wenqin	林文欽	Wen-chin Lin
Lin Xiantang	林獻堂	Hsien-tang Lin
Lin Yijian	林宜鍵	Yi-jian Lin
Lin Yixiong	林義雄	Yi-hsiung Lin
Lin Youxin	林又新	Yeo-hsin Lin
Lin Zhefu	林哲夫	Albert Lin

Lin Zhexiong	林哲雄	Jer-shung Lin
Lin Zongyi	林宗義	Tsung-yi Lin
linjiexing rentong	臨界性認同	liminal (in-between) identity
Linshi Zhengfu	臨時政府	Provisional Government
Linzhai xiean	林宅血案	Lin Family Murders
Liu Guosong	劉國松	Kuo-sung Liu
Liu Jiashun	劉家順	Jia-shun Liu
Liu Qingrui	劉慶瑞	Chin-sui Liu
Liu Wenqing	柳文卿	Wen-qing Liu
Liu Wenqing Shijian	柳文卿事件	Wen-qing Liu Incident
Liu Yiliang	劉宜良	Henry Liu
Liu Zhongci	劉重次	Zhong-ci Liu
Liu Ziran shijian	劉自然事件	Zi-ran Liu Incident
liubaiwanmin tongkuaile, hujiang danshi biaohuanying	六百萬民同快 樂，壺漿箪食表歡 迎	six million jubilant people, welcoming with food and drink
liulizhe zhi mu	流離者之母	mother of the diaspora
liumang	流氓	rascals
liuxue kaoshi	留學考試	examination for studying abroad
long de chuanren	龍的傳人	Legend of the Dragon
Longzu Shishe	龍族詩社	Dragon Tribe Poetry Society
Lu Xiulian	呂秀蓮	Hsiu-lien Lu
Lu Xiuyi	盧修一	Hsiu-yi Lu
Lu Zhaoji	盧肇基	Zhao-ji Lu
Lu Zhuyi	盧主義	Jay Loo
Lude Taiwan Tongxianghui	旅德台灣同鄉會	Taiwanese Association in Germany
Lugoqiao Shijian	盧溝橋事件	Marco Polo Bridge Incident

Lujun Junguan Xuexiao	陸軍軍官學校	Army Military Academy
Lujun Tebie Zhiyuanbing Ling	陸軍特別志願兵 令	Army Special Soldier Order
Lujun Tebie Zhiyuanbing Zhidu	陸軍特別志願兵 制度	Army Special Volunteer Soldier System
Lumei Taiwanren	旅美台灣人	Taiwanese living in the United States
lunxianqu	淪陷區	occupied land
Luo Fuquan	羅福全	Fu-chen Lo
Luotong Saobei	羅通掃北	The Northward Expedition of Tong Luo
Ma	馬	Ma
Madou	麻豆	Madou
Mao kohao	毛口號	Maoist slogans
Mao Yiting	毛儀庭	Yi-ting Mao
Mao yulu	毛語錄	<i>Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong</i>
Mao Zedong	毛澤東	Mao Zedong
Maoshi minyao	毛式民謠	Maoist folksongs
Mazu	媽祖	Matsu
Mazu	馬祖	Matsu
Meiguo Taiwanren Fanxiang Fangwentuan	美國台灣人返鄉 訪問團	Taiwanese-American Homeland Visit Group
Meiguo Zhanglue Qingbaochu	美國戰略情報處	U.S. Office of Strategic Information
Meijun Dishisan Hangkongdui	美軍第十三航空 隊	U.S. Thirteenth Air Group
Meilidao	美麗島	Ilha Formosa
Meilidao	美麗島	Formosa (magazine)
Meilidao Shijian	美麗島事件	Formosa Incident

Meilidao zhengtuan	美麗島政團	Formosa Group
Meilidao Zhoubao	美麗島週報	Formosa Weekly
Meinong	美濃	Meinong
meiyou Zhaoyang jiu meiyou falu	沒有朝陽就沒有 法律	no Zhaoyang, no law
Meizhou	湄洲	Meizhou
mengyuan dahui	盟員大會	members conference
mengyuan daibiao dahui	盟員代表大會	representatives conference
Mengyuan Tongxun	盟員通訊	Member's Newsletter
mianqiang	勉強	reluctantly
Min	敏	Min
Minbao	民報	People's News
minbian	民變	popular uprising
mingang renwu	敏感人物	sensitive personality
Mingzhi Tianhuang yuzhi	明治天皇御制	Emperor Meiji's analects
minjian liliang	民間力量	civil power
Minjian Xianzheng Huiyi	民間憲政會議	Civil Conference on Constitutional Rule
minyi daibiao	民意代表	representative
Minzhong Ribao	民眾日報	Commons Daily
Minzhu Jinbudang	民主進步黨	Democratic Progressive Party
minzhu liliang	民主力量	democratic powers
minzhu, tuanjie, jiu Taiwan	民主、團結、救台 灣	Democracy, Solidarity, Save Taiwan
minzhu, zijue, jiu Taiwan	民主、自決、救台 灣	Democracy, Self-determination, Save Taiwan
minzu	民族	nation
minzu dayi	民族大義	gist of nation

minzu jiuxing	民族救星	national savior
minzu maodun	民族矛盾	national contradiction
minzu xingshi	民族形式	national characteristics
minzu yishi	民族意識	national consciousness
minzu yishu	民族藝術	national art
minzu zhibu	民族支部	national branch
minzu zijue	民族自決	national self-determination
mowang	魔王	monster
muolian	磨練	endurance
Nanguang Zhongxie	南光中學	Nanguang High School
Nanriben Gongyeqiu	南日本工業區	South Japan Industrial District
Nanying Shangye Xueyuang	南英商業學院	Nanying Commercial College
neibu mengyuan mimi tongxun	內部盟員秘密通 訊	un-public internal newsletters only for members
neidi yanchang zhuyi	內地延長主義	doctrine of interior extension
Neidiren	內地人	Inlanders
Niaosong	鳥松	Niaosong
Niaosong Guomin Xuexiao	鳥松國民學校	Niaosong Elementary School
Niaoxingzi	鳥杏仔	bird amaranths
niming	逆命	adverse destiny
oufa	偶發	accidental
Ouzhou Lianmeng	歐洲聯盟	European Union
Ouzhou Taiwan Duli Lianmeng	歐洲台灣獨立聯 盟	Union for Formosa's Independence in Europe
Ozhou zazhi	歐洲雜誌	Europe Magazine
pai	牌	pai
pai	派	school of thought

panbian	叛變	rebellion
Pangu	盤古	Pangu
panluan	叛亂	rebellion
Peizhen	佩真	Pei-zhen
Peng chanfurenke yiyuan	彭產婦人科醫院	Peng's Obstetrics and Gynecology Hospital
Peng Dehuai	彭德懷	Dehuai Peng
Peng Ge	彭歌	Ge Peng
Peng Mengqi	彭孟緝	Meng-chi Peng
Peng Mingmin	彭明敏	Ming-min Peng
Peng Mingmin Wenjiao Jijinhui	彭明敏文教基金會	Ming-min Peng Cultural and Educational Foundation
Peng Qingkao	彭清靠	Qing-kao Peng
Peng Wanchi	彭萬墀	Wan-chi Peng
Penghu	澎湖	Pescadores
Pi Lin Pi Kong Yundong	批林批孔運動	Anti-Lin Anti-Confucious Movement
ping	坪	ping
Pingdong	屏東	Pingtung
Pingpuzu	平埔族	Plain Aborigines
Pinju	平劇	Peking opera
pusu wenxue	素樸文學	naïve literature
Qian Siliang	錢思亮	Su-liang Chien
Qianjin Zhoukan	前進週刊	Forward Weekly
Qianjinqu	前金區	Qianjin District
qianmeng hui Tai	遷盟回台	relocating the WUFI back to Taiwan
Qiaobin	喬彬	Qiao-bin
qiaoling	僑領	prominent overseas Taiwanese
Qiaoqing	喬青	Jennifer

qigai gan miaogong	乞丐趕廟公	the beggar expels the temple priest
Qin Kuai	秦檜	Kuai Qin
qin Taidu tuanti	親台獨團體	quasi-Taiwan independence groups
qingke chifan	請客吃飯	inviting guests to a banquet
qingkuan de xiaobuerqiaoya zhishifenzi	輕狂的小布爾喬 亞知識分子	frivolous little bourgeois intellectuals
Qingming shanghe tu	清明上河圖	Along the River during the Qingming Festival
qingniantuan	青年團	youth corps
qishibing	乞食兵	beggar soldiers
Qiu Biao'en	邱標恩	Biao-en Qiu
Qiu Guifen	邱貴芬	Kuei-fen Chiu
Qiu Hongda	邱宏達	Hungdah Chiu
Qiu Qianmei	邱千美	Qian-mei Qiu
Qiu Qibin	邱啓彬	Qi-bin Qiu
Qiu Shengzong	邱勝宗	Sheng-zong Qiu
Qiu Shuhua	邱淑華	Shu-hua Qiu
Qiu Wenzong	邱文宗	Wen-zong Qiu
Qiu Yafang	邱雅芳	Ya-fang Qiu
Qiu Yichang	邱義昌	Timmy Chiu
Qiu Yiren	邱義仁	I-jen Chiou
Qiu Yonghan	邱永漢	Yung-han Chiu
Qiu Zhongnan	邱忠南	Zhong-nan Qiu
Qiuguotuan	救國團	China Youth Corps
Qongjiaojiao	茆蕉腳	Banana Foot
quandao yishi	全島意識	island-wide consciousness
Quanguo Boshuoshi Lunwen Zixunwang	全國博碩士論文 資訊網	Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts

Quanguo Renda Changweihui	Standing Committee of National People's Congress	全國人大常委會
Quanguoxing Gongmin Toupiao Shishi Yaodian	全國性公民投票 實施要點	Outlines for National Plebiscite Implementation
Quanmei Taiwan Duli Lianmeng	全美台灣獨立聯 盟	United Formosans in America for Independence
Quanmei Taiwan Tongxianghui	全美台灣同鄉會	Taiwanese Association of America
Quanmei Taiwan Xueshenghui	全美台灣學生會	Taiwanese Students Association of America
quanmin wuzhuang qiyi	全民武裝起義	a full-scale armed uprising
quanwei (ren)	權威(人)	authority (people)
Quanzhou yishi	泉州意識	Quanzhou consciousness
Qujiang Xiaoxue	屈江小學	Kue Primary School
ren you liangshou, yi shou wuzhi	人有二手，一手五 指	A person has two hands, and there are five fingers in each hand
reng	人格	character
rentong wenxue	認同文學	identity literature
renzao sujiaban gongchang	人造塑膠板工廠	artificial plastic board plant
Riben Gongchandang	日本共產黨	Japanese Communist Party
Riben Keji Jishu Zhenxing Xiehui	日本科技技術振 興協會	Japan Science and Technology Promotion Association
Riri Xinbao	日日新報	Everyday New News
Rizhao Dashen	日照大神	Goddess Amaterasu
ruankexia	軟殼蝦	soft-shell shrimps
Ruchujing Guanliju	入出境管理局	Bureau of Immigration
Ruguo Guanliju	入國管理局	Entry Administration Bureau

Sa Mengwu	薩孟武	Meng-wu Sah
Sangao	三高	San-ko
Sanguozhi	三國誌	The History of the Three Kingdoms
Sanjun Qiuchang	三軍球場	the playground of the Armed Forces
Sanmin Zhuyi	三民主義	Three Principles of the People
Sanzhi	三芝	Sanzhi
Sanzijing	三字經	<i>Three-Character Classic</i>
sanzijing	三字經	three-word curses
sha zhugong	殺豬公	killing jumbo pigs
Shandong	山東	Shandong
Shandong Bang	山東幫	gang of Shandong
shang buzai gao, you shen ze ling	山不在高 有神則 靈	A mountain does not have to be high; it will be divine if there is a god
Shanhua	善化	Shanhua
Shanxi Sheng	山西省	Shanxi Province
shaobing	燒餅	bake cakes
shehui anning	社會安寧	social safety
shehui gongtongti	社會共同體	Gemeinschaft
shehui liangxin	社會良心	social conscience
shehui yishi	社會意識	social consciousness
Shen Chanhuan	沈昌煥	Chan-huang Shen
Shen Fuxiong	沈富雄	Fu-hsiung Shen
Shen Xueyong	申學庸	Hsueh-yung Shen
Shenggen Zhoukan	生根週刊	Taiwan Weekly
Shengli Zuoying Zhongxue	省立左營中學	Provincial Zuoying Middle School
shengsi you ming, fugui zai tian	生死有命 富貴在 天	life and death are destined, and wealth and power are determined by god

Shenhu	神戸	Kobe
shenpeng	神棚	kamidana
Shi	施	Shi
Shi Chaohui	施朝暉	Chao-hui Shi
Shi Ming	史明	Bing Su
Shi Mingde	施明德	Ming-teh Shih
Shi Mingrui	師明瑞	Ming-rui Shi
Shi Minhui	施敏輝	Min-hui Shi
Shi Neng-jiang	施能健	Neng-jian Shi
shibi chuangzao lishi	誓必創造歷史	Determined to Create History
shida jiechu qingnian	十大傑出青年	Ten Most Outstanding Young Men
shijian	事件	incident
Shijie Taiwan Duli Liangmeng	世界台灣獨立聯 盟	World United Formosans for Independence
Shijie Taiwan Tongxianghui	世界台灣同鄉聯 合會	World Federation of Taiwanese Association
Shijie Taiwanren Dahui	世界台灣人大會	World Taiwanese Congress
shijiexing	世界性	universality
Shilin	士林	Shilin
Shirenbang	十人幫	Gang of Ten
shishi	事實	reality
shiti	實體	entity
shiyi zhengke	失意政客	fallen politician
shoufu	收復	recover
Shoushan	壽山	Shoushan
shu de aile	樹的哀樂	The Dirge of the Tree
Shude Nuzhong	叔德女中	Shude Girls' Middle School
Shuihuzhuang	水滸傳	All Men Are Brothers

Shuijing Shishe	水晶詩社	Crystal Poetry Society
Shuishang Feijichang	水上飛機場	Shuishang Airport
Shuotang Quanzhuan	說唐全傳	A Complete Romance of the Tang Dynasty
siersi zi Jiang an	四二四刺蔣案	April 24 Chiang Assassination Incident
sikaoxing zhishifengzi	思考型知識分子	thinking-type intellectual
Sili Nanguang Zhongxue Gaozhongbu	私立南光中學高 中部	Private Nanguang Senior High School
Siren Bang	四人幫	Gang of Four
sixiang baozheng	思想保證	to guarantee our thoughts
sixiang lianbao	思想聯保	to guarantee each other in thoughts
Song Dongyang	宋冬陽	Dong-yang Song
Song Quansheng	宋泉盛	Choan-Seng Song
Songben	松本	Matsumoto
Su Dongqi	蘇東啓	Tong-chi Su
Su Xin	蘇新	Xin Su
Sun Duoci	孫多慈	Duo-ci Sun
Sun Qingyu	孫慶餘	Ching-yu Sun
Sun Yixian	孫逸仙	Sun Yat-sen
sushe zongganshi	宿舍總幹事	resident advisor
Tachia	大甲	Dajia
Taibei Dida	台北帝大	Taihoku Imperial University
Taibei Diguó Daxue	台北帝國大學	Taihoku Imperial University
Taibei Nuzi Shizhuan	台北女子師專	Taipei Women's Normal College
Taibei Shifan Xueyuan	台北師範學院	Taipei Normal College
Taibei Shili Meishuguan	台北市立美術館	Taipei Fine Arts Museum
Taibei Yixuexiao	台北醫學校	Taipei Medical School

Taida Qingnian	台大青年	NTU Youth
Taidong Zhongxue	台東中學	Taitung Middle School
Taidu Jikan	台獨季刊	Taiwan Independence Quarterly
Taidu Lianmeng Meiguo Benbu	台獨聯盟美國本部	World United Formosans for Independence --- USA Headquarters
Taidu Lianmeng Ouzhou Benbu	台獨聯盟歐洲本部	World United Formosans For Independence --- Europe Headquarters
Taidu Lianmeng Riben Benbu	台獨聯盟日本本部	World United Formosans for Independence --- Japan Headquarters
Taidu Yuekan	台獨月刊	Taiwan Independence Monthly
Taidu zasui	台獨雜碎	Taiwan independence chopsuey
Taiguang	台光	Taiwan Light
Taimei Wenxun qishou	台美文學旗手	flag bearer of the Taiwanese-American literature
Taimei Xiehui	台美協會	Taiwanese-American Society
Taimeiren	台美人	Taiwanese American
Tainan Gongxueyuan	台南工學院	Tainan College of Engineering
Tainan Meishu Yanjiuhui	台南美術研究會	Tainan Fine Arts Study Club
Tainan xianbing dui	台南憲兵隊	Tainan Military Police
Tainan Yizhong	台南一中	Tainan First Middle School
Taiqiao Yuekan	台僑月刊	Taiqiao Monthly
Taiquiao	台僑	Taiwanese sojourner
Taiwan (Zhongguo)	台灣(中國)	Taiwan (China)
Taiwan bentu yishi	台灣本土意識	Taiwanese indigenous consciousness
Taiwan bentuhua yundongshi lunzhan	台灣本土化運動 史論戰	Debate on the History of Taiwanese Nativization Movement
Taiwan Chubanshe	台灣出版社	Taiwan Publishing Co.
Taiwan Chunqiu	台灣春秋	Taiwan Annals

Taiwan Dianli Gongsi	台灣電力公司	Taiwan Power Company
Taiwan Dianshi Gongsi	台灣電視公司	Taiwan TV
Taiwan Duli Jianguo Lianmeng	台灣獨立建國聯盟	World United Formosans for Independence
Taiwan Duli Lianmeng	台灣獨立聯盟	United Formosans For Independence
Taiwan Duli Yundong	台灣獨立運動	Taiwan Independence Movement
Taiwan falu diwei weidinglun	台灣法律地位未定論	thesis of Taiwan's unsettled legal status
Taiwan Gemingdang	台灣革命黨	Taiwan Revolutionary Party
Taiwan Gongchandang	台灣共產黨	Taiwanese Communist Party
Taiwan Gongheguo Linshi Guomin Yihui	台灣共和國臨時國民議會	Provisional National Assembly of the Republic of Formosa
Taiwan Gongheguo Linshi Zhengfu	台灣共和國臨時政府	Provisional Government of the Republic of Formosa
Taiwan Gongheguo Yungdong	台灣共和國運動	Republic of Taiwan Movement
Taiwan Gonglunbao	台灣公論報	Taiwan Tribune
Taiwan Guoji Luntan	台灣國際論壇	Taiwan International Tribune
Taiwan Guojia Shanyue Xiehui	台灣國家山岳協會	National Alpine Association of Taiwan
Taiwan Guoyu	台灣國語	Taiwanese Mandarin
Taiwan Heimingdan Gongzuo Xiaozu	台灣黑名單工作小組	Taiwanese Blacklist Task Team
Taiwan houyi de Meiguoren	台灣後裔的美國人	Americans of Taiwanese descent
Taiwan Jianguo Lianhe Zhenxian	台灣建國聯合陣線	Coalition for Taiwanese Nationhood
Taiwan Jianguo Zuzhi	台灣建國組織	Taiwan Nation-building Organization
Taiwan jianshi	台灣簡史	A Concise History of Taiwan
Taiwan Jiaoshou Xiehui	台灣教授協會	Taiwan Association of University Professors

Taiwan Jiayuling	台灣教育令	Order of Taiwan Education
Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui	台灣基督長老教會	Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui dui guoshi de shengmingyu jianyi	台灣基督長老教會對國是的聲明與建議	Statement on Our National Fate
Taiwan jie	台灣結	the Taiwanese complex
Taiwan jie vs. Zhongguo jie	台灣結 vs. 中國結	the Taiwanese complex vs. the Chinese complex
Taiwan Jikan	台灣季刊	<i>Taiwan Quarterly</i>
Taiwan Maoyiju	台灣貿易局	Taiwan Trading Bureau
Taiwan Minbao	台灣民報	Taiwan People News
Taiwan mingyun gongtongti	台灣命運共同體	Taiwan's community of destiny
Taiwan Minzhu Duli Dang	台灣民主獨立黨	Formosa Independence Party
Taiwan Minzhu Yundong Haiwai Zuzhi	台灣民主運動海外組織	Overseas Organization of the Taiwan Democratic Movement
Taiwan Minzhudang	台灣民主黨	Taiwan Democratic Party
Taiwan Minzhuguo	台灣民主國	The Republic of Formosa
Taiwan minzu	台灣民族	Taiwanese nation
Taiwan minzu yishi	台灣民族意識	Taiwanese national consciousness
Taiwan Minzu Zhuyi Lunzhan	台灣民族主義論戰	Debate on Taiwanese nationalism
Taiwan Niandai	台灣年代	Taiwan Times
Taiwan qifen	台灣氣氛	Taiwanese atmosphere
Taiwan Qingnian	台灣青年	Taiwan Youth
Taiwan Qingnian Duli Lianmeng	台灣青年獨立聯盟	United Youth Formosans for Independence
Taiwan Qingnian Hui	台灣青年會	Formosan Association
Taiwan Qingnian She	台灣青年社	Taiwan Chinglian Associates

Taiwan qinnian de ishi chulu	台灣青年的意識初旅	A Taiwanese Youth's New Journey of Ideology
Taiwan rengen	台灣人格	Taiwanese character
Taiwan renmin	台灣人民	Taiwanese people
Taiwan renmin yishi	台灣人民意識	Taiwanese people consciousness
Taiwan Renmin Zijue Yundong	台灣人民自決運動	Formosan Christian for Self-determination
Taiwan Renmin Ziji Yundong Xuanyan	台灣人民自救運動宣言	A Declaration of Self-salvation for the Taiwanese People
Taiwan Renquanhui	台灣人權會	Formosan Association for Human Rights
Taiwan Shehui Xuehui	台灣社會學會	Taiwanese Sociological Association
Taiwan Sheng Canyihui	台灣省參議會	Taiwan Provincial Assembly
Taiwan Sheng Zhengfu Gonggong Gongcheng Ju	台灣省政府公共工程局	Bureau of Public Project, the Provincial Government of Taiwan
Taiwan Shengli Meishuguan	台灣省立美術館	Provincial Taiwan Museum of Fine Art
Taiwan shi Taiwanren de Taiwan	台灣是台灣人的台灣	Taiwan is Taiwanese's Taiwan
Taiwan Shidai	台灣時代	Taiwan Era
Taiwan shiguan	台灣史觀	Taiwanese historical perspective
Taiwan Tangye Gongsi	台灣糖業公司	Taiwan Sugar Company
Taiwan Tongxianghui	台灣同鄉會	Taiwanese Association
Taiwan Tongxuehui	台灣同學會	Taiwanese Student Association
Taiwan Tongxun	台灣通訊	FORMOSAgram
Taiwan Tuanjie Lianmeng	台灣團結聯盟	Taiwan Solidarity Union
Taiwan Wenhua	台灣文化	Taiwan Culture
Taiwan Wenhua Xiehui	台灣文化協會	Taiwan Culture Association
Taiwan wenku	台灣文庫	Taiwan Library

Taiwan Wenti Yanjiuhui	台灣問題研究會	Formosan Affairs Study Group
Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiuhui	台灣文學研究會	Society for the Study of Taiwan Literature
Taiwan Wenyi	台灣文藝	Taiwan Literature
Taiwan Wenyi Fuxing	台灣文藝復興	Taiwanese Renaissance
Taiwan xiangtu yishi	台灣鄉土意識	Taiwan nativist consciousness
Taiwan Xiehui	台灣協會	Taiwan Association
Taiwan Xinbao	台灣新報	Taiwan New News
Taiwan xingwenxue shi	台灣新文學史	A New History of Taiwanese Literature
Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu	台灣行政長官公署	Taiwan Administrative Officer's Office
Taiwan Xinshehui	台灣新社會	<i>Taiwan New Society</i>
Taiwan Xuesheng	台灣學生	Taiwanese Collegian
Taiwan Xueshengshe	台灣學生社	Taiwanese Collegian
Taiwan Yanjiusuo	台灣研究所	Formosan Studies, Inc.
Taiwan yishi	台灣意識	Taiwanese consciousness
Taiwan yishi lunzhan	台灣意識論戰	Taiwanese Consciousness Debate
Taiwan yishujie	台灣藝術界	Taiwanese art circles
Taiwan yu Jiang Jieshi	台灣與蔣介石	Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek
Taiwan Zaijiefang Lianmeng	台灣再解放聯盟	Formosan League for Reemancipation
Taiwan Zhenglun	台灣政論	Taiwanese Political Review
Taiwan Zhengzhi Xuehui	台灣政治學會	Taiwanese Association of Political Science
Taiwan Zhiye	台灣之夜	Taiwan Night
Taiwan Zhiyuanbing	台灣志願兵	volunteer Taiwanese soldiers
Taiwan zhumin	台灣住民	Taiwanese residents

Taiwan Zhumin Zijue Liangmeng	台灣住民自決聯盟	League for Self-determination of Formosans
Taiwan zhuti yishi	台灣主體意識	Taiwan's consciousness of subjectivity
Taiwan Ziji Yundong Xuanyan	台灣自救運動宣言	A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation
Taiwan Zhongguo, yibian yiguo	台灣、中國，一邊一國	Taiwan, China: one side, one country
Taiwan Zongdu Fu	台灣總督府	Taiwan Government General
Taiwan zulei yishi	台灣族類意識	Taiwanese ethnic consciousness
Taiwan Zuopai	台灣左派	Taiwan Left
Taiwan(ren) lishi yishi	台灣(人)歷史意識	Taiwanese historical consciousness
Taiwanren	台灣人	Taiwanese
Taiwanren buyao Zhongguo yishi	台灣人不要中國意識	the Taiwanese do not want Chinese consciousness
Taiwanren de renke	台灣人的性格	character of Taiwanese
Taiwanren De Ziyu Taiwan	台灣人的自由台灣	Formosans' Free Formosa
Taiwanren de zunyan	台灣人的尊嚴	Taiwanese dignity
Taiwanren Gonggong Shiwuhui	台灣人公共事務會	Formosan Association for Public Affairs
Taiwanren minzhong dahui	台灣人民眾大會	Taiwanese People Rallies
Taiwanren shengming zunyan de zaisheng	台灣人生命尊嚴的再生	The Rebirth of Taiwanese's Dignity of Life
Taiwanren Ziji Yundong Xuanyan	台灣人自救運動宣言	A Declaration of Self-salvation for the Taiwanese
Taiyu dianying	台語電影	Hoklo film
Taiyu liuxing gequ	台語流行歌曲	Hoklo popular song
Taizhong Nongxueyuan	台中農學院	Taichung College of Agriculture

Taizhong Yizhong	台中一中	Taichung First Middle School
tamen	他們	they
Tang Fei	唐飛	Fei Tang
tangtang zhengzheng de Zhongguoren	堂堂正正的中國人	dignified and imposing Chinese
Tanzi Xunliansuo	潭子訓練所	Tanzi Training Center
Taoyuan	桃園	Taoyuan
Tengtian	藤田	Fujita
Tian Hongmao	田弘茂	Hung-mao Tian
Tian Zaiting	田再庭	Tsai-ting Tien
<i>tianjiang daren yu siren ye</i>	天降大任於斯人也	When god is going to bestow a great responsibility on a man
tiankong, feichan Xila	天空，非常希臘	The sky, very Greek
tianya lunluoren	天涯淪落人	the lost in a foreign land
Tongfang Bai	東方白	Bai Tongfang
tonghua zhuyi	同化主義	doctrine of assimilation
tongxiang	同鄉	fellow Taiwanese
Tongxianghui	同鄉會	Fellow Association
Tongxuehui	同學會	Student Association
tongzhi	同志	comrade
tongzhi wenxue	同志文學	gay and lesbian literature
Tu Guangming	涂光明	Guang-ming Tu
tusha	屠殺	massacre
waiji laogong	外籍勞工	foreign worker
waiji xinniang	外籍新娘	foreign bride
wailai tongzhizhe	外來統治者	émigré rulers
Waishengren	外省人	People of Outside Provinces
Waishengren	外省人	Mainlanders

Wang Xiaopo	王曉波	Xiao-po Wang
Wang Bowen	王博文	Bo-wen Wang
Wang Gueirong	王桂榮	Kenjohn Wang
Wang Kanglu	王康陸	Kang-lu Wang
Wang Kexiong	王克雄	Ken Wang
Wang Lan	王藍	Lan Wang
Wang Nengxiang	王能祥	Neng-hsiang Wang
Wang Qingzhang	汪慶章	Qing-zhang Wang
Wang Qiusen	王秋森	Chiu-sen Wang
Wang Qixian	王錡銑	Qi-xian Wang
Wang Renji	王人紀	Ren-ji Wang
Wang Ruili	王瑞立	Rui-li Wang
Wang Shuxie	王淑秀	Shu-xiu Wang
Wang Taihe	王泰和	Tai-he Wang
Wang Taize	王泰澤	Taitzer Wang
Wang Wande	王萬得	Wan-de Wang
Wang Yude	王育德	Ioktek Ong
Wang Yude quanji	王育德全集	A Collection of the Works by Ioktek Ong
Wang Yulin	王育霖	Yu-lin Wang
Wangchunfeng	望春風	Mayflowers
wei laoku dazhong jiefang douzheng	爲勞苦大眾解放 鬥爭	Struggle for the liberation of the hard-working people
Wei Ruiming	魏瑞明	Rui-ming Wei
wei Taiwan renmin zejiu geming	爲台灣人民自救 革命	Revolution for the self-salvation of the Taiwanese people
Wei Tiancong	尉天聰	Tian-cong Wei
Wei Tingchao	魏廷朝	Ting-chao Wei
Wei Yong	魏鏞	Yung Wei

wei ziyou minzhu zhengqu duli	為自由民主爭取 獨立	Obtain independence for freedom and democracy
weida de Zhongguo	偉大的中國	great China
wenhua guanli	文化管理	cultural administration
wenhua xuanchuan bu	文化宣傳部	Department of Culture and Information
Wenhuaaju	文化局	Bureau of Culture
Wenjia Keji Gufen Youxian Gongsì	文佳科技股份有 限公司	Wenjia Technology Co.
Wenxing	文星	Literature Star
wenxuejie nanbeipai zhengyi	文學界南北派爭 議	North-South Dispute in the Literary Circle
Wu Bai	吳拜	Bai Wu
wu chabie rentong lun	無差別認同論	thesis on indiscriminating identification
Wu Cixiong	吳次雄	Ci-xiong Wu
Wu Minghui	吳明輝	Min-hui Wu
Wu Mingji	吳明基	Ming-chi Wu
Wu Mingxin	吳明信	Min-xin Wu
wu muguo de zhimindi zhengfu	無母國的殖民地 政府	colonial government without homeland
Wu Musheng	吳木盛	Mu-sheng Wu
Wu Shengji	吳勝吉	Sheng-ji Wu
Wu Tiansheng	吳添生	Tian-sheng Wu
Wu Xinrong	吳新榮	Xin-rong Wu
Wu Xiuhui	吳秀惠	Grace Shiu-hwei Wu Chou
Wu Zhengxiao	吳正曉	Zheng-xiao Wu
Wu Zhuoliu	吳濁流	Cho-liu Wu
Wu Zunhe	吳尊和	Zun-he Wu
wufangzhen zhuyi	無方針主義	doctrine of no principle

wufa-wutian	無法無天	lawless and godless
wugen de zhimin tongzhizhe	無根的殖民統治者	rootless colonial rulers
wuhuaguo	無花果	The Fig
wuo congwei quexi, zhishi chidao	我從未缺席，只是 遲到	I have never been absent; I am just late
wuo kan Taiwan Duli Yundong	我看台灣獨立運 動	My Opinions on the Taiwan Independence Movement
wuode Zhongguo shi Taiwan	我的中國是台灣	My China is Taiwan
wuomen de zhuzhang	我們的主張	Our Propositions
wuomen Taiwanren	我們台灣人	us Taiwanese
Wusi Yundong	五四運動	May 4 Movement
Wuyue Huahui	五月畫會	May Painting Club
Wuyun Changjiou	武運長久	forever military destiny
Wuziyuan Shijie Wenhuaguan	五次元世界文化 觀	Five-dimensional World Culture
Xiachao Luntan	夏潮論壇	China Tide Review
Xialin Zhengcheng	小林正成	Masaski Kobahashe
Xian	西安	Xian
xiandai wenxue	現代文學	modern literature
xiangchou shi yimei xiaoxiao de youpiao, wuzai zhetou, muqin zai natou	鄉愁是一枚小小 的郵票，我在這 頭，母親在那頭	Homesickness is a small piece of stamp. I am on this side, Mother on the other side
xiangchou siyun	鄉愁四韻	Homesickness Four Rhymes
xiangfeng Youle Ding	相逢有樂町	Rendezvous at Youle Ding
xiangtu wenxue lunzhan	鄉土文學論戰	Nativist Literature Debate
Xiangxun	鄉訊	Homeland News

xianjieduan Taiwan wenxue bentuhua de wenti	現階段台灣文學 本土化的問題	The Question of Indigenization of Taiwanese Literature at the Current Stage
Xianrenzhang Zazhi	仙人掌雜誌	Cactus Magazine
Xiantai	仙台	Sendai
xianzhuang	現狀	the status quo
Xiao Gongquan	蕭公權	Kung-chuan Hsiao
Xiao Qinghong	蕭慶鴻	Qing-hong Xiao
Xiao Tianzan	蕭天讚	Teng-tzang Hsiao
Xiao Wanchan	蕭萬長	Vincent Siew
Xiaogang	小港	Small Harbor
Xiaogang Guomin Xuexiao	小港國民學校	Small Harbor Elementary School
Xiaogang Tangchang	小港糖廠	Small Harbor Sugar Plant
Xiaolin Jicao	小林躋造	Seizo Kobayashi
xiaoyao-fawai	逍遙法外	remained out of law's reach
xiaozhang shiwen	校長試問	Principal's Examination
xiaozu	小組	section
xiawei rentong	下位認同	the inferior identity
Xie Congmin	謝聰敏	Tsung-min Hsieh
xie dizi	血滴子	drops of blood
Xie laoshi	謝老師	Mr. Xie
Xie Lifa	謝理法	Li-fa Xie
Xie Xuehong	謝雪紅	Xue-hong Xie
Xie xuehong pingzhuan	謝雪紅評傳	A Critical Biography of Xue-hong Xie
Xie Zhisheng	謝芷生	Zhi-seng Xie
Xiko	溪口	Xiko
Xinbu	新埔	Xinbu

xinde weilai, buzhi jiude hao baoxi	新的未來，不知舊 的好寶惜	Before the newcomers arrived, we did not know how precious the old ones were
xingcunzhe	倖存者	survivor
Xinhuaqiao	新華僑	new Chinese sojourner
Xinqiao	新僑	New sojourner
Xinshengbao	新生報	Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao
Xinshijie Hualang	新世界畫廊	New World Gallery
Xinwen	新塹	Xinwen
Xinxing Qu	新興區	Xinxing District
xinxing Taidu Yundong	新型台獨運動	new type of TIM
Xinxing Zhitang Huishe	新興製糖會社	Xinxing Sugar Manufacturing Company
Xinyi Lu	信義路	Xinyi Road
Xinying	新營	Xinying
Xinying Tangchang	新營糖廠	Xinyin Sugar Plant
Xinying Zhongxue	新營中學	Xinying Middle School
Xinzhu	新竹	Hsinchu
Xinzhu Shi	新竹市	Hsinchu City
xiushe	修身	moral cultivation
Xiyi	西醫	Western physician
Xiyouji	西遊記	Pilgrims to the West
Xu Beihong	徐悲鴻	Beihong Xu
Xu Bing	許丙	Bing Xu
Xu Caode	許曹德	Cao-de Xu
Xu Changhui	許常惠	Chang-hui Hsu
Xu Daran	許達然	Ta-jan Hsu
Xu Longxiong	許隆雄	Long-xiong Xu
Xu Qingzhong	徐慶鐘	Ching-chung Hsu

Xu Shikai	許世楷	Se-kai Koh
Xu Shixian	許世賢	Shih-hsian Hsu
Xu Xinliang	許信良	Hsin-liang Hsu
Xu Zhimo	徐志摩	Zhimo Xu
xuanju yundong	選舉運動	election campaign
Xuanzhan Bugao	宣戰布告	War Declaration Notice
Xue Rengui Zhengdong	薛仁貴征東	The Eastward Expedition of Rengui Xue
Xuecheng Taiwan Tongxianghei	雪城台灣同鄉會	Syracuse Taiwanese Association
Xuejia	學甲	Xuejia
Xuejia Guomin Xuexiao	學甲國民學校	Xuejia Elementary School
Xuesheng Daibiao Lianhehui	學生代表聯合會	Student Representatives Assembly
xugo zhuquan	虛構主權	fictitious sovereignty
Yan Jinfu	顏錦福	Chin-fu Yan
Yan Shuilong	顏水龍	Shui-long Yan
Yan Wenliang	嚴文亮	Wen-liang Yan
yang	陽	yang
Yang Chuanguang	楊傳廣	Chuan-kwang Yang
Yang Huang Meixing	楊黃美幸	Maysing Yang
Yang Huiyu	楊惠玉	Hui-yu Yang
Yang Lanyu	楊蘭玉	Lan-yu Yang
Yang Mu	楊牧	Mu Yang
Yang Nanle	楊南樂	Nan-le Yang
Yang Sanlang	楊三郎	San-lang Yang
Yang Yingfeng	楊英風	Yuyu Yang
Yang Yizhou	楊逸舟	Yi-zhou Yang

Yang Zhencheng	楊振成	Zhen-cheng Yang
Yang Zhengyi	楊正義	Zheng-yi Yang
Yang Zongchang	楊宗昌	Tom C. Yang
Yanghuang Meixing	楊黃美幸	Maysing Yang
yangji dawang	養雞大王	king of chicken farm
Yangmingshan Huiyi	陽明山會議	Yang Ming Shan Conference
yangyang-daguo	泱泱大國	great country
Yanjiu Fazhan Kaohe Weiyuanhui	研究發展考核委 員會	Research, Development and Evaluation Commission
Yanshui	鹽水	Yanshui
Yanshui Zhongxue	鹽水中學	Xinwen Elementary School
Yanzehu	燕子湖	Swallow Lake
yanzhong xiaoerbing	嚴重小兒病	serious pediatric diseases
Yao Jiawen	姚嘉文	Chia-wen Yao
Yaozhou Xuesheng Huiyi	亞洲學生會議	Asian Student Conference
Yatai Minzhu Xiehui	亞太民主協會	Asia Pacific Democratic Association
Ye Guoshi	葉國勢	Guo-shi Ye
Ye Jiaxing	葉加興	Jia-xing Ye
Ye Neike Yiyuan	葉內科醫院	Ye Internal Medicine Hospital
Ye Shitao	葉石濤	Shih-tao Yeh
Ye Yijin	葉宜津	Yi-jin Yeh
Ye Yunyun	葉云云	Yun-yun Ye
yexing de huhuan	野性的呼喚	the call of the wild
Yibai Xingdong Lianmeng	一百行動聯盟	Action 100 Alliance
yige Zhongguo de xiaoying	一個中國的效應	effect of one-China
yin	陰	yin

Yin Haiguang	殷海光	Hai-kuan Yin
Yin laoshi	尹老師	Mr. Yin
yinggai	應該	ought-to-be
yinyang tuxiang	陰陽圖像	yin-yang diagram
yi yi zaidao	藝以載道	making the art to convey the truth
yi yuan	意願	willingness
yizhong quandaoxing xiuqi-yugong de Taiwan	一種全島性休戚 與共的台灣	an island-wide interlocked Taiwan
Yizhong Yitai	一中一台	one China, one Taiwan
Yizhu	義竹	Yizhu
yong xigai xiang ye zhidao	用膝蓋想也知道	think on my feet
yongyuan de wangxiangren: Su Xin de shengping yu sixiang chulun	永遠的望鄉人： 蘇新的生平與思 想初論	Longing for the Motherland Forever: The Life and An Introduction to the Thought of Xin Su
You Jicai	游技財	Ji-cai You
You Qing	尤清	Ching Yu
You Xikun	游錫堃	Shyi-kun Yu
you zuzhi xitong de zhimindi zhuyi zhengzhi	有組織系統的殖 民地主義政治	politics with systematic colonialism
Youshi Wenyi	幼獅文藝	Youth Literature
Yu Canwang	余燦旺	Can-wang Yu
Yu Guangzhong	余光中	Kwang-chung Yu
Yuanlin	員林	Yuanlin
yuanshi yishu	原始藝術	primitive arts
Yuanzhumin	原住民	Aborigines
yue guangguang	月光光	The Shining Moon Light
Yunaguo	與那國	Yonakuni

Yunlinxian	雲林縣	Yunlin County
Yunmen	雲門	Cloudy Gate
Yushan Gaofeng Jijinhui	玉山高峰基金會	Jade Mountain Summit Foundation
Yushan Gaofeng Shijie Heping Luntan	玉山高峰世界和平論壇	Jade Mountain Summit World Peace Forum
Yushan shengshang ziyou minzhu	玉山聖山 自由民主	Jade Mountain as Holy Land, Liberty and Democracy
yuyin fansong	玉音放送	good news was broadcast
zai Meiguo chusheng de Taiwanren	在美國出生的台灣人	America-born Taiwanese
zai Yanan wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua	在延安文藝座談會上的講話	The Lecture at the Yanan Literature Seminar
Zairi Taiwan Tongxianghui	在日台灣同鄉會	Taiwanese Association in Japan
zaizhimin shiqi	再殖民時期	re-colonial period
zei ka e zhuren	賊卡惡主人	robbers are more fierce than owners
Zeng xiansheng	曾先生	Mr. Zeng
Zhaigang Gongxuexiao	宅港公學校	Zhaigang Public School
Zhaigang Guomin Xuexiao	宅港國民學校	Zhaigang Elementary School
Zhaizigang	宅仔港	Zhaizigang
zhando wenyi ying	戰鬥文藝營	Combat Literature Camp
Zhang Canhong	張燦鑒	George T. Chang
Zhang Changhua	張常華	Chang-hua Chang
Zhang Dinglan	張丁蘭	Tina Chang
Zhang Fumei	張富美	Fu-mei Chang
Zhang Guangcai	張廣材	Guang-cai Zhang
Zhang Guoqing	張國慶	Guo-qing Zhang
Zhang Guoxing	張國興	Guo-xing Zhang

Zhang Junhong	張俊宏	Chun-hung Chang
Zhang Junxiong	張俊雄	Chun-hsiung Chang
Zhang Liangze	張良澤	Liang-ze Zhang
Zhang Wei-han	張維翰	Wei-han Zhang
Zhang Weijia	張維嘉	Wei-chia Chang
Zhang Wenqi	張文祺	Wen-qi Zhang
Zhang Xintang	張信堂	Peter Chang
Zhang Xucheng	張旭成	Paris Chang
Zhang Zhiping	張治平	Zhi-ping Zhang
Zhang Zongding	張宗鼎	Zong-ding Zhang
Zhanghua	彰化	Changhua
Zhanghua Xian	彰化縣	Changhua County
Zhangzhou yishi	漳州意識	Zhangzhou consciousness
zhanhou shiqi	戰後時期	post-war period
zhanzai Taiwanren de lichang lai jiangou Taiwanren de lishi jieshi	站在台灣人的立 場來建構台灣人的 歷史解釋	the construction of historical explanations for Taiwanese from the perspective of the Taiwanese
Zhao Youyuan	趙有源	You-yuan Zhao
zhaoxiang jiyi	照相記憶	photo memory
zhaoxiangzhang	照相長	photo boss
Zhaoyang Daxue	朝陽大學	Zhaoyang University
Zheng Bangxiong	鄭邦雄	Bang-xiong Zheng
Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功	Koxinga
Zheng Guangchao	鄭光超	Guang-chao Zheng
Zheng Lubin	鄭魯彬	Lu-bin Zheng
Zheng Nanrong	鄭南榕	Nan-jung Deng
Zheng Qinren	鄭欽仁	Ching-jen Cheng
Zheng Qixian	鄭啓賢	Qi-xian Zheng

Zheng Shaoliang	鄭紹良	John S. Cheng
Zheng Wenhua	鄭文華	Wen-hua Zheng
Zheng Xin	鄭欣	Shin Cheng
Zheng Zicai	鄭自才	Tsu-tsai Cheng
Zheng Zicai	鄭自財	Tsu-tsai Cheng
zhenggong renyuan	政工人員	the military officers in charge of political propaganda
zhengyixing	整一性	uniformity
zhengzhi danwei	政治單位	the political branch
zhengzhi jianshe	政治建設	political construction
zhengzhi lengganzheng	政治冷感症	disease of political indifference
zheshi shiwei	這是示威	it is a demonstration
zhifei bubao yudie tongzui	知匪不報與匪同 罪	knowingly failed to report the Communist agents to the authorities and was held responsible for the same crime
zhimindi shehui	殖民地社會	colonial society
Zhina Fu	支那福	China Fu
Zhinaren	支那人	Chinamen
zhiye xuesheng	職業學生	professional students
Zhiyuanbing Zhidu	志願兵制度	Volunteer Soldier System
Zhongchuan Jiazang	中川健藏	Kenzo Nakagawa
Zhongfa	中法	Sino-French
Zhonggho Shehui Xuehui	中國社會學會	Chinese Sociological Association
Zhongguo Dianshi Gongsi	中國電視公司	China TV
Zhongguo Gongchandang	中國共產黨	Chinese Communist Party
Zhongguo Guomindang	中國國民黨	KMT

Zhongguo huajia	中國畫家	Chinese painters
Zhongguo jie	中國結	Chinese complex
Zhongguo liuxuesheng	中國留學生	Chinese overseas students
Zhongguo ma	中國罵	Chinese curses
Zhongguo qingjie	中國情結	China complex
Zhongguo Qingnian Fangong Jiuguotuan	中國青年反共救 國團	China Youth Anti-Communists and National-Salvation Corps
Zhongguo Qingnian Fangong Kanger Lianhehui	中國青年反共抗 俄聯合會	Chinese Youth Anti-Aggression League
Zhongguo Qingnian Xiezu Xiehui	中國青年寫作協 會	Chinese Youth Writing Association
Zhongguo shehui	中國社會	Chinese society
Zhongguo Shibao	中國時報	China Times
Zhongguo Tongyi Yundong	中國統一運動	Chinese Unification Movement
Zhongguo wenxue lun	中國文學論	Thesis on Chinese Literature
Zhongguo xuesheng	中國學生	Chinese students
Zhongguo zhengzhi	中國政治	Chinese politics
Zhongguo Zhengzhi Xuehui	中國政治學會	Chinese Association of Political Science
Zhongguo zhu	中國豬	Chinese pigs
Zhongguo zhu jituan	中國豬集團	Chinese pig group
Zhongguoren	中國人	Chinese
Zhonghua Dianshi Gongsi	中華電視公司	Chinese TV Service
Zhonghua Minguo Malasong Xiehui	中華民國馬拉松 協會	Marathon Association of the Republic of China
Zhonghua Minguo Shanyue Xiehui	中華民國山岳協 會	Republic of China Alpine Association
Zhonghua shawen zhuyi	中華沙文主義	Chinese chauvinism

Zhonghuawenhua Fuxing Yundong	中華文化復興運動	Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement
Zhongjing Wenzhi	中井文枝	Bunee Nakae
Zhongli shijian	中壢事件	Chongli Incident
zhongliang guomin	忠良國民	loyal and good citizen
Zhongmei Wenhua Jiaoyu Jijinhui	中美文化教育基金會	Sino-American Cultural and Educational Foundation
Zhongwai Wenxue	中外文學	Chung-Wai Literary Monthly
Zhongxi Wenhua Lunzhan	中西文化論戰	Chinese and Western Culture Debate
Zhongyang Daxue	中央大學	Central University
Zhongyang Ribao	中央日報	Central Daily News
Zhongyang Weiyuanhui	中央委員會	Central Committee
Zhongyishi Jianfu Kaoshi	中醫師檢覆考試	qualification examination of Chinese physician
Zhongyuan zhengtong	中原正統	orthodox tradition of the Central Kingdom
Zhou cui jiubang qi ming weixin	周雖舊邦其命維新	Though Zhou is an old country, its life keeps reinvigorating.
Zhou Enlai	周恩來	Zhou Enlai
Zhou Senxiong	周森雄	Sen-xiong Zhou
Zhou Shiming	周焄明	Samuel Chou
Zhu	朱	Zhu
Zhu Changling	朱昌峻	Samuel C. Chu
Zhu Jinkang	朱晉康	Jin-kang Zhu
Zhu Xianzheng	朱獻政	Xian-zheng Zhu
Zhu Yixu	朱義旭	Yi-hsu Ju
Zhuanbian	轉變	Transformation
Zhuang Dezhao	莊德昭	De-zhao Chuang

Zhuang Jianong	莊嘉農	Jia-nong Zhuang
Zhuang Qiufeng	莊秋峰	Qiu-feng Chuang
Zhuang Qiuxiong	莊秋雄	Strong C. Chuang
Zhuang Sanli	莊三立	San-li Zhuang
Zhuang Zhengqian	莊徵乾	Zheng-qian Zhuang
zhuangniantuan	壯年團	adult corps
Zhuanmai ju	專賣局	Monopoly Bureau
zhuapazi	抓耙仔	campus spy
zhuguan yinsu	主觀因素	subjective factors
zhuguan yuanwang de kangzheng yizhi	主觀願望的抗爭意志	subjective wills of fighting against the ruler
zhuliu pai	主流派	mainstream faction
zhuze	豬仔	pigs
zhuze dang	豬仔黨	piggy party
zijue	自決	self-determination
Zijue Yundong Xuanyan	自決運動宣言	An Announcement of Self-determination Movement
Zili Wanbao	自立晚報	Independent Evening Post
Ziyou Huahui	自由畫會	Free Salon
Ziyou Shidai Zhoukan	自由時代周刊	Free Time Weekly
Ziyou Zhongguo	自由中國	Free China
Ziyou Zhongguo	自由中國	Free China Fortnightly
Ziyou Zhongguo Sumiao	自由中國素描	A Sketch of the Free China
Ziyou Zhongguo Yuekan	自由中國月刊	The Free China Monthly
zizhu yishi	自主意識	autonomous consciousness
Zongdufu Guoyu Xuexiao Shifanbu	總督府國語學校師範部	Normal Section of Government General National Language School

Zongtongfu guoce guwen	總統府國策顧問	National Policy Adviser to the President
Zongtongfu zizheng	總統府資政	Senior Advisor to the President
Zongxiang Longxing	宗像隆幸	Takayuki Munakata
zuguo	祖國	motherland
zunyan	尊嚴	dignity
zuoshi bu fuze	做事不負責	doing things irresponsibly
Zuoying	左營	Zuoying
zuqun	族群	ethnic group
zuzhi bu	組織部	Organization Department
Zuzhi Xunlian Gongzuo Weiyuanhui	組織訓練工作委 員會	Working Committee on Organization and Training

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